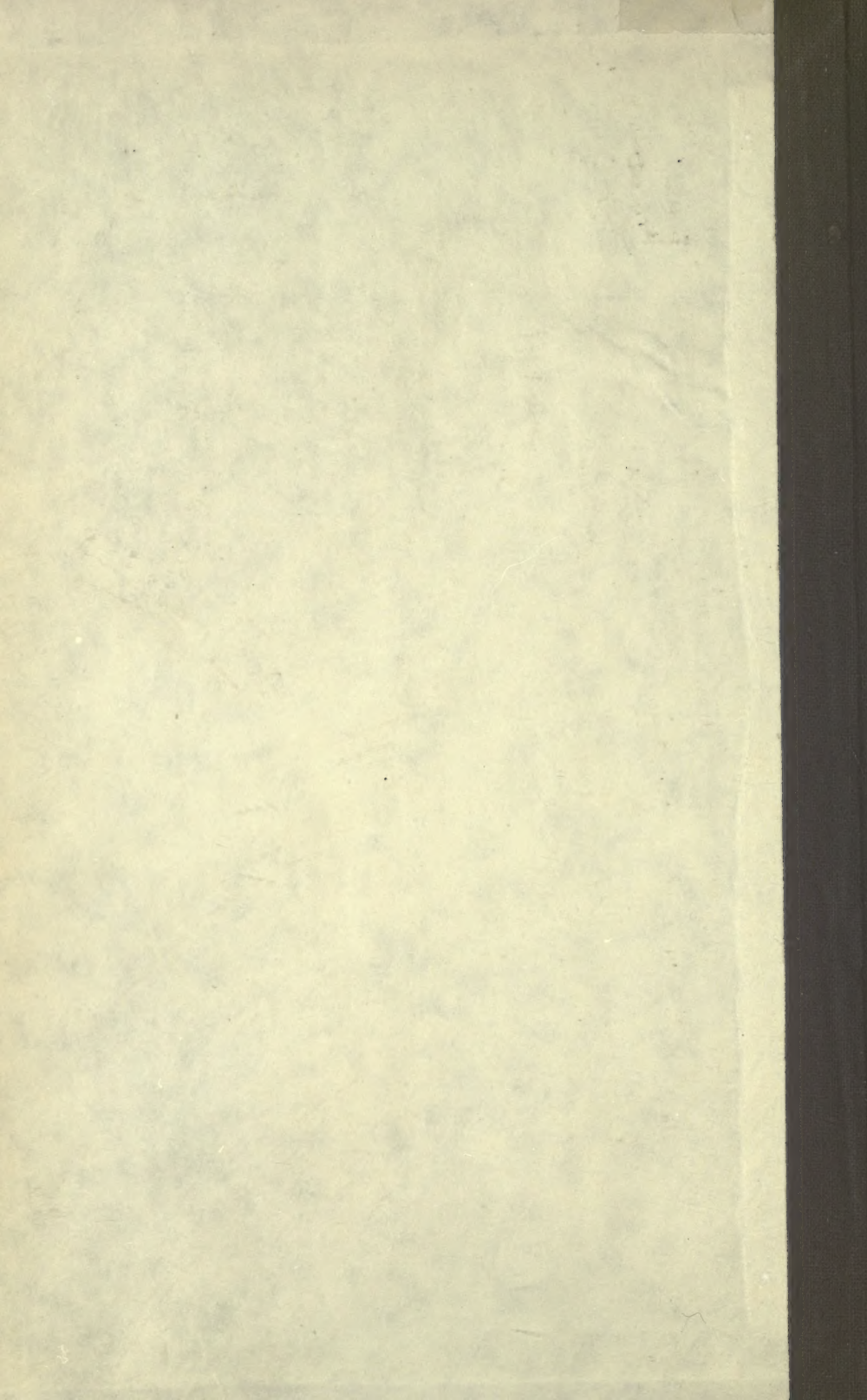



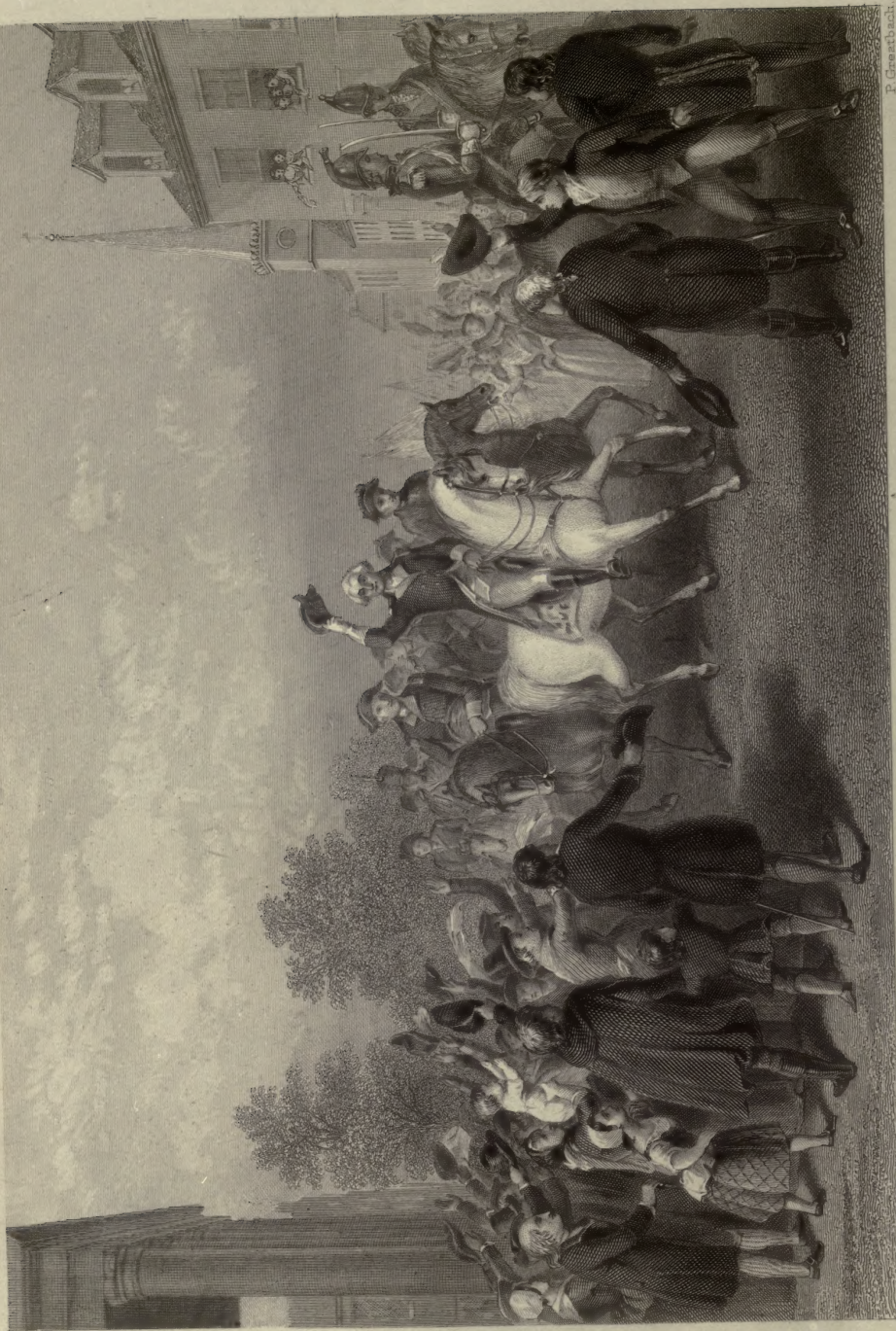
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ENTRANCE OF THE AMERICAN ARMY INTO NEW YORK, NOV. 25TH 1783.

274

HISTORY — OF — NEW YORK CITY — BY — WILLIAM L. STONE. —



J. H. Chapin

J. Rogers

The Inauguration of Washington

VIRTUE & YORSTON - NEW YORK

HISTORY
OF
NEW YORK CITY
FROM
THE DISCOVERY
TO
THE PRESENT DAY,

BY
WILLIAM L. STONE,
AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SIR WILLIAM JOHNSON, BART.";
"LIFE AND WRITINGS OF COL. WM. L. STONE";
ETC., ETC., ETC.

"HUMANI NIHIL ALIENUM."

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TO
HORACE GREELEY AND MARSHALL O. ROBERTS,

REPRESENTATIVE MEN

OF

NEW YORK CITY,

AS A SLIGHT ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE MANY COURTESIES
WHICH HE HAS RECEIVED FROM THEM,

This Volume

IS

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED,

BY THEIR FRIEND,

THE AUTHOR.



P R E F A C E.

PERHAPS, in the history of the world, no other city has risen, in the same space of time, to such pre-eminent commercial importance as the city of New York. To the student, the merchant, the philosopher, and the statesman, every incident connected with its rise and progress must be of the greatest interest. Histories of the city of New York have been before this submitted to the public, but it is believed that none of them have met the requirements of a work like the present,—one which, while it aims to be an authority for the future historian, shall be desirable for general reading.

In the preparation of this volume, the author has derived very great aid from the unpublished manuscripts of his father, the author of “Brant” and “Red-Jacket.” Many of these consist of conversations

and narratives taken down by him from the lips of men who took a prominent part in the public affairs of the city from the period of the American Revolution down to the year 1844. Conversations, for example, with Aaron Burr, Chancellor Livingston, Nicholas Bayard, Chief-Justice Yates, John Jay, Robert Morris, Morgan Lewis, William Maxwell, Robert Troup, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Dr. Francis, and others, contain much that is new and especially valuable, not only to the historical scholar, but to the mere lover of curious and entertaining reading.

In this work will be found, entire, three valuable contributions to the history of the city. These are, first, the narrative of the GRAND ERIE CANAL CELEBRATION, written, at the request of the Corporation of the City of New York, by the late Colonel William L. Stone; second, an account of the PROCESSION IN HONOR OF THE ADOPTION OF THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION in 1788, and WASHINGTON'S RECEPTION AND INAUGURATION BALL, in 1789, by the same author; and, third, REMINISCENCES OF NEW YORK CITY, by the late Gulian C. Verplanck, first given under the *nom de plume* of "Francis Herbert," in the *Talisman* for 1829-'30. These narratives, alone, should make this work of particular value, since, as is well known to

book-collectors, they can only be obtained with difficulty and at a high price.

The writer himself, also, has enjoyed peculiar advantages of a similar kind for gaining accurate and extended knowledge of events which, although of comparatively recent date, are fast fading from the minds of the present generation. Of these may be mentioned the GREAT FIRES OF 1811 AND 1835, the RECEPTION OF GENERAL LAFAYETTE in 1824; and the "TRINITY CHURCH," "FIVE POINTS," "FLOUR," and "STONE-CUTTERS'" RIOTS—the facts of which were in part communicated to him by one who was an active participant in those scenes,—the late Gabriel P. Disosway, of Staten Island, the well-known antiquarian and local writer.

The author has likewise derived much assistance from conversations held with General Prosper M. Wetmore, Chief-Justice C. P. Daly, the late venerable David T. Valentine,—for many years clerk of the Common Council,—and from the writings of Colonel Thomas F. Devoe, Mr. Asher Taylor, and Miss Mary L. Booth. His thanks are also due to President James B. Angell, of the University of Michigan; Colonel Silas W. Burt, Franklin Burdge, Esq., Dr. Joseph W. Richards, and Manuel C. Jordan, of New York.

city; Dr. E. P. Buffett, Lewis A. Brigham, Esq., and B. W. Throckmorton, Esq., of Bergen, N. J.; Waldo M. Potter, Esq., of Davenport, Iowa; and Hon. Judge C. S. Lester and Dr. R. L. Allen, of Saratoga Springs, N. Y., for valuable suggestions. Nor must he forget to make special mention of the kindness of Lucien B. Stone, Esq., the well-known Broad-street banker, for assistance in gathering important statistics.

In the hope that, whatever defects there may be in his work, he will, at least, be credited with the desire of performing his task conscientiously, the author submits this volume to the kind consideration of his fellow-citizens.

WILLIAM L. STONE.

CONTENTS.

FIRST PERIOD.

1598—1674.

CHAPTER I.

1598—1647.

Hendrick Hudson not the Discoverer of the Island of Manhattan—Topography of New York Island—The Dutch make Manhattan the Depot of the Fur Trade in America—The States-General encourage Emigration—The Dutch and Iroquois conclude a Treaty of Peace—The *New Netherland*, with Thirty Families, arrives at New Amsterdam—Peter Minuit is appointed Director-General of New Netherland—The Inhabitants turn their attention to Ship-building—Minuit returns to Holland—Arrival of Wouter Van Twiller—His Incompetency—The “Staple Right” granted—Arrival of Governor Kieft—Van Twiller drinks confusion to the English Government—Ferry established across the East River—The Fur Trade keeps pace with the prosperity of the Town—The *Patroon* System a failure—Guns and Powder forbidden to be sold to the Indians—Salaries of the early Officials—The *Patroons* give fresh trouble—The Colonists neglect Agriculture—The Streets begin to be better laid out—*Wampum*, and a description of it—More attention paid to the English Language—Rise in the price of Beaver Skins—Interference of New England Adventurers—Kieft becomes involved in an Indian War—Illicit Trade carried on at Albany—Death of Kieft.

CHAPTER II.

1647—1674.

Governor Stuyvesant arrives at Manhattan—Finds the Colony in a “low condition”—Improves the Town—Trade opened to Private Persons—Regulation of Taverns—No Person to carry on Business unless he takes the Oath of Allegiance—Naval War breaks out between England and the United

Provinces—Le Moyne discovers Salt at Syracuse—Population of New Amsterdam in 1656—Introduction of "The Great Burgher Right"—Aristocracy of New York 220 years ago—Survey and Map of New Amsterdam made—Restoration of Charles II.—The West India Company invites Emigration—Population of New Netherland increases to 10,000—England resolves to take Possession of New Amsterdam—Colonel Nicolls anchors before New Amsterdam—Receives the Surrender of Stuyesant—New Amsterdam changed to New York—Retrospect of the Commercial Prosperity of New Netherland at the time of its Surrender to the English—Beaver Skins the standard of value—The Dutch Company refuse "Specie Payments"—Depreciation in *Wampum*—Arrival of Governor Lovelace, the first English Governor—The Dutch regain Possession of New Amsterdam, and call it New Orange—Treaty of Peace signed between England and the States-General—New Amsterdam ceded to England—New Orange again becomes New York—Sir Edmund Andros appointed Governor.

CHAPTER III.

1674.

Social Manners and Customs of our early Dutch Ancestors—"Quilting," and "Husking" Bees—New Year's Day—Paas or Easter—Santa Claus—"Dinner Parties" unknown—Habits of a Model Housekeeper—A Dutch Parlor—The Sconce—Captain Kidd—The "Betsy"—The Dutch fond of Milk—Rip Van Dam keeps two Cows—Scarcity of Coin—Wild Horses on Manhattan Island—Literature of New Amsterdam—Taking up Collections in Church—The "*Koorleser*," or Clerk—Marriage Bans—The Dutch Dames love Flowers—No Bonnets worn by the Ladies—Dress of a Fashionable Gentleman—Walks of Lovers—The Kissing Bridge—Amusing Anecdote—The Dutch leave their impress upon the City and State of New York—Names of City Officials in Dutch.

SECOND PERIOD.

1674—1783.

CHAPTER I.

1679.

Description of New Amsterdam as it appeared in 1661—Situation of the Town Wind-Mill—Name of "Government House" changed by Governor Dongan to "Whitehall"—Maiden Lane—Shoemaker's Land—Vandercliff's Orchard, the present John Street—The Commons, the present Park—The Collect—Pearl Street forms the River Bank—Two Main Roads lead out of the City—Visit of the Labadists to New York—Extracts from their Journal—They visit Bergen, N. J.—Visit Long Island—Visit Staten Island—They take a Stroll up Broadway—They take some Rum, which they find "everywhere."

CHAPTER II.

1674—1738.

Administration of Governor Andros—Sir Wm. Berkley “thanks God there are neither Free Schools nor Printing-Presses in the Colony”—Andros governs with Wisdom and Moderation—The City Gates closed at nine every evening—A Native-born Citizen appointed to the Mayoralty—Necessity of Conciliating the Iroquois—The French outstrip the English in Enterprise—Governor Dongan arrives as the Successor of Major Andros—His shrewd Indian Policy—Convention of the Five Nations held in Albany—Dongan brightens the chain of friendship—New York torn by Intestine Commotions—First “Charter of Liberties” granted to the Province—The Assembly divide the Province into twelve Counties—New Police Regulations established—Children forbidden to play in the Streets on the Sabbath—The Dongan Charter granted to the City—The City receives a new Seal from the Home Government—Laying out of Wall Street—William and Mary proclaimed King and Queen in place of James II—Col. Fletcher arrives as Governor—Five Nations meet in Albany—Count Frontenac strikes a blow at the Five Nations—Origin of Trinity Church—The Earl of Bellamont appointed Governor—His Death—Lord Cornbury succeeds him—Establishment of a Free Grammar School—Lovelace succeeds Cornbury—And is in turn succeeded by Hunter—A New Market established—Appearance of the City in 1704—Visit of a Boston Lady to New York—Burnet succeeds Hunter—Beneficial effects of Burnet’s Indian Policy—Facetious Anecdote of Burnet—Is succeeded by Colonel ontgomery—His Administration opposed by the Albanians—Establishment of a Line of Stages between New York and Philadelphia—Establishment of a Public Library—Cosby succeeds Mr. Van Dam—Trial of John Peter Zenger for libel—He is declared, “NOT GUILTY”—Death of Cosby—George Clarke commissioned Lieutenant-Governor—Quarantine established on Bedloe’s Island—Contested Election between Adolphe Philipse and Garret Van Horne.

CHAPTER III.

1738—1742.

Increasing Political Excitement—Recapitulation of the Administrations of the earlier English Governors—Their Character—Judicial Murder of Leisler and Milburn—The Assembly proves refractory—Governor Clarke consults his Privy Council—Only One Year’s Supplies granted—The Wheels of Revolution do not roll backward—The Principles of John Hampden take root in America—Chief-Justice DeLancey abandons Governor Clarke—The celebrated Negro-Plot—Slaves constitute a portion of the Population of New York—Burning of the Governor’s House and Public Buildings—Execution of Hughson and the Romanist Ury—Building of the House No. 1 Broadway, opposite the Bowling Green—Description of its Plan—By whom Built—Interesting Reminiscences connected with it.

CHAPTER IV.

1743—1753.

Admiral George Clinton succeeds Clarke as Governor—His arrival in New York—Received with Joy—The old Members returned to the Assembly—Chief-Justice DeLancey moves an Address of Thanks—Unreasonableness of the Assembly—The Assembly are stubborn—struggle between the Republican and Monarchical Principle—Clinton resigns—His Character—Is succeeded by Sir Danvers Osborne—Presbyterian Church in Wall Street rebuilt

—Ferry Street ceded to the City—Moravian Chapel built in Fulton Street—First Merchants' Exchange erected at the foot of Broad Street—St. George's Chapel built—Its History—Origin of the yearly Appropriation for the *City Manual*.

CHAPTER V.

1753—1765.

Arrival of Sir Danvers Osborne as Governor—James De Lancey commissioned Lieutenant-Governor—Mr. Clinton Insulted—Suicide of Sir Danvers Osborne—Causes which led to the act—De Lancey assumes the Reins of Government—Want of harmony in the General Assembly—The Province of New York divided into two Sects, under the lead of De Lancey and Livingston—The People of New York raise Money with which to Found a College—The majority of the Trustees of the College Episcopalians—Trouble arises on this account—Mr. Livingston writes against the Management of the College in the *Independent Reflector*—Efforts to prevent the Incorporation of Columbia College fruitless—The granting of its Charter displeases the People—De Lancey endeavors to assuage their Resentment—Urges the passage of several popular Acts—Sir Charles Hardy arrives as the successor of Clinton—Becomes tired of an inactive life, and takes command of the Expedition against Lewisburg—Lord Loudon Outrages the citizens of New York—Soldiers billeted upon the people—Death of Chief-Justice De Lancey—Particulars of his Death—Character of Mr. De Lancey—General Amherst visits New York, and receives an Ovation—City illuminated on the Occasion—Work of improving the City advances rapidly—Light-house erected on Sandy Hook—Two Ferries established—The first Stage starts from New York for Philadelphia—Time three days—Second Stage advertised for same Route—Stages begin their Trips between New York and Albany—The Line extended to old Fort Schuyler (Utica)—Contrast between that and the Present Day—The Methodists first organize in the City—Several new Streets Opened.

CHAPTER VI.

1761—1770.

The Government Devolves on Dr. Colden—Major-General Monckton Appointed Governor—Sails from New York, leaving the Government in the hands of Dr. Colden—The Administration of Governor Colden—An unfortunate Appointment—"Writs of Assistance"—James Otis—His Speech—Livingston, Scott, and Smith do battle for the People—New York follows the wake of her Puritan Neighbors—Colden entertains doubts of the Result—Grenville and North devise the Plan of raising a Revenue by the Sale of Stamps—Troubles in Massachusetts—The People of New York bitterly oppose the Stamp Act—Organization of the Sons of Liberty—Compel the Stamp Distributors to Resign—Posting of Placards—Colden is terrified—Shuts himself up in the Fort—He and Lord Bute are hung in Effigy—Colden's Carriage burnt—Arrival of the new Governor, Sir Henry Moore, Bart.—The Corporation offer him the Freedom of the City, which he refuses unless on Stamped Paper—Colden retires in disgust to his Country-seat—More Trouble from the Sons of Liberty—They compel a Stamp-Distributor to resign—Hold Correspondence with other Cities—Repeal of the Stamp Act—New York rejoices—Mast erected to George III—Opening Speech of Governor Moore—Troubles in Dutchess County—The Rioters brought to Reason—Methodist Denomination organized—First Medical School organized—New Streets Opened—The British Cabinet regret the Repeal of the Stamp Act—New York declines Obedience to the Mutiny Act—The Func-

tions of the New York Assembly annulled—Boston sympathizes with New York—Writs issued for a new Assembly—The Assembly firm in maintaining its Constitutional Rights—Sir Henry Moore dissolves the Assembly—The new Election hotly contested—Death of Governor Moore—Dr. Colden assumes the reins of Government for the third time—Active Measures taken by the Sons of Liberty to oppose the Mutiny Act—Large Assembly in the "Fields" (present City Hall Park)—Hatred between the Soldiers and Sons of Liberty—Battle of Golden Hill—First Blood shed in the American Revolution at Golden Hill.

CHAPTER VII.

1770—1783.

John, Earl of Dunmore, succeeds Sir Henry Moore as Governor—Description of the new Governor in a Letter to Sir William Johnson—Sir William Tryon, Bart., succeeds Dunmore as Governor and Commander-in-Chief—New York Hospital Founded—Meeting of the Assembly—The Governor is rendered independent of the Colony—The Sons of Liberty hold a Public Meeting—Tea Commissioners resign—Tryon concedes a little to Public Opinion—The Assembly do not share in the Indignation of the People—Tryon's Administration comes to an End—Profound Tranquility prevails—The Storm at length breaks—The *Nancy* boarded in New York Bay and her Cargo of Tea thrown overboard—New York forms a Provincial Congress—Tryon sails for England—General Condition of Affairs—Washington visits New York—Honors paid to him—Washington places the City under Command of General Schuyler, and departs for Boston—The Assembly ask the Crown for a Redress of Grievances—Description of the principal Fortifications erected at this time for the Defense of the City—The British Army land on Long Island—Battle of Long Island—The Americans effect a masterly Retreat across the East River to New York Island—Indignation of Washington—Battle of Harlem—Fort Washington captured—Fort Lee evacuated—Washington retreats across New Jersey—The British in Possession of the City—Great Fire—Suspicion of it having been caused by Design—Ground covered by the Fire—Trinity Church and the Lutheran Chapel destroyed—The History of New York City during its Occupation by the British not one that Americans can recall with Pleasure—The old Sugar-house—The *Jersey* Prison-ship—Prison-pens of the City—Cruelties inflicted upon the Prisoners—Account by an Eye-witness of the terrible Outrages perpetrated on the Americans—The British Officers and their Wives, meanwhile, pass their time in Frivolity—View of the interior and Social Life of New York at this time by Mrs. General Riedesel—Scarcity of Wood—Remarkably cold Winter—Wall Street lined with Trees—The House No. 1 Broadway, the Head-quarters of the British Officers—The Beekman House (site of the present *Journal of Commerce* Building) the Head-quarters of the British Naval Officers—The British evacuate New York—Washington enters the City—The American Flag run up on the Battery.

CHAPTER VIII.

1725—1787.

History of the Newspapers published in New York City before and during the Revolution—New York *Gazette*—New York *Weekly Journal*—*Evening Post*—New York *Mercury*—New York *Chronicle*—New York *Journal*, or *General Advertiser*—*Parker's Gazette*—*Independent Gazette*—*Rivington's New York Gazette*—New York *Royal Gazette*—New York *Gazette and Universal Advertiser*—The Press of New York City.

THIRD PERIOD.

1783—1872.

CHAPTER I.

1783—1788.

The Position of New York among the Colonies—Financial Distress at the close of the War—New York City celebrates with a magnificent Procession the Adoption of the Federal Constitution—Full Description of the Procession—It is dismissed at the Bowling Green with a Salute.

CHAPTER II.

1788—1795.

Winter Festivities of 1788—1789 succeeded by matters of a Public Nature—The Senate and House of Representatives assemble in the City preparatory to Inauguration of Washington as President of the United States—The Members from the different States arrive slowly—Arrival of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia—John Langdon elected President of the Senate *pro tem.*, and Samuel A. Otis, Secretary—A Committee wait on Washington at Mt. Vernon—Washington repairs to New York—His Triumphal Entrance into New York—Honors paid him—The day one of unmingled Joy—Inauguration of President Washington—Minute Details—Chancellor Livingston administers the Oath of Office—Washington delivers his Inaugural Address—Feelings of a Gentleman present on the Occasion—Washington issues a Proclamation for a Day of Thanksgiving and Prayer—The Day closes by a Display of Fire-works—Description of the Illumination of various Private Residences during the Evening—The different Transparencies, &c., &c.—The President occupied for several days in receiving the Congratulatory and Official Calls—Mrs. Washington arrives in New York to attend the Inauguration Ball—She is met by her Husband at Elizabethtown-Point—Full and minute Description of the Ball—The People who attended—The Toilets worn on the Occasion—Mrs. General Knox enters the Ball-room with President Washington and his Wife, with the Intention of being seated on the same Sofa—Meets with Disappointment, as the Sofa is not large enough for three—The French Minister gives a *fête* in honor of Washington—Dresses of the Ladies on that Occasion—The Levees of Washington far more select than those of his Successors—Dignified Manners of Lady Washington—Personal Appearance of Lady Washington—Her Levees close at Nine!—Late Hours at that time not necessary to Fashion—Letter from John Pintard describing Mrs. Washington's first Levee on New-Year's Day, 1790—Remark of General Washington upon the Propriety of keeping up the Old Dutch Custom of New-Year's Day.

CHAPTER III.

1792—1799.

Tontine Coffee-house built—Formation of the Order of St. Tammany—Origin of the Name St. Tammany—Visit of the Creek Indians to the Tammany

Wigwam—The Society establishes a Museum—The City visited by the Yellow-fever in 1795—Destructive Fire—City again visited by Yellow-fever—Country People refuse to bring Produce into the City—Patriotic Incident of the Fever.

CHAPTER IV.

1800—1818.

The opening of the Nineteenth Century finds New York City vastly improved—Population of the City—Reade and Duane Streets laid out—A Canal cut through the present Canal Street—The situation of the Streets at this time—Society and Social Life of the City at this period—The old Theater in John Street—Mount Vernon Gardens—Bayard's Spring—Haunts of a Visitor at that time—The Bar of New York then distinguished for its excellence—Murder of Juliana Elmore Sands—Levi Weeks indicted and tried for the Murder—Hamilton, Burr, and Brockholst Livingston engaged for the Defense—Remarkable anecdote of Burr—De Witt Clinton appointed Mayor—Is succeeded by Colonel Marinus Willett—The Fire of 1804—Historical Society founded—Public School Society determined on—Hamilton Killed by Burr in a duel—Steam Navigation successfully introduced—Fulton undeserving of praise—His Incompetence—To Fitch belongs the honor—The first Steam-boat starts for Albany—Anecdote of Thurlow Weed—His feelings on seeing a Steam-boat for the first time—De Witt Clinton again appointed Mayor—His conscientious discharge of his official duties—Instrumental in obtaining from the Legislature of the State of New York an Appropriation for the Defense of the Harbor—Trinity Church Riot—Verplanck's part in it—War of 1812—Noble Conduct of the Citizens of New York—Clinton prevents Riotous Demonstrations—Hard Times—The effect of the announcement of Peace—Delirious joy of the Citizens on the event—Description of it by Francis Wayland, who was in the City at the time—Removal of the Remains of General Montgomery from Quebec to New York—Grand Ball given to Andrew Jackson at the City Hotel—Uniform of the Fourteenth Regiment—Severity of the Winter of 1820-'21—The Bay frozen over, and People Cross to Staten Island on the Ice—Sufferings of the Poor—Subscriptions taken up in the Churches in their behalf.

CHAPTER V.

1819-1825.

Yellow-fever in the City—Extracts from Letters of Colonel William L. Stone describing its ravages—Disappearance of the Fever—The Custom-house and Banks Return to the City—Visit of General Lafayette to the City—Detailed Account of his Reception—Erie Canal Celebration—History of the Enterprise—The New York *Commercial Advertiser* gives the movement powerful aid—Early Struggles of its Projectors—First Canal-boat leaves Buffalo—Colonel Stone writes the Narrative of the Celebration at the request of the Corporation of the City of New York—Description of the Celebration, the Land and Naval Processions, &c.—Governor Clinton mingles the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Ocean—Dr. Mitchell also pours into the Ocean, water from the Ganges, the Nile, Danube, &c.—Splendid appearance of the Fleet—Interesting Statistics of the Canal—Greek Rebellion—Greeks helped by the Citizens of New York—Efforts of Colonel W. L. Stone in their behalf—Anecdote of John Jacob Astor and Colonel William L. Stone.

CHAPTER VI.

1827—1829.

Visit of the Indian Orator Red-Jacket and the Indian Chief Brant to New York—Red-Jacket's Portrait Painted by Weir—Conversations between Dr. Francis and Red-Jacket—Anecdote of Red-Jacket—Completion of the Merchants' Exchange in Wall Street—Masonic Hall, Arcade, and other buildings erected—Beginning of Modern New York—New Names of old Streets—Beaver Street opened on its present line—Interesting Reminiscences of New York City in 1829, by Gulian C. Verplanck—Habits of Jonathan Edwards—Decline of Cedar Street from its ancient consequence—Billy the Fiddler—The Hewlett Family—Pine Street in "ye olden time"—M. de Singeron, the old Confectioner—Pierre de Landais—Jan Max—Lichenstein—The Doctor's Mob—House built by Chief-Justice Jay—Mons. Albert—Huggins.

CHAPTER VII.

1834—1835.

Election Riots—Colonel Morton ordered out—The City Council tender to him and his Regiment a Vote of Thanks—Death of General Lafayette—The City join in Funeral Obsequies for the Deceased—Stone-cutters' and Masons' Riot during the building of the University—The Five Points Riot—Antagonism between the Irish and Americans—Dr. McCaffery Killed—Destruction of the *Don Jon*, or "Old Debtors' Prison"—"Poppy Lownds"—Hall of Records established.

CHAPTER VIII.

1835.

The Great Fire of 1835—Account of it by an Eye-witness—Incidents—Burning of the Merchants' Exchange—Mail Matter in the Post-office saved—Statue of Hamilton Destroyed—Tontine Coffee-house—Honest John Laing—Extent of the Fire—Statement of the Houses and Stores Consumed—Extent of the Burnt District—Line of Sentinels placed around the Ruins—Experiences of Asher Taylor and Judge C. P. Daly—Public Meeting of the Citizens called—Names of the Persons appointed on the Committee—Resolutions Passed—Thanks tendered to the Citizens of Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Newark—New York by no means Crushed by the Calamity—Value of Real and Personal Estate in 1836 and 1871 compared—Riot of Longshore Workmen—Destruction of the Old Shakespeare Tavern—Reminiscences connected with it—Great Resort for the Wits of the Day: Hugh Gaine, Jeremy Cheatham, "Ready-money Provost," Percival, Sands, Stone, Verplanck, John Inman, McDonald Clark, John Hodgkinson—Park Theater.

CHAPTER IX.

1836—1837.

"Great Flour Riot"—Magnitude of the affair—Scarcity of the Cereal Crops throughout the Country—Suffering among the Laboring Classes—The feeling fanned by the Loco-Foco and Temperance Parties—Indignation Meeting called in the Park—The Rioters Addressed by the Ring-leaders—Attack on Eli Hart's Store—Flour and Grain pitched into the Street—The

Military Called Out—Meech & Co.'s Store Attacked—The Riot Put Down—Description of the Scene at Night, by Colonel William L. Stone—Rioters Indicted and sent to Prison—The Price of Flour goes up—The People awake to the necessity of procuring an ample Supply of Water for the City—The Manhattan Works a Failure—The question of "Water or no Water" Decided in the Affirmative by a large Majority Vote—Croton Aqueduct Begun—Description of the Route pursued by the Viaduct from Croton Dam to New York City—"High Bridge," Description of—Drive on the "Bloomingdale Road" to the "High Bridge"—Receiving Reservoir in Central Park—Distributing Reservoir on Fifth Avenue—Statistics of the Croton Aqueduct.

CHAPTER X.

1837—1863.

New York distances all Competitors—Gas introduced—Telegraphic Communication Opened with other Cities—Custom-house (the present Sub-Treasury) Built—University Erected—Stone-cutters' Riot—Croton Aqueduct completed and the Event celebrated by a magnificent Procession—The Bible in the Public Schools—Discussion between Colonel Stone and Archbishop Hughes—Death of Colonel Stone—The Catholic Spirit of New York's Dutch Ancestors Triumph—The Fire of 1845—The Burnt District—Burning of the Crystal Palace, Barnum's Museum, Academy of Music, the old Irving House, and Winter Garden Theater—Fires generally have proved beneficial to the City—Description of Fifth Avenue—New York Destitute of Public Monuments—Monument to General Worth—Middle Dutch Church used for a Post-office—History of the Post-office—Interesting Incidents connected with its early History—Astor-place Riot—Jenny Lind—Amended City Charter—Grinnell Expedition—Exhibition of the World's Fair—Burning of the Crystal Palace and American Institute—Police Riot—Financial Disasters—Bread Riot—Dead-Rabbit Riot—The Dead Removed from the Potters' Field to Ward's Island—Quarantine Riot—Visits of the Japanese and the Prince of Wales.

CHAPTER XI.

1863.

The year 1863 marked by a Humiliating Event—The Riot of 1863—Details of the Riot—Railroad Tracks Torn up and Telegraph Wires Cut—Bull's Head and Colored Orphan Asylum Burned by the Mob—The Governor issues a Proclamation to the Rioters—The Draft Suspended—Murder of Colonel O'Brien—His Body Mutilated—The Mob still Hold the City—The City and County of New York declared by the Governor to be in a state of Insurrection—Archbishop Hughes Addresses the Rioters—Colonel Mayer ordered to the corner of Twenty-seventh Street and Seventh Avenue—Negroes Subjected to the most cruel Persecution—Proclamation by Mayor Opdyke, declaring that the Riot was at an End—Major-General Dix Relieved of his Command at Fortress Monroe—A large Force ordered to New York—The Draft takes Place—The Secret History of this affair and the Number Killed will probably never be known—In what respect it differs from other Riots.

CHAPTER XII.

1864.

Substitution of a Paid for a Volunteer Fire Department—Interesting History of the Fire Department, from its origin in the early Dutch period to the

present day—A Comparison between the old Volunteer Fire Department and the Metropolitan.

CHAPTER XIII.

1868.

Erection of the National Academy of Design—Its History from its first Inception—Trumbull at first its only Artist—Contrast between its past Poverty and its present Wealth—Description of the Building itself—Removal of an Ancient Landmark—The OLD WARREN MANSION—Its Interesting History—Lack of Reverence in New-Yorkers for Relics of the Past—Removal of the Ashes of the Dead from underneath the Tower of the old North Church to Greenwood—Widening of the Bloomingdale Road into the New Boulevard—The House in which Louis Philippe Taught School is Torn Down.

CHAPTER XIV.

1869—1870.

The year 1869 marked by four Events of a distinctive character—The Removal of the Old Hospital—The Blotting-out of St. John's Park by the unsightly H. R. R. Freight Depot—The Extension of Church Street to Morris Street, and the Opening of Pearl Street through the grounds of the Old Hospital—The Tearing-down of old Buildings, and the Erection in their places of costly and imposing Business and Private Structures—Removal of the Courts and Civil Offices from the City Hall into the New Court-house—Elegant Business Buildings—Equitable Life, New York Insurance, &c.—Increased Value of Property in Broadway and White Street—Interesting Statistics of Old and Modern New York—Building of the Young Men's Christian Association—History of this Organization—Its Prosperity—Booth's Theater—The Grand Opera-house—The Arcade R. R.—Pneumatic R. R.—The Elevated R. R.—New York receives a New Charter—Its History—Mr. Greeley goes to Albany to Oppose it—The "Old" and "New" Democracy—The "Old" Triumph—Wherein the New Charter differs from the Old.

CHAPTER XV.

1871—1872.

The year 1871 distinguished for both Painful and Pleasant Memories—The Orange Riot—The Chicago Fire—How the News was received in New York—Noble Action of the Citizens of New York—Nearly Three Millions in Money and Supplies raised and forwarded to the stricken City—Public and Private Liberality walk hand in hand—Exposure of the Tammany Ring Frauds—Appointment of the Committee of Seventy—Thirty-five Hundred Vouchers Stolen—Comptroller Connolly requested by Mayor Hall to Resign—He peremptorily Refuses—Andrew H. Green appointed Deputy Comptroller—His Character—Action of the Banks—Injunction granted by Judge Barnard—Mayor Hall presented for Indictment—Governor Hoffman waited on by the Committee of Seventy—Advises the Attorney-General to take Charles O'Connor as his Associate in Prosecuting the Ring—O'Connor Accepts, and in turn Appoints, as his assistants, William M. Evarts, Wheeler H. Peckham and Judge Emott—Arrest of William M. Tweed and Ex-Comptroller Connolly—Tweed obtains bail and Connolly goes to Ludlow-street Jail—Complete Overthrow of the Ring—Death of Fisk.

CHAPTER XVI.

1872.

The History of New York now brought down to a late period—Her Publishing Houses—Schools of Art, Painting and Sculpture—Trumbull, Jarvis, Henry Inman, Church, Bierstadt, Ward, Thompson, &c.—Her Benevolent Institutions—Character of her Merchant Princes—Deaf and Dumb Asylum—Dickens' Dinner—Visit of the Russian Duke—Unveiling of the Statue of Franklin—A brief Retrospective Glance—Extracts from Dr. Osgood's Address before the New York Historical Society—New York Churches—The City viewed in reference to its Extent, Wealth, Population and Institutions—Banking Capital Invested—The different Life and Fire Insurance Companies—The Industrial Army of the City passes in Review before the Reader—Marvelous Growth of Population within Twenty Years—Education of the People.

APPENDIXES.

- I. Constitution of the OLD TONTINE ASSOCIATION.
- II. RICHMOND HILL, the Country Seat of Aaron Burr.
- III. Inscription on the MONUMENT to General Montgomery.
- IV. History of the OLD POST-OFFICE.
- V. Reminiscences of McDONALD CLARK, the "Mad Poet."
- VI. Account of WILLIAM KIDD, the Pirate.
- VII. The JUDICIARY in the early Dutch Period, by Chief Justice Daly.
- VIII. Letter from Colonel T. Bailey Myers, giving an account of the Origin of the FIREMEN'S LYCEUM.
- IX. History of the HALL OF RECORDS, formerly the OLD DEBTORS' PRISON.
- X. History of the NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN, by T. Addison Richards.
- XI. Speech of Congressman Roosevelt on the TAMMANY FRAUDS.
- XII. Act of Incorporation of the TAMMANY SOCIETY.
- XIII. Reminiscences of HENRY INMAN, the Artist, from the MS. Diary of the late Mrs. Col. Wm. L. Stone.
- XIV. Statement of the FINANCIAL RESOURCES of New York City at the present time, contained in a Special Message of Governor Hoffman to the Legislature, January, 1872.

- XV. History of the SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC SCHOOL SOCIETY, by Hon. Hooper C. Van Vorst.
- XVI. NEW YORK SOCIETY IN THE OLDEN TIME, by Right Reverend Bishop Kip.
- XVII. Visit of GENERAL JACKSON to the City as a guest of TAMMANY, in 1819, by General Prosper M. Wetmore.

Map - p. 130
1776

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Engravings on Steel.

1. Entrance of the American Army into New York, Nov. 25th, 1783.....	Frontispiece
2. The Inauguration of Washington.....	Vignette
3. Battle of Harlem.....to face page.....	233
4. Destruction of the Gaspe, 1772.....	239
5. Portraits of Gov. G. Clinton, Gen. Gates, Gen. Schuyler, Gen. Montgomery, Gen. J. Clinton.....	241
6. Battle of Lexington.....	244
7. Battle of Bunker's Hill.....	244
8. Plan showing the position of the American and British Armies, August, 1776.....	246
9. Portrait of General Washington, after Trumbull.....	249
10. Capture of Major Andre.....	266
11. Reception of President Washington in New York, 23d April, 1789.....	272
12. Portrait of Washington in 1795, after Stuart.....	291
13. ————John Adams, after Copley.....	303
14. Portraits of Gen. Steuben, Gen. Pulaski, Gen. Lafayette, Gen. Kosciusko, Gen. De Kalb.....	304
15. Portrait of Mrs. Washington, after Woolaston.....	317
16. ————Thomas Jefferson, after Bouch.....	338
17. ————James Monroe, after Stuart.....	365
18. ————James Madison, after Stuart.....	370
19. ————De Witt Clinton.....	390
20. ————Benjamin Franklin, after Duplessis.....	456

Wood Engravings, Etc.

1. Hendrick Hudson's Exploring Vessel, the "Half Moon".....	10
2. First Settlement on the Hudson.....	11
3. The Swamp.....	13
4. First Saw-mill on the Hudson.....	18
5. Dutch Mansion and Cottage in New Amsterdam.....	29
6. Seals of New Amsterdam and New York.....	40
7. Street View in Ancient Albany.....	44

ILLUSTRATIONS.

8. Old Dutch Church, Albany.....	45
9. View of New Amsterdam.....	58
10. Portrait of Peter Stuyvesant.....	65
11. Bowling Green in 1861.....	79
12. Hell Gate.....	84
13. Turtle Bay and Blackwell's Island.....	85
14. Map of New York City, taken in 1728.....	130
15. No. 1 Broadway, fifty years ago.....	153
16. St. George's Chapel.....	169
17. St. George Building, 1870.....	169
18. Old King's College.....	176
19. Columbia College, 1840.....	178
20. Columbia College, 1872.....	180
21. Sandy Hook from the Light-house.....	185
22. Parker's Mail Stage.....	189
23. The Old Walton House.....	220
24. Kip's Bay House.....	247
25. View from Fort Lee.....	249
26. Washington Heights.....	251
27. Trinity Church.....	252
28. Old Sugar House, Liberty street.....	253
29. The Tombs.....	271
30. Bowling Green in 1783.....	273
31. Federal Hall.....	302
32. President Washington's House in New York.....	316
33. Tontine Coffee-house in 1812.....	320
34. Tontine Building in 1872.....	327
35. Society Library Building.....	345
36. The Grange—Hamilton's Residence.....	346
37. Richmond Hill—Burr's Residence.....	346
38. Tomb of Hamilton.....	347
39. Burr-Hamilton Duelling Ground.....	347
40. The Clermont —Fulton's First Steamer.....	351
41. Catskill Landing.....	352
42. The Thomas Powell Steamer off the Storm King.....	354
43. Fulton Ferry in 1740.....	357
44. Fort Hamilton.....	359
45. Monument to General Montgomery.....	373
46. Fort Lafayette.....	383

ILLUSTRATIONS.

47. The Navy Yard, Brooklyn.....	386
48. Sandy Hook.....	390
49. Provost or Debtors' Prison.....	470
50. Merchants' Exchange before the Fire of 1835.....	476
51. ————— after the Fire of 1835 (front).....	477
52. ————— (rear).....	478
53. Ready-money Provost's Tomb.....	491
54. The Old Bridewell.....	497
55. Mouth of the Croton.....	500
56. Croton Aqueduct.....	501
57. Croton Dam.....	502
58. High Bridge.....	502
59. Bloomingdale Road.....	503
60. View in Central Park.....	503
61. Manhattanville.....	504
62. Distributing Reservoir and Rutger's Institute.....	505
63. Barnum's Museum and St. Paul's Chapel.....	511
64. Fifth Avenue Hotel.....	513
65. Union Square.....	514
66. Martyr's Monument.....	515
67. Monument to General Worth.....	515
68. Middle Dutch Church.....	517
69. Terrace and Mall, Central Park.....	530
70. First Fire Engine in New York in 1730.....	578
71. ————— Another view.....	579
72. National Academy of Design.....	588
73. The Old Brick Church.....	591
74. North Dutch Church.....	595
75. Stuyvesant Pear Tree.....	596
76. Hudson River R. R. Freight Depot.....	599
77. New York Life Assurance Building.....	603
78. Equitable Life Assurance Building.....	604
79. Young Men's Christian Association Building.....	608
80. Booth's Theatre.....	609
81. Harper & Brothers' Building.....	635
82. Virtue & Yorston's Building.....	636
83. Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb.....	639
84. Bible House, Cooper Union, and Clinton Hall.....	649
85. St. Mark's Church and Historical Society's Building.....	656

HISTORY

OF

NEW YORK CITY.

THE HISTORY OF NEW YORK NATURALLY DIVIDES ITSELF INTO THREE PERIODS OF TIME:—*First*—FROM ITS SETTLEMENT BY THE DUTCH TO ITS PERMANENT OCCUPANCY BY THE ENGLISH; *Second*—FROM THE ENGLISH CONQUEST TO THE CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR; AND, *Third*—FROM ITS EVACUATION BY THE BRITISH DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY.

FIRST PERIOD.

1598–1674.

The settlement of New York Island by the Dutch, and its permanent occupancy by the English.

CHAPTER I.

It is the general belief that the first landing made on New York Island, or the “Island of Manhattan,” as it was then called, was by Hendrick Hudson, in 1609. This, however, is not the case; since the earliest records extant state that as early as 1598, a few Hollanders, in the employ of a Greenland Company, were in the habit of resorting to New Netherlands (*i. e.*, New York), not, it is true, with the design of effecting a settlement, but merely to secure shelter during the winter months. With this view they built two small forts to protect themselves

against the Indians. Nevertheless, the fact remains undisputed, that to Hudson belongs the honor of being the first who directed public attention to the Island of Manhattan as an advantageous point for a trading port in the New World.

1609. On the 4th of April, 1609, the great navigator sailed out of the harbor of Amsterdam, and ' by twelve of ye clocke ' of the 6th he was two leagues off



THE " HALF-MOON."

the land. He was in the employ of the Dutch East India Company, who had commissioned him to seek a passage to the East Indies by the north side of Nova Zembla. Having, however, found the sea at that part full of ice, he turned the prow of his little vessel, the *Half-Moon*, westward, and, after a month's cruise, reached the great Bank of Newfoundland on the 2d of July. Thence he sailed

southward to the James River, Virginia, and again altering his course—still in pursuit of a new channel to India—



FIRST SETTLEMENT ON THE HUDSON.

he coasted along the shores of New Jersey, and on the 2d of September, 1609, cast anchor inside of Sandy Hook.

The topography of New York Island, as it was first seen by Hudson, was as follows :

“The lower part of it consisted of wood-crowned hills and beautiful grassy valleys, including a chain of swamps and marshes and a deep pond. Northward, it rose into a rocky, high ground. The sole inhabitants were a tribe of dusky Indians,—an off-shoot from the great nation of the Lenni Lenape, who inhabited the vast territory bounded by the Penobscot and Potomac, the Atlantic and Mississippi,—dwelling in the clusters of rude wigwams that dotted here and there the surface of the country. The

rivers that gird the Island were as yet unstirred by the keels of ships, and the bark canoes of the native Manhattans held sole possession of the peaceful waters.

"The face of the country, more particularly described, was gently undulating, presenting every variety of hill and dale, of brook and rivulet. The upper part of the Island was rocky, and covered by a dense forest; the lower part grassy, and rich in wild fruits and flowers. Grapes and strawberries grew in abundance in the fields, and nuts of various kinds were plentiful in the forests, which were also filled with abundance of game. The brooks and ponds were swarming with fish, and the soil was of luxuriant fertility. In the vicinity of the present "Tombs" was a deep, clear, and beautiful pond of fresh water (with a picturesque little island in the middle)—so deep, indeed, that it could have floated the largest ship in our navy,—which was for a long time deemed bottomless by its possessors. This was fed by large springs at the bottom, which kept its waters fresh and flowing, and had its outlet in a little stream that flowed into the East River, near the foot of James street. Smaller ponds dotted the Island in various places, two of which, lying near each other, in the vicinity of the present corner of the Bowery and Grand street, collected the waters of the high grounds which surrounded them. To the north-west of the Fresh Water Pond, or "Kolck," as it afterwards came to be called, beginning in the vicinity of the present Hudson River Railroad and Freight Depot (formerly St. John's Park), and extending to the northward over an area of some seventy acres, lay an immense marsh, filled with reeds and brambles, and tenanted with frogs and water-snakes. A little rivulet connected this marsh with the Fresh Water Pond, which was also connected—by the stream which formed its outlet—with another strip of marshy land, covering the region now occupied by James,

Cherry, and the adjacent streets. An unbroken chain of waters was thus stretched across the Island from James street at the south-east to Canal street at the north-west. An inlet occupied the place of Broad street, a marsh cov-



THE SWAMP.

ered the vicinity of Ferry street, Rutgers street formed the center of another marsh; and a long line of meadows and swampy ground stretched to the northward along the eastern shore.

“The highest line of lands lay along Broadway, from the Battery to the northernmost part of the Island, forming its backbone, and sloping gradually to the east and west. On the corner of Grand street and Broadway was a high hill, commanding a view of the whole Island, and falling off gradually to the Fresh Water Pond. To the south and west, the country, in the intervals of the marshes, was of great beauty—rolling, grassy, fertile, and well watered. A high range of sand hills traversed a part of the Island, from Varick and Charlton to Eighth and Greene streets. To the north of these lay a valley, through which ran a brook, which formed the outlet of

the springy marshes at Washington Square, and emptied into the North River at the foot of Hammersly street."*

Meanwhile, Hudson, having explored the river that bears his name as far as the present city of Albany, set sail on the 4th of October for Europe, bearing the news of the discovery of a new country—the “opening for a new commerce;” for although his patrons were disappointed in not finding a short road to the land of silks, teas, and spices, still, his great discovery was destined to open in future time mines of wealth, more valuable than all the imagined riches of the Celestial Empire.

At that period, Holland carried on a lucrative trade with the East Indies and Russia. Every year they dispatched nearly one hundred ships to Archangel for furs; but Hudson's glowing accounts of the rich peltry he had seen in the newly-discovered regions, soon turned the attention of the busy Dutch to a country where these articles could be purchased without the taxes of custom-houses and other duties. Accordingly, in the year 1610, a few merchants dispatched another vessel, under the command of the *Half-Moon's* former mate, to traffic in furs with the Indians. This venture met with such success, that, two years after, in 1612, the *Fortune* and the *Tiger*, commanded, respectively, by Hendrick Christiaensen and Adrien Block, sailed on a trading voyage to the “Mauritius River,” as the Hudson was first named. The following year, also, three more vessels, commanded by Captains De Witt, Volekertsen, and Wey, sailed from Amsterdam and Hoven on a similar adventure. These were the beginnings of the important fur trade, which was, ere long, to be a chief source of wealth to Holland and America. It was now determined to open a regular communication with the

* Miss M. L. Booth's History of New York.

newly-discovered region, and to make the Island of Manhattan the depot of the fur trade in America. It was also resolved to establish permanent agents here for the purchase and collection of skins, while the vessels were on their voyages to and from Holland. Captain Hendrick Christiaensen became the first agent, and built a redoubt, with four small houses, on ground which, it is said, is now the site of No. 39 Broadway.

A little navy was commenced about the same period by Captain Adrien Block, one of the vessels of which was accidentally burned, just on the eve of his departure for Holland. Having abundant materials, however, in the Island of Manhattan, he finished another; and, in the spring of 1614, launched the first vessel ever built in New Amsterdam. She was named the *Restless*,
1614.
a yacht of sixteen tons—a name prophetic of the ever-busy and future great city. The entire winter passed in building the vessel, the Indians kindly supplying the strangers with food. Such were the earliest movements of commerce in New Netherlands two centuries and a half ago!

A few months before Captain Block's return to Holland, the States-General of the Netherlands, with a view of encouraging emigration, passed an ordinance granting the discoverers of new countries the exclusive privilege of trading at Manhattan during four years. Accordingly, the merchants who had sent out the first expedition had a map made of all the country between Canada and Virginia, as the whole new region was called, and, claiming to be the original discoverers, petitioned the Government for the promised monopoly. Their petition was granted; and on the 11th of October, 1614, they obtained a charter for the exclusive right of trade on the territory within the 40th and 45th degrees of north latitude. The charter also forbade all other persons to interfere with this mo-

nopoly, in the penalty of confiscating both vessels and cargoes, with a fine also of 50,000 Dutch ducats for the benefit of the charter's grantees. The new province first formally received the name of *New Netherland* in this document; and Dutch merchants, associating themselves under the name of the "United New Netherland Company," straightway prepared to conduct their operations on a more extensive scale. Trading parties to the interior hastened to collect furs from the Indians, and deposit them at Forts Nassau (Albany) and Manhattan. Jacob Eelkins, a shrewd trader, received the appointment of agent at the former place, where the first one, Captain Christiaensen, had been murdered by an Indian. This was the first murder ever recorded in the new province.

1617. In the year 1617, a formal treaty of peace and alliance was concluded between the Dutch and the powerful nation of the Iroquois. The pipe of peace was smoked, and the hatchet buried in the earth, on the present site of Albany. This treaty, as may readily be imagined, greatly increased the prosperity of the Dutch traders, who had hitherto occupied Manhattan merely by the sufferance of the Indians. Their agents accordingly at once extended their trips further into the interior, obtaining on each trip valuable furs in exchange for the muskets and ammunition so much coveted by the natives. This trade became so profitable, that when the charter of the United New Netherland Company expired, in 1618, they petitioned for a renewal, but failing to obtain it, they continued their trade two or three years longer, under a special license.

Up to this period, the Hollanders had considered Manhattan as a trading post only, and dwelt in mere temporary huts of rude construction. But the British now explored the American coast, claiming the whole region between Canada and Virginia, from the Atlantic

to the Pacific Ocean, and the Dutch, consequently, began to realize the importance of securing their American possessions in the new province. The English Puritans, hearing glowing accounts of New Netherland, requested permission to emigrate thither with their families. But the States-General, having other plans in view, refused the prayers of the Puritans. They thought it better policy to supply the new province with their own countrymen, and on the 3d of June, 1621, granted a charter to the West India Company for twenty years, which conferred upon that body the exclusive jurisdiction over New Netherland. It may well be questioned whether the States-General acted wisely in the course thus pursued. Had they filled the land, as the English were doing, with crowds of hardy, moral emigrants and pioneers—farmers with their cattle and husbandry—the Dutch settlements would have advanced with far greater rapidity. Be this, however, as it may, the West India Company no sooner became possessed of the charter, than it at once became a power in the new country. Having the exclusive right of trade and commerce in the Atlantic, from the Tropic of Cancer to the Cape of Good Hope upon the Eastern Continent, and from Newfoundland to Magellan Straits on the Western, its influence over this immense territory was almost boundless in making contracts with the Indians, building forts, administering justice, and appointing public officers. In return, the chartered Company pledged itself to colonize the new territory. The government of this association was vested in five separate chambers or boards of management, in five of the principal Dutch cities, viz: Amsterdam, Middleburg, Dordrecht, one in North Holland, and one in Friesland. The details of its management were intrusted to an executive board of nineteen, commonly called the *Assembly of Nineteen*. The States-General further promis-

ed, on their part, to give the Company a million of guilders, and in case of war, to supply ships and men. Meanwhile, the Puritans, not disheartened, reached Plymouth Rock, and thus conveyed their faith and traffic to the shores of New England, where they continue to this day.

The West India Company now began to colonize the new province with fresh zeal. The Amsterdam Chamber in 1623, fitted out a ship of 250 tons, the *New Netherland*, in which thirty families embarked for the distant territory whose name she bore. Captain Wey commanded the expedition, having been appointed the



FIRST SAW-MILL ON THE HUDSON.

first director of the province. Most of these colonists were *Walloons*, or French Protestants, from the borders

of France and Belgium, who sought in a strange land a refuge from religious persecutions.

With the arrival of the *New Netherland*, a new era in the domestic history of the settlement began. Soon saw-mills supplied the necessary timber for comfortable dwellings, in the place of the bark-huts built after the Indian fashion. The new buildings were generally one-story high, with two rooms on a floor, and a thatched roof garret. From the want of brick and mortar the chimneys were constructed of wood. The interior was, as a matter of course, very scantily supplied with furniture—the great chest from *Fatherland*, with its prized household goods, being the most imposing article. Tables were generally the heads of barrels placed on end; rough shelves constituted the cupboard; and chairs were logs of wood rough-hewn from the forest. To complete the furniture, there was the well known "*Sloap Banck*," or sleeping-bench—the bedstead—where lay the boast, the pride, the comfort of a Dutch housekeeper, the feather-bed. Around the present Battery and Coenties Slip and Bowling Green were the houses, a few of which were surrounded by gardens. The fruit-trees often excited the thievish propensities of the natives; and one devastating war followed the shooting of an Indian girl while stealing peaches from an orchard on Broadway, near the present Bowling Green. Meanwhile, commerce kept pace with the new houses; and the staunch ship, the *New Netherland*, returned to Holland with a cargo of furs valued at \$12,000.

Anxious to fulfill its part of the agreement, the West India Company, in 1625, also sent out to Manhatan three ships and a yacht, containing a large number of families armed with farming implements, and one hundred and three head of cattle. Fearing the cattle might be lost in the surrounding forests, the settlers landed them on Nutten's (Governor's) Island, but

1625.

afterward conveyed them to Manhattan. Two more vessels shortly after arrived from Holland, and the settlement soon numbered some 200 persons, and gave promise of permanency.

In the year 1624, Wey returned to Holland, and was succeeded in the Directorship by William Verhulst. The latter, however, did not long enjoy the emoluments of office, for at the end of a year he also was recalled, and Peter Minuit appointed, in his place, Director-General of New Netherland, with full power to organize a provisional government. He arrived May 4, 1626, in the ship
1626. *Sea-Mew*, Adrian Joris, captain. The first seal was now granted to the province, having for a crest, a beaver, than which, for a coat of arms, nothing could have been more appropriate. It was fitting that the earliest Hollanders of the "Empire City" should thus honor the animal that was fast enriching them in their newly-adopted home.

To the credit of Director Minuit, be it said, the very first act of his administration was to purchase in an open and honorable manner the Island of Manhattan from the Indians for sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars. The Island itself was estimated to contain 22,000 acres. The price paid, it is true, was a mere trifle, but the purchase itself was lawful and satisfactory to the aboriginal owners—a fact which cannot be truly said in regard to other regions taken from the Indians.

To assist him in carrying out his instructions, the Director was furnished with an Executive Council. The latter body was, in turn, assisted by the *Koopman*, who acted as Secretary to the province and book-keeper of the public warehouse. Last of all, came the *Schout-Fiscal*, a civil factotum, half sheriff and attorney-general, executive officer of the Council, and general custom-house official. Thus early had the Dutch an eye to the "main chance,"

the export of furs that year (1626) amounting to \$19,000, and giving promise of a constant increase.

Some thirty rudely-constructed log-houses at this time extended along the shores of the East River, which, with a block-house, a horse-mill, and the "Company's" thatched stone building, constituted the City of New York two hundred and forty-two years ago. A clergyman or school-master was as yet unknown in the infant colony. Every settler had his own cabin and cows, tilled his land, or traded with the Indians—all were busy, like their own emblem, the beaver.

In the year 1629, the "Charter of Privileges and Exemptions" was granted in Holland, and 1629. *patroons* were allowed to settle in the new colony. This important document transplanted the old feudal tenure and burdens of Continental Europe to the free soil of America. The proposed *Patrooneries* were only transcripts of the *Seigneuries* and *Lordships* so common at that period, and which the French were, at the same time, establishing in Canada. In that province, even at the present day, the feudal appendages of jurisdiction, pre-emption rights, monopolies of mines, minerals, and waters, with hunting, fishing, and fowling, form a part of the civil law. Pursuing, however, a more liberal policy, the grantees of the charter to the New Netherland *patroons* secured the Indian's right to his native soil, at the same time that they enjoined schools and churches.

Meanwhile, the settlement of New Netherland, continuing to prosper, soon became the principal *depot* for the fur and coasting trade of the *patroons*. The latter were obliged to land all their cargoes at Fort Amsterdam; and the years 1629-'30, the imports from old 1630. Amsterdam amounted to 113,000 guilders, and the exports from Manhattan exceeded 130,000. The Company reserved the exclusive right to the fur trade,

and imposed a duty of five per cent. on all the trade of the *patroons*.

The inhabitants, in order not to be idle, turned their attention, with fresh zeal, to ship-building, and with so much success, that as early as 1631, New Amsterdam had become the metropolis of the New World. The *New Netherland*, a ship of 800 tons, was built at Manhattan, and dispatched to Holland—an important event of the times, since the vessel was one of the largest merchantmen of the world. It was a very costly experiment, however, and was not soon repeated. Emigrants from all nations now began to flock into the new colony. They were principally induced to come by the liberal offers of the Dutch Company, who transported them in its own vessels at the cheap rate of twelve and a half cents *per diem* for passage and stores; giving them, also, as a still further inducement, as much land as they could cultivate. Nor were these the only reasons which caused so many to leave their *Fatherland*. With a wise and liberal policy, totally different from that of its eastern neighbors, the Dutch province allowed the fullest religious toleration. The Walloons, Calvinists, Huguenots, Quakers, Catholics, and Jews, found a safe home in New Netherland, and laid the broad and solid foundation of that tolerant character ever since retained by the City of New York. In her streets and broad avenues may be seen, on any Sabbath, Jews, Gentiles, and Christians, worshipping God in their sacred temples, “according to the dictates of their own consciences.”

In the meantime the Directors of the West India Company calculated, with the strong aid of the *patroons*, upon colonizing the new country, and, at the same time, securing the important free trade in their own hands. But they were met, almost at the outset, with serious opposition from that class who, not content with a nega-

tive policy, took active measures seriously to injure this traffic. From the first, the object of the *patroons* had seemed to be a participation in the Indian trade, rather than the colonization of the country; and they had even claimed the privilege of trafficking with the Indians from Florida to Newfoundland, according to their charter of 1629. This extensive trade the West India Company justly considered an interference with their vested rights and interests, and no time was lost in presenting their complaints to the States-General. That body thereupon adopted new articles, the effect of which was essentially to limit the privileges already granted to the *patroons*. This misunderstanding had the effect of interrupting, for a time, the efforts making to colonize and advance the new country. At length, in 1632, both parties be-
came in a complete state of antagonism as to their 1632. privileged charters, and, for a little time, a civil war seemed inevitable. In the same year (1632), Peter Minuit, the Director, it will be remembered, of New Netherland, was suspected of favoring the *patroons*, and was recalled from his Directorship. He returned to Holland in the ship *Eendragt* (which had brought over his dismissal), which carried also a return cargo of 5,000 beaver-skins—an evidence of the colony's commercial prosperity. The vessel, driven by stress of weather, put into the harbor of Plymouth, where she was retained on the ground of having illegally interfered with English monopolies. This arrest of the Dutch trader led to a correspondence between the rival powers, in which the respective claims of each were distinctly set forth. The Hollanders claimed the province on the following grounds: 1st. Its discovery by them in the year 1609; 2d. The return of their people in 1610; 3d. The grant of a trading charter in 1614; 4th. The maintenance of a fort, until 1621, when the West India Company was organized; and, 5th. Their purchase

of the land from the Indians. The English, on the contrary, defended their right of possession on the ground of the prior discovery by Cabot, and the patent of James I. to the Plymouth Company. The Indians, they argued, as wanderers, were not the *bona fide* owners of the land, and hence, had no right to dispose of it; consequently, their titles must be invalid. But England, being at this period just on the eve of a civil war, was in no condition to enforce her claims; and she, therefore, having released the *Eendragt*, contented herself with the mere assumption of authority—reserving the accomplishment of her designs until a more convenient season.

At length, in the month of April, 1633, the
1633. ship *Soutberg* reached Manhattan with Wouter Van Twiller, the new Director-General (or Governor) and a military force of one hundred and four soldiers, together with a Spanish caraval, captured on the way. Among the passengers, also, came Dominie Everardus Bogardus and Adam Roelandsen, the first regular clergyman and school-master of New Amsterdam. A church now became indispensable; and the room over the horse-mill, where prayers had been regularly read for seven years, was abandoned for a rude, wooden church, on Pearl, between Whitehall and Broad streets, on the shore of the East River. This was the first Reformed Dutch Church in the city; and near by were constructed the parsonage and the Dominie's stables. The grave-yard was laid out on Broadway, in the vicinity of Morris street.

Van Twiller occupied "Farm No. 1" of the Company, which extended from Wall to Hudson street. "Farm No. 3," at Greenwich, he appropriated as his tobacco plantation. The new Governor and the Dominie did not harmonize. Bogardus having interfered in public concerns, which Van Twiller resented, the former, from his pulpit, pronounced the Governor a "Child of Satan." This,

doubtless, was very true, but the "Child of Satan" became so incensed, that he never entered the church-door again. In 1638, "for slandering the Rev. E. Bogardus," an old record states, "a woman was obliged to appear at the sound of a bell, in the fort, before the Governor and Council, and say that she knew he was honest and pious, and that she had lied falsely." 1638.

Van Twiller had been promoted from a clerkship in the Company's warehouse, and seems to have been a very incompetent Governor. He probably obtained the place, not from fitness, but from the same means which act in similar cases at the present day, viz., political influence, arising from the fact that he had married the daughter of Killian Van Rensselaer, the wealthy *patroon*.

The Company had authorized him to fortify the depots of the fur trade. Accordingly, the fort on the Battery, commenced in the year 1626, was rebuilt, and a guard-house and barracks prepared for the soldiers. Several brick and stone dwellings were erected within the fort, and three wind-mills, used to grind the grain necessary for the garrison, on the southwest bastion of the fort. African slaves were the laborers principally engaged upon these improvements. At a subsequent period, when these slaves had grown old, they petitioned the authorities for their freedom, and recounted their services at the time mentioned in support of their application, in proof of which they presented a certificate given them by their overseer: "That, during the administration of Van Twiller, he (Jacob Stoffelsen), as overseer of the Company's negroes, was continually employed with said negroes in the construction of Fort Amsterdam, which was finished in 1635; and that the negroes assisted in chopping trees for the big house, making and splitting palisades, and other work." The "big house" here referred to was the Governor's residence. It was built of brick, and was, no 1635.

doubt, a substantial edifice, as it is found to have served for the residence of successive chiefs of the colony during all the Dutch era, and for a few years subsequent.

In respect to the walls of the fort, they were in no wise improved by the incompetent Van Twiller, except the northwest bastion, which was faced with stone. The other parts of the walls were simply banks of earth without ditches; nor were they even surrounded by a fence to keep off the goats and other animals running at large in

the town. When Governor Kieft arrived in 1638,

1638. as Van Twiller's successor, he found the fort in a decayed state, "opening on every side, so that nothing could obstruct going in or coming out, except at the stone point." Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the fort exercised a very salutary influence in keeping the Indians at a respectful distance.*

In 1633, the commercial importance of New

1633. Amsterdam was increased by the grant of the "Staple Right," a sort of feudal privilege similar to the institutions of the *Fatherland*. By it, all vessels trading along the coast, or sailing on the rivers, were obliged either to discharge their cargoes at the port, or pay certain duties. This soon became a valuable right, as it gave to New Amsterdam the commercial monopoly of the whole Dutch province.

A short time before the arrival of Governor Van Twiller, De Vries, whose little colony at Suaaendaël, Delaware,

* In 1641, an Indian war broke out, and raged for many months, resulting in the complete devastation of most of the farms and exposed settlements, even those lying within a stone's-throw of Fort Amsterdam. The frightened settlers fled to the fort; but the accommodation in the fort not affording them an adequate shelter, they established their cottages as close as possible to the protecting ramparts. Thus it was that two or three new streets were formed around the southern and eastern walls of the fort. After the danger had passed, these buildings were allowed to remain, and grants of land were made to the possessors. Thus was formed that portion of the present Pearl street west of Whitehall street, and also a portion of the latter street.—*Valentine's Manual*.

had been cut off by the Indians, returned to America on a visit, in the mammoth ship *New Netherland*. A yacht, about this time, also arrived—the English ship, *William*, with Jacob Eelkins, who had been dismissed from his office of supercargo by the Company, in 1632. Enraged by this dismissal, he had entered the service of the English, and had now returned to promote their interests in the fur trade on the Mauritius (Hudson) River.

This was a bold act, and contrary to the policy of the West India Company. Accordingly, Van Twiller, who, though an inefficient Governor, was a thorough merchant, and understood the important monopoly of the fur trade, refused permission for the vessel to proceed further on its way. His demand upon Eelkins for his commission was refused by the latter, on the ground that he occupied British territory, and would sail up the river at the cost, if need be, of his life. Thereupon, the Director, ordering the national flag to be hoisted, and three guns fired in honor of the Prince of Orange, forbade him to proceed further. But, far from being daunted by this prohibition, Eelkins answered by running up, in his turn, the British colors, firing a salute for King Charles, and coolly steering up the river in defiance of Fort Amsterdam. The amazement of Van Twiller at the audacity of the ex-Dutch Agent may be easily imagined. Astonished, as he was, at this daring act, the Director, nevertheless, proceeded very philosophically: First, he summoned all the people in front of the fort, now the Bowling Green; next, he ordered a cask of wine, and another of beer; then, filling his own glass, he called on all good citizens who loved the Prince of Orange to follow his patriotic example, and drink confusion to the English Government. The people, of course, were not slow in obeying this reasonable request; indeed, what more could they do, for the English ship was now far beyond all reach, safely pursuing her way up the Hudson.

Still, while they drank his wine, they were deeply mortified at the Governor's cowardice. De Vries openly accused him with it, and plainly told him, if it had been his case, he should have sent some "eight-pound beans" after the impudent Englishman, and helped him down the river again; but it being now too late to do this, he should send the *Soutberg* after him, and drive him down the river. The effect of this advice was not lost upon the Governor; for, a few days after, Van Twiller screwed up his courage sufficiently to dispatch an armed force to Fort Orange (Albany), where Eelkins had pitched his tent, and where he was found busily engaged in trading with the Indians. The Dutch soldiers quickly destroyed his canvas store, and, reshipping the goods, brought the vessel back to Fort Amsterdam. Eelkins was then required to give up his peltry; after which he was sent to sea, with the warning never again to interfere with the Dutch Government trade.

Meanwhile the settlement at Fort Amsterdam—the New York embryo—continued to increase and prosper, men of enterprise and wealth often arriving. Most of these came from the Dutch Netherlands, and thus transferred the domestic economy and habits of Holland and the Rhine to the banks of the Hudson. Ships were loaded with bricks, burnt in Holland; and at first, every dwelling was modeled after those they had left, and with storerooms for trade, like those of Amsterdam and other trading towns in *Fatherland*. Thus, at New Amsterdam and Fort Orange rows of houses could be seen built of imported brick, with thatched roofs, wooden chimneys, and their gable ends always toward the street. Inside were all the neatness, frugality, order, and industry which the inmates brought from their native land. A few of these original, venerable Dutch homes were to be seen, till within a year or two, in this city; but we do not know of a single one now. Several yet remain in Albany; and it

is almost worth a trip there to see these striking relics of "ye olden time." Until the year 1642, city lots and streets were unknown, adventurers and settlers selecting land wherever most convenient for their purpose. Hence the crooked courses of some of our down-town streets.*



DUTCH MANSION AND COTTAGE IN NEW AMSTERDAM.

Cornelis Dircksen owned a farm by the present Peck Slip, and ferried passengers across the East River for the small price of three stivers, in *wampum*. At that time, Pearl street formed the bank of the river—Water, Front, and South streets having all been reclaimed for the purpose of increasing trade and commerce. The old wooden, *shingled* house, one of the last venerable relics of the olden

* Pearl street, for instance.

time, on the corner of Peck Slip, was so near the river that a stone could easily be thrown into it. Pearl, it is thought, was the first street occupied, the first houses being built there, in 1633. Bridge street came next; and a deed is still in existence for a lot on it, thirty-four by one hundred and ten feet, for the sum of twenty-four guilders, or nine dollars and sixty cents. *This is the earliest conveyance of city property on record.* Whitehall, Stone, Broad, Beaver, and Marketfield streets were opened soon after. In the year 1642, the first grant of a ^{1642.} city lot, east of the fort at the Battery, was made to Hendricksen Kip. During the next year, several lots were granted on the lower end of "Heere Straat," as Broadway was then named. Martin Krigier was the first grantee of a lot in this section, opposite the Bowling Green, which contained eighty-six rods. There he built the well-known Krigier's Tavern," which soon became a fashionable resort.*

Nor during all this time did the fur trade fail to keep pace with the growing local prosperity of the place. During the year 1635, the Directors in Holland received returns from the province to the amount of nearly 185,000 guilders. But the monopoly of the traffic in furs was not the only source of gain. A profitable commerce was also carried on with New England. Dutch vessels brought tobacco, salt, horses, oxen, and sheep from Holland to Boston. An old account says they came from the Texel in five weeks and three days, "and lost not one beast or sheep." Potatoes from Bermuda were worth two pence the pound; a good cow, twenty-five or thirty pounds; and

* Upon the demolishment of this building its site was occupied by the "King's Arms' Tavern," which, in after years, was the head-quarters of the British General Gage. Subsequently, it became the "Atlantic Garden," No. 9 Broadway, where it long remained one of the striking mementoes of the olden time.

a pair of oxen readily brought forty pounds. In Virginia, corn rose to twenty shillings the bushel during the year 1637; a shepel, or three pecks of rye, brought two guilders, or eighty cents; and a laborer readily earned, during harvest, two guilders *per diem*. These were high prices for those times, and were probably caused, in a measure, by the sanguinary war which the New England Puritans* were carrying on with their Indian neighbors. The Pequods, failing to deliver the murderers of Stone, according to treaty, had tendered an atonement of *wampum*, but Massachusetts demanded "blood for blood;" and she obtained it in the wars that followed. Winthrop says, "Scarcely a *sannup*, a woman, a *squaw*, or a child of the Pequot name survived." It is the fashion to indulge in much panegyric about these ancestral doings, but here can be calmly traced the *first* attempt of the white race to extirpate the red men from their ancestral birthright to the northern regions of America.

Notwithstanding, however, the large prices obtained for its wares, the year 1638 found the condition of New Netherland very unpromising. Although its 1638. affairs had now been administered for fifteen years by that powerful body, the West India Company, still, the country was scarcely removed from its primitive wilderness state, and, excepting the Indians, it was inhabited by only a few traders and clerks of a distant corporation. Its rich virgin soil remained almost entirely uncultivated, and the farms did not amount to more than half a dozen. Doubtless, the Directors of the West India Company governed New Netherland chiefly to promote their own special interests—to advance which, large sums had been expended;

* *Puritans*, not *Pilgrims*. These terms, though generally used synonymously, refer to two entirely different classes of men. The *Pilgrims* never practiced religious persecution; the *Puritans* did. The *Pilgrims* came over to the New World some fifteen years earlier than the *Puritans*.

and, as a natural consequence, no efforts had as yet been made to introduce, on a large scale, a sound and industrious emigration. The *patroon* system, also, to which reference has already been made, greatly retarded the settlement of the colony. A monopoly, its *patroons* neglected their most important duties as planters, and used their energies and means to compete with the Company in the Indian trade; consequently, misunderstandings and disputes followed, which became almost fatal to the prosperity of the new settlement.

At this critical moment, William Kieft, the third Director-General and Governor, arrived March, 1638, as the successor of the weak Van Twiller. His first step was to organize a Council, retaining, however, its entire control. Dr. Johannes La Montagne, a learned Huguenot, was appointed by him a member of this new board; Cornelis Van Tienhoven, from Utrecht, one of the oldest settlers, was made Colonial Secretary, with a salary of two hundred and fifty dollars *per annum*; while Ulrich Leopold continued as Schout-Fiscal, or Sheriff and Attorney-General. Adrian Dircksen was made Assistant-Commissary, "because he spoke correctly the language of the Mohawks, and was well versed in the art of trading with them." The Rev. Mr. Bogardus continued the Dominie, and Adam Roelandsen the School-master.*

The new Governor found the town in an extremely dilapidated condition. The fort had fallen completely into decay; all the guns were off their carriages; and the public buildings, as well as the church, were all out of repair; only one of the three wind-mills was in opera-

* La Montagne, as Member of the Council, received fourteen dollars a month; the book-keeper, fourteen dollars and forty cents, with eighty dollars for his yearly board; the mason, eight dollars; a joiner, six dollars and forty cents; a carpenter, seven dollars and fifty cents, and forty dollars a year for board

tion; and the Company's fine farms had no tenants—not even a goat remaining upon them. But the new Governor came charged with more onerous duties than simply the repair of houses; he was the bearer of a decree that no person in the Dutch Company's employ should trade in peltry, or import any furs, under penalty of losing his wages, and a confiscation of his goods. Abuses also existed in all the departments of the public service, which Kieft vainly attempted to remedy by proclamations. Death was threatened against all who should sell guns or powder to the Indians; after nightfall, all sailors were to remain on board their vessels; no persons could retail any liquors, "except those who sold wine at a decent price, and in moderate quantities," under penalty of twenty-five guilders (ten dollars), and the loss of their stock. Tobacco, then as now, was greatly in demand, the rich virgin soil about New Amsterdam suiting the plant well; consequently, plantations for its cultivation increased so fast, that the plant was now also subjected to excise, and regulations were published by the Directory to regulate its mode of culture, and check certain abuses which were injuring "the high name" it had "gained in foreign countries."* But the new Governor did not confine himself to correcting *official* abuses solely; he issued proclamations to improve the *moral* condition of the settlement; and all persons were seriously enjoined to abstain from "fighting, calumny, and all other immoralities," as the guilty would be punished, and made a terror to evil-doers. Rightly judging, also, that public worship would be a peaceful auxiliary to his labors, and the old wooden church built by Van Twiller having fallen to pieces, he determined to erect a new one inside the fort. Jochem Pietersen Kuyter, Jan Jansen Damen, with Kieft and Captain De Vries, as

"Kirke Meesters," superintended the new work, and John and Richard Ogden were the masons. The building was of stone, seventy-two by fifty-two feet, and sixteen high, and cost 2,500 guilders. Its legend, translated from the Dutch, read: "Anno Domini 1642, William Kieft, Director-General, hath the Commonalty caused to build this temple." New Amsterdam had a town-bell; this was now removed to the belfry of the new church, whence it regulated the city movements, the time for laborers and the courts. It also pealed the weddings, tolled the funerals, and called the people to the Lord's House.*

Hardly, however, had Kieft got his plans for the moral reformation of his people fairly under way, when, as before hinted, the *patroons* began to give fresh trouble; that class now (1638) demanded "new privileges"—"that they might monopolize more territory, be invested with the largest feudal powers, and enjoy free trade throughout New Netherland." Nor was this all. In their arrogance, they also demanded that all "private persons" and "poor emigrants" should be forbidden to purchase lands from the Indians, and should settle within the colonies under the jurisdiction of the manorial lords—*i. e., themselves.*

These grasping demands of the *patroons* were reserved for future consideration by the States-General; and it was

* At this period the settlers of New Amsterdam obtained their supplies from the Company's store at fifty per cent. advance on prime cost, a list of prices being placed in a conspicuous position in some place of public resort. Here are some of the rates: Indian corn, sixty cents per schepel of three pecks; barley, two dollars; peas, three dollars and twenty-five cents; flour, one dollar; pork, five stivers; fresh meat, five; butter, eight; tobacco, seven; dried fish, twelve (two York shillings) per pound; hard-bread, fifteen; rye, five; wheaten, seven; cabbage, twelve dollars per hundred; staves, thirty-two dollars per thousand; a hog, eight dollars; ordinary wine, thirty-one dollars per hogshead; Spanish wine, four stivers; French wine, ten per quart; sugar, seventeen and twenty-four per pound; flannel, one dollar and twenty cents per ell; cloth, two dollars; white linen, eighteen to twenty stivers; red flannels, one dollar and twenty cents; children's shoes, thirty-six stivers, or six York shillings a pair of brass kettles, forty cents each.

determined to try free competition in the internal trade of New Netherland. A notification was accordingly published by the Amsterdam Chamber, that all the inhabitants of the United Provinces, and of friendly countries, might convey to New Netherland, "in the Company's ships," any cattle and merchandise, and might "receive whatever returns they or their agents may be able to obtain in those quarters therefor." A duty of ten per cent. was paid to the Company on all goods exported from New Netherland with the freight. Every emigrant, upon his arrival at New Amsterdam, was to receive "as much land as he and his family could properly cultivate." This liberal system gave a great impulse to the prosperity of New Netherland, by encouraging the emigration of substantial colonists, not only from Holland, but from Virginia and New England. *Conscience* had ever been free in New Netherland, and now trade and commerce were likewise made free to all. Political franchise in Massachusetts was limited to church members, and now "many men began to inquire after the southern ports," not from the climate there, or the necessary wants of life, but, in the language of the old chronicler, "to escape their insupportable government." The only obligation required of emigrants was an oath of fidelity and allegiance to the colony, the same as imposed upon the Dutch settlers. Both parties enjoyed equal privileges.

This free internal trade, however, produced some irregularities; and a new proclamation soon became necessary to warn all persons against selling guns or ammunition to the Indians. Still another edict prohibited persons from sailing to Fort Orange (Albany), and the South River (Fort Hope), and returning without a passport. Another very unpopular edict, also, was shortly after issued by Kieft. His extreme anxiety to serve his patrons caused him to "demand some tribute" of maize, furs, or *sewant*,

from the neighboring Indians, "whom," he said, "we have thus far defended against their enemies;" and in case of their refusal, proper measures were to be taken to "remove their reluctance."

In regard, however, to the Governor's proclamation against selling guns, &c., to the Indians, nothing can be said against it. The case demanded it. Freedom of trade with the savages had, indeed, run into abuses and injurious excesses.

The colonists neglected agriculture for the quicker gains of traffic; and at times, by settling "far in the interior of the country," and, by "great familiarity and treating," brought themselves into contempt with the Indians. Evil consequences, as a matter of course, followed this unwise conduct—the most unfortunate of which was the supplying of the savages with new weapons of war. They considered the gun, at first, "the *Devil*," and would not even touch it; but, once discovering its fatal use, eagerly sought the fire-arms of the whites. They would willingly barter twenty beaver-skins for a single musket, and pay ten or twelve guilders for a pound of powder. As no merchandise became so valuable to the red men, the West India Company foresaw the evil of arming the savages, and declared the trade in fire-arms contraband. It even forbade the supply to the New Netherland Indians, under penalty of death. But the prospect of large profits easily nullified this law of prudence and wisdom.

1640. In 1640, Director Kieft determined upon another unwise measure, viz., the exaction of a contribution, or rather a tax, of corn, furs, and *wampum* from the Indians about Fort Amsterdam. This and other improper acts entirely estranged them from the settlers, and laid the foundation of a bloody war, which, the next year (1641), desolated New Netherland. Meanwhile, Kieft, continuing stubborn, sent sloops to Tappan to levy con-

tributions; but the natives indignantly refused to pay the novel tribute. In their own plain language, they wondered how the Sachem at the fort dared to exact such things from them. He must be, they said, a very shabby fellow; he had come to live in their land, where they had not invited him, and now came to deprive them of their corn, for no equivalent. They, therefore, refused to pay, adding this unanswerable argument: "If we have ceded to you the country you are living in, we yet remain masters of what we have retained for ourselves!"

Notwithstanding, however, the many injudicious acts of Governor Kieft, it cannot be denied that, during his administration, the trade of New Amsterdam began to be better regulated. The streets of the town, also, were better laid out in the lower section of the city.* In 1641, Kieft instituted two annual fairs, for the purpose of encouraging agriculture—one of which was held in October, for cattle; and the other the next month, for hogs, upon the Bowling Green. The holding of these fairs opened the way for another important addition to the comfort of the town. No tavern, as yet, had been started in the Dutch settlement; and the numerous visitors from the interior and the New England colonies were forced to avail themselves of the Governor's hospitalities. The fairs increasing in number, Kieft found them a heavy tax upon his politeness, as well as his larder; and, in 1642, he erected a large stone tavern, at the Company's expense. It was situated on a commanding spot, near the present Coenties Slip, and was afterward altered into the "*Stadt Huys*," or City Hall.

The Governor now succeeded better, not only in enforcing law and restraining contraband trade, but in check-

* The price of lots, 30x125 feet, averaged at this period about \$14.

ing the importation of bad *wampum*, which had become a serious loss to the traders, by reducing its value from four to six beads for a stiver.

Wampum or *sewant*, from its close connection with the early trade of New Netherland, requires special notice. This kind of money, or circulating medium, embraced two kinds, the *wampum* or white, and the Suckanhock sucki, or black *sewant*. The former was made from the periwinkle, and the latter from the purple part of the hard clam. These, rounded into beads and polished, with drilled holes, were strung upon the sinews of animals, and woven into different sized belts. Black beads were twice as valuable as the white, and the latter became, therefore, naturally, the standard of value. A string, a fathom long,* was worth four guilders. The best article was manufactured by the Long Island Indians; and, until a comparatively late period, the Montauks on that island, or rather, their descendants, manufactured this shell-money for the interior tribes. A clerk of John Jacob Astor many years ago informed the Hon. G. P. Disosway that he had visited Communipaw, and purchased for his employer, from the Dutch, this article by the *bushel*, to be used by the great fur dealer in his purchases among the distant savages. It might, perhaps, be a curious question, how many bushels of *wampum* are invested, for example, in the hotel which bears the name of the great fur millionaire? The New England Indians, imitating their whiter-faced neighbors, made a *cheaper wampum*, rough, of inferior quality, and badly strung. Nor was it long before the New Englanders introduced large quantities of their imperfect beads into New Netherland for the Dutchman's goods; next,

* A "fathom" was estimated at "much as a man could reach with his arms outstretched." The savages, consequently, were shrewd enough (in trading with the whites) to choose their largest and tallest men for measuring sticks or standards.

beads of porcelain were manufactured in Europe, and circulated among the colonists, until the evil finally became so great, that the Council, in 1641, published an ordinance, declaring that a large quantity of bad *sewant*, imported from other places, was in circulation, while the good and really fine *sewant*, usually called "Manhattan *Sewant*," was kept out of sight, or exported—a state of things which must eventually ruin the country. To cure this public evil, the ordinance provided that all coarse *sewant*, well stringed, should pass for one stiver. This is the first ordinance, on record, to regulate such currency. In the year 1647, they were again reduced from six to eight for a stiver, and thus became the commercial "greenbacks" of the early Dutch.

About this period, the increasing intercourse and business with the English settlements made it necessary that more attention should be paid to the English language. Governor Kieft had, it is true, some knowledge of the English tongue; but his subordinates were generally ignorant of it—a circumstance which often caused great embarrassment. George Baxter was accordingly appointed his English Secretary, with a salary of two hundred dollars *per annum*; and thus, for the first time, the English language was officially recognized in New Amsterdam.

As the colony grew stronger, the Dutch scattered themselves further into the interior; established themselves more firmly at Manhattan; and thus gave to the City of New York its first incorporation two hundred and nineteen years ago. The ferries received early attention from the corporation. No one was permitted to be a ferryman, without a license from the magistrates. The ferryman also was required to provide proper boats and servants, with houses, on both sides of the river, to accommodate passengers. All officials passed free of toll; or, to speak more in accordance with the language of the

present day, were *dead-heads*. But the ferryman was not compelled to cross the river in a tempest. Foot-passengers were charged three stivers each, except Indians, who paid six, unless two or more went over together.* The annual salary of the Burgomasters was also, at this period, fixed at three hundred and fifty guilders, and the Shepens at two hundred and fifty. A corporate seal was granted to the city, in which the principal object was a *beaver*, as was also the case, as has been seen, with the seal of New Netherland.



SEALS OF NEW AMSTERDAM AND NEW YORK.

The first charter of New Netherland restricted, as we have seen, the commercial privileges of the *patroons*; but in the year 1640 they were extended to "all free colonists," and the stockholders in the Dutch Company. Nevertheless, the latter body adhered to onerous imports, for its own benefit, and required a duty of ten per cent. on all goods shipped to New Netherland, and five upon return cargoes, excepting peltry, which paid ten at Manhattan, before exported. The prohibition of manufactures within the province was now abolished, and the Company renewed its promise to send over "as many blacks as possible."

1643. In 1643, the colonists easily obtained goods from the Company's warehouse, whither they were obliged to bring their fur purchases, before ship-

* On the 19th of March, 1658, the New Amsterdam and Long Island Ferry was put up at auction, and leased for three hundred guilders *per annum*.

ment to Holland. The furs were then generally sold at Amsterdam, under the supervision of the *patroon*, whose share, at first, was one-half, but was afterward reduced to one-sixth. Under this system, the price of a beaver's skin, which before 1642 had been six, now rose to ten "fathoms." It was, therefore, considered proper for the colonial authorities to regulate this traffic; and they, accordingly, fixed the price at nine "fathoms" of white *wampum*, at the same time forbidding all persons to "go into the bush to trade." Another proclamation declared that "no inhabitants of the colonies should presume to buy any goods from the residents." It would appear, however, that these ordinances could not be enforced; for a sloop, soon after arriving with a cargo, the colonists purchased what they wanted. The commissary was then ordered to search the houses for concealed goods. But the old record naively says: "The Schout gossipped, without making a search."

In 1644, the ever-busy New Englanders—imagining that the beavers came from "a great lake 1644. in the northwest part" of their patent—began to covet a share in the fur trade on the Delaware. Accordingly, an expedition was dispatched from Boston to "sail up the Delaware, as high as they could go; and some of the company, under the conduct of Mr. William Aspinwall, a good artist, and one who had been in those parts, to pass by small skiffs or canoes up the river, so far as they could." The expedition failing, another bark "was sent out the same year, from Boston, to trade at Delaware." Wintering in the bay, during the spring she went to the Maryland side, and in three weeks obtained five hundred beaver-skins—a "good parcel." But this second Boston trading voyage was ruined by the savages; for, as the bark was leaving, fifteen Indians came aboard, "as if they would trade again," and suddenly drawing their hatchets

from under their coats, killed the captain, with three of the crew, and then rifled the vessel of all her goods.

This continued interference of New England adventurers with the Delaware trade, at length became very annoying to Kieft, as well as to Printz, the Swedish Governor of the Delaware colony. The Dutch at New Amsterdam, as the earliest explorers of South River, had seen their trading monopoly there invaded by the Swedes; but when the New Englanders made their appearance in pursuit of the same prize, the Swedes made common cause with the Dutch to repel the new intruders. The question of sovereignty was soon raised abroad by the arrival of two Swedish ships, the *Key of Kalmar* and the *Flame*, sent home by Printz with large cargoes of tobacco and beaver-skins. Bad weather, and the war which had just arisen between Denmark and Sweden, obliged these vessels to run into the Port of Harlington, in Friesland. There they were seized by the West India Company, which not only claimed sovereignty over all the regions around the South River, but exacted the import duties that their charter granted. The Swedish Minister at the Hague protested against these exactions; and a long correspondence ensued, which resulted in the vessels being discharged the following summer upon the payment of the import duties.

During the year 1644, Kieft, headstrong and imprudent as usual, became involved in a war with the New England Indians. At this juncture of affairs, a ship arrived from Holland with a cargo of goods for Van Rensselaer's *patroonery*; and Kieft, the Dutch forces being in want of clothing, called upon the supercargo to furnish fifty pairs of shoes for the soldiers, offering full payment in silver, beaver, or *wampum*. The supercargo, however, zealously regarding his *patroon's* mercantile interests, refused to comply, whereupon the Governor ordered a levy, and obtained enough shoes to supply as "many sol-

diers as afterward killed five hundred of the enemy." The Governor, much provoked, next commanded the vessel to be thoroughly searched, when a large lot of guns and ammunition, not in the manifest, were discovered and declared contraband, and the ship and cargo confiscated. Winthrop says that he had on board 4,000 weight of powder and seven hundred guns, with which he proposed to carry on a trade with the natives. For such acts as these, Kieft seems to have been equally detested by Indians and Dutch, the former desiring his removal, and daily crying, "Wouter! Wouter!" meaning Wouter Van Twiller, his immediate predecessor.

Meanwhile, the Indian war continued; the Dutch settlers were in danger of utter destruction; and the expenses of the soldiery could not be met. Neither could the West India Company send aid to its unfortunate colony, as that body had been made bankrupt by its military operations in Brazil. A bill of exchange, drawn by Kieft upon the Amsterdam Chamber, came back protested. The demands for public money were too pressing to await the slow proceedings of an admiralty court; and accordingly, soon after this, on the 29th of May, 1644, a privateer, the *La Garce*, Captain Blauvelt, having been commissioned by the Governor to cruise in the West Indies, returned to Manhattan with two rich Spanish prizes.

Director Kieft now proposed to replenish the Provisional Treasury by an excise on wine, beer, brandy, and beaver-skins. This was opposed by his official advisers, or the so-called "Eight Men," because they thought such an act would be oppressive, and the right of taxation belonged to sovereignty, and not to an inferior officer in New Netherland. An old account says that the Director was "very much offended," and sharply reprimanded the people's representatives, declaring, "I have more power here than the Company has itself; therefore, I may do

and suffer in this country what I please; I am my own master." * * * Remaining immovable, however, he three days afterward arbitrarily ordered "that on each barrel of beer tapped, an excise duty of two guilders should be paid—one-half by the brewer, and one-half by the publican." But those Burghers who did not retail it were to pay only one-half as much. On every quart of brandy and wine also, four stivers were to be paid, and on every beaver-skin one guilder. Besides the excise on the beer, the brewers were also required to make a return of the quantity they brewed; but upon their sternly refusing to pay the unjust tribute, judgment was obtained against them, and their beer "given as a prize to the soldiers."



STREET VIEW IN ANCIENT ALBANY.

But notwithstanding all the efforts to restrain illicit traffic, it still continued at Rensselaerswyck (Albany), where three or four thousand furs had been carried away by unlicensed traders. Van Rensselaer, "as the first and oldest" *patroon* on the river, resolved that no one should

"presume to abuse" his acquired rights, and erected a fort on Beelen Island. A claim of "staple right" was set up, and Nicholas Koorn was appointed "Wacht-Meester," to levy a toll of five guilders upon all vessels passing by, except those of the West India Company, and to make them lower their colors to the merchant *patroon's* authority. This annoyance soon manifested itself, for while the *Good Hope*, a little yacht, Captain Loockermans, was passing down from Fort Orange to Manhattan, "a gun without ball" was fired from the new fort, and Koorn cried out, "Strike thy colors!" "For whom?" demanded the captain of the vessel. "For the staple right of Rensselaer!" was the reply. "I strike for nobody but the Prince of Orange, or those by whom I am employed!" retorted the testy Dutchman, as he slowly steered on. Several shots followed. "The first," according to the old account, "went through the sail, and broke the ropes and the ladder; a second shot passed over us; and the third, fired by a savage, perforated our princely colors, about a foot above the head of Loockermans, who kept the colors constantly in his hand."



OLD DUTCH CHURCH AT ALBANY.

For this daring act Koorn was forthwith called to answer before the Council at Fort Amsterdam, when he pleaded his *patroon's* authority. Van der Huyghens, the Schout-Fiscal (Sheriff), also protested against "the lawless transactions" of the *patroon's* wacht-meester. Still, the *patroon's* agent tried to justify his course, "inasmuch as this step had been taken to keep *the canker of free-traders* off his colonies." Nevertheless, he was fined, and forbidden to repeat his offense.

At length the pitiable condition of the New Netherland colony attracted the attention of the Dutch Government. Its originators, as before mentioned, had become nearly, if not entirely, bankrupt. To use their own official words, "the long-looked-for profits thence" had never arrived, and they themselves had no means to relieve "the poor inhabitants who had left their *Fatherland*;" accordingly, the bankrupt Company urged the "States-General" for a subsidy of 1,000,000 of guilders to place the Dutch province in good, prosperous, and profitable order.

That body directed an examination to be made into the affairs of New Netherland, and also into the propriety of restricting its internal trade to residents, with the policy of opening a free one between Brazil and Manhattan. Upon making this investigation, it was found that New Netherland, instead of becoming a source of commercial profit to the Company, had absolutely cost that body, from the year 1626 to 1644, "over 550,000 guilders, deducting returns received from there." Still, "the Company could not decently or consistently abandon it." The Director's salary, the report continues, should be 3,000 guilders, and the whole civil and military establishment of New Netherland 20,000 guilders. As many African negroes, it thought, should be brought from Brazil as the *patroons*, farmers, and settlers "would be willing to pay for at a fair price." It would thus appear that our Dutch forefathers had some-

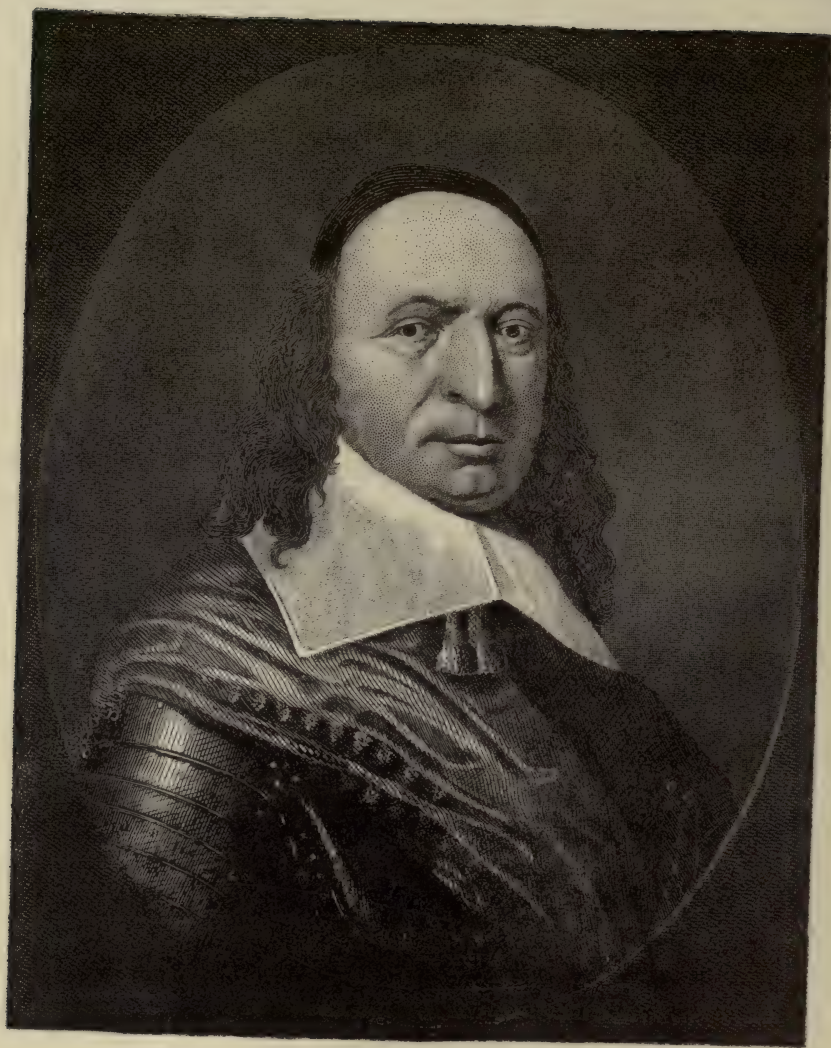
thing to do with the slave trade, as well as the Eastern and Southern colonies. Free grants of land were to be offered to all emigrants on Manhattan Island; a trade allowed to Brazil and the fisheries; the manufacture and exportation of salt were to be encouraged, and the duties of the revenue officers "sharply attended to." Such was the business condition of New Netherland in the year 1645. The five previous years of Indian wars had hardly known five months of peace and prosperity. Kieft, perceiving his former errors, concluded a treaty of amity with the Indians, August 30th, 1645. In two years, not less than 1,600 savages had been killed at Manhattan and its neighborhood, and scarcely one hundred could be found besides traders. 1645.

The insufficient condition of the fort as a place of defense became the subject of serious consideration after this war, and the authorities in Holland, listening to the importunities of the colonists, gave directions for its improvement, requiring, however, that the people should contribute, to some extent, towards the labor and expense involved. In 1647, the subject was discussed in the Council of the Director-General, and a resolution was passed that the fort should be repaired with stone laid in mortar, "by which means alone," it was stated, "a lasting work could be made," inasmuch as the earth to be procured in the neighborhood was entirely unfit to make it stable with sods, unless it were annually renewed, nearly at the same expense; and, as this project required a considerable disbursement for labor in carrying the stone, etc., it was found expedient to consult the inhabitants, to learn the extent to which assistance would be afforded by them. In communicating their resolve to the people, the authorities referred to "this glorious work, which must increase the respect for the Government, as well as afford a safe retreat to the inhabitants in 1647.

case of danger." The suggestion was, that every male inhabitant, between the ages of sixteen and sixty years, should devote, annually, twelve days' labor, or, in lieu thereof, contribute for each day two guilders (eighty cents). But the project was found too expensive for the means at hand, and the completion of the work with stone was abandoned for the time, the work being repaired with earth as before. Nor does it appear that it was, as yet, protected by any inclosure from the inroads of the vagrant cattle, as the Director is found, from time to time, expostulating with the city authorities against permitting swine, goats, and other animals, to run at large in the town, from which great destruction to the works of the fortress ensued.*

Soon after the peace, in 1647, Kieft, having been recalled, embarked for Holland, carrying with him specimens of New Netherland minerals (gathered by the Raritan Indians in the Neversink Hills), and a fortune estimated by his enemies at 400,000 guilders. Dominie Bogardus and Van der Huygens, late Fiscal, were fellow-passengers in the richly-laden vessel. The ship, having been carelessly navigated into the English Channel, was wrecked upon the rugged coast of Wales, and went to pieces. Kieft, with eighty other persons, including Bogardus and the ex-Fiscal, were lost; only twenty were saved. Melyn, the *patroon* of Staten Island, floating on his back, landed on a sand-bank, and thence reached the main-land in safety.

* This matter came to be considered of so great importance, that, in 1656, Governor Stuyvesant again communicated with the Holland authorities respecting the improvement of the fort, and received from them a favorable response, stating that they had no objection to have the fort surrounded with a stone-wall, and were willing, in the ensuing spring, to send "a few good masons and carpenters to assist in the work," enjoining the Governor, in the meanwhile, to have the necessary materials prepared and in readiness when the mechanics should arrive.—*Valentine's Manual*.



J. P. J. J. J. J. J.

CHAPTER II.

On the 11th of May, 1647, Governor Stuyvesant, as "Redresser-General" of all the colonial abuses, arrived at Manhattan, to enter upon an administration which was to last until the end of the Dutch power over New Netherland. Well might the new Governor write home that he "found the colony in a low condition." Disorder and discontent were everywhere apparent, the public revenue was in arrears, and smuggling had nearly ruined legitimate trade. Such were the auspices—sufficiently gloomy—under which the last of the Dutch Governors entered upon his administration. Far from despairing, however, the sturdy Dutchman put his shoulder at once to the wheel. Publicans were restrained from selling liquor before two o'clock on Sundays, "when there is no preaching," and after nine o'clock in the evening; to the savages none was to be sold. The revenue, greatly defrauded by smuggling furs into New England and Virginia for shipment to England, was henceforth to be guarded by stringent laws. The introduction of foreign merchandise by vessels running past Fort Amsterdam during the night was also to be stopped; and all vessels were obliged to anchor under the guns of the fort, near the present Battery. For the purpose of replenishing the treasury, an excise duty was now, for the first time, levied on wines and liquors; the

1647.

export duty on peltry was increased; the unpaid tenths from the impoverished farmers were called in, although a year's grace was allowed for payment, in consequence of losses by the Indian wars; and, in addition to all this, two of the Company's yachts, still further to increase the revenue, were sent on a cruise to the West Indies, to capture, if possible, some of the richly-laden Spanish vessels returning to Spain.

Stuyvesant, also, seems to have been the first Governor who took pride in improving the town itself. He found the infant city very unattractive, with half the houses in a dilapidated condition, cattle running at large, the public ways crooked, and the fences straggling in zig-zag fashion, many of them encroaching on the lines of the streets. All these evils he at once set about to remedy; and one of his earliest acts was to appoint the first "Surveyors of Buildings," whose duties were to regulate the erection of new houses in New Amsterdam.

The Dutch Company "now resolved to open to private persons the trade which it had exclusively carried on with New Netherland, the Virginia, the Swedish, English, and French colonies, or other places thereabout;" and the new Director and Council were ordered to be vigilant in enforcing all colonial custom-house regulations. All cargoes to New Netherland were to be examined, on arrival, by the custom-house officers, and all who were homeward-bound were to give bonds for the payment of duties in Holland. Nor was it long before Stuyvesant had an opportunity of showing his zeal. The *St. Benicio*, an Amsterdam ship, was found trading at New Haven without the license of the West India Company; but the owners of the cargo applied for permission to trade at Manhattan, upon the payment of the proper duties. This permit obtained, Stuyvesant learned that the ship was about to sail directly to Virginia, without having paid duties,

as well as without a manifest. The case having thus assumed an open violation of the colonial revenue laws, the Governor embarked a company of soldiers, who, sailing up the Sound, captured the smuggler in New Haven harbor. This bold act naturally produced a great sensation; and Eaton, the Governor of the New Haven colony, protested against Stuyvesant, as a disturber of the peace. In reply, Stuyvesant claimed all the region from Cape Henlopen to Cape Cod as a part of New Netherland, with the right to levy duty upon all Dutch vessels trading at New Haven. A sharp correspondence ensued between the "State Right" parties, which resulted in the Dutch Governor issuing a proclamation, declaring, "If any person, noble or ignoble, freeman or slave, debtor or creditor—yea, to the lowest prisoner included, run away from New Haven, or seek refuge in our limits, he shall remain free, under our protection, on taking the oath of allegiance." The Dutch colonists, however, objected to this unwise measure as tending to change their province into a refuge for vagabonds from the neighboring English settlements, and the obnoxious proclamation was thereupon revoked.

About this period, 1648, it became necessary to regulate the taverns, as about one-fourth part of the town of New Amsterdam had become houses for 1648. the sale of brandy, tobacco, or beer. No new taverns, it was ordained, should be licensed, except by the unanimous consent of the Director and his Council; and those established might continue four years longer, if their owners would abstain from selling to the savages, report all brawls, and occupy decent houses—"to adorn the town of New Amsterdam." Notwithstanding, however, all these precautions, the Indians were daily seen "running about drunk through the Manhattans." New York, now the metropolitan city, witnesses every day and

night crowds of such drunken savages in her streets; and it would almost seem that our wise legislators have not wisdom or strength enough to frame laws to subdue or prevent this great public evil. Finally, at New Amsterdam, in addition to all the former penalties, offenders against the temperance laws were "to be arbitrarily punished without any dissimulation."

In the year 1648, no person was allowed to carry on business, except he was a permanent resident and had taken the oath of allegiance, was worth from two thousand to three thousand guilders at least, and intended to "keep fire and light in the province." This was an early expression of permanent residence in the Dutch province. Old residents, however, not possessing the full trading qualifications, were allowed the same privilege, provided they remained in the province, and used only the weights and measures of "Old Amsterdam, to which we owe our name." Scotch merchants and peddlers were not forgotten in these business arrangements, for it was also ordained that "all Scotch merchants and small dealers, who come over from their own country with the intention of trading here," should "not be permitted to carry on any trade in the land" until they had resided there three years. They were also required to build a "decent, habitable tenement" one year after their arrival. Every Monday was to be a market-day, and, in imitation of *Fatherland*, an annual "keemis," or fair, for ten days, was established, commencing on Monday after St. Bartholomew's Day, at which all persons could sell goods from their tents. The trade on the North and the South River was reserved for citizens having the requisite qualifications. It was declared, however, that the East River should be "free and open to any one, no matter to what nation he may belong." All vessels under fifty tons were to anchor between the Capsey

“Hoeck” (which divided the East and North Rivers) and the “Hand,” or guide-board, near the present Battery. No freight was to be landed, nor any boats to leave the vessels, from sunset to sunrise. Those regulations were strictly enforced, and the high custom or duties exacted from the colonists amounted to almost thirty per cent., “besides waste.” “The avidity of the Director to confiscate,” says an old account, “was a vulture, destroying the property of New Netherland, diverting its trade, and making the people discontented.” This “bad report” spread among the English, north and south, and even reached the West India and Caribbean Islands. Boston traders declared that more than twenty-five vessels would every year reach Manhattan from those islands, “if the owners were not fearful of confiscation.” Not a ship now dared come from those places. Difficulties constantly arising between the authorities of the *Fatherland* and New Netherland, the “Presiding Chamber” plainly perceived that they must make concessions, or lose all control over their distant colony. Accordingly, the “Commonalty of Manhattan” was informed that the Amsterdam Directors had determined to abolish the export duty on tobacco, to reduce the price of the same, and to allow the colonists to purchase negroes from Africa—all this being designed to show their “good intentions.” They also informed Governor Stuyvesant of their assent to a “burgher government” in Manhattan, which should approach as nearly as possible to the custom of “the metropolis of Holland.” At the time that the colonists had obtained this concession (1652) of the long-
desired burgher government, New Amsterdam 1652.
numbered a population of seven hundred or eight hundred souls.

At last, a naval war, long brewing, broke out between England and the United Provinces, and, without warning,

Dutch ships were arrested in English ports, and the crews impressed. Martin Harpertsen Tromp commanded the Dutch fleet. His name has no prefix of "Van," as many writers insist. Bancroft and Brodhead are among the few who have not adopted the common error. The Dutch Admiral was no more "Van Tromp" than the English was "Van Blake," or our brave American "Van Farragut." Tromp, in a few days, met the British fleet, under Admiral Blake, in Dover Straits, and a bloody but indecisive fight followed. Brilliant naval engagements ensued, in which Tromp and De Ruyter, with Blake and Ayscue, immortalized themselves. But the first year of hostilities closing with a victory for the Dutch, Blake sought refuge for his vessels in the Thames River, when the Dutch commander placed a broom at his mast-head—an emblem or token that he had swept the British Channel free from British ships. These hostilities between Holland and England encouraged pirates and robbers to infest the shores of the East River, and perpetrate excesses on Long Island and the neighborhood of New Amsterdam. Several yachts were immediately commissioned to act against the pirates. A reward of one hundred thalers was offered for each of the outlaws, and a proclamation issued prohibiting all persons from harboring them, under the penalty of banishment and the confiscation of their goods. Forces had even been collected to act against New Netherland, but the joyful intelligence of peace sent them to dislodge the French from the coast of Maine; and thus, for ten years longer, the coveted Dutch-American province continued under the sway of Holland. The peace was published "in
1654. the ringing of bell" from the City Hall, and the 12th of August, 1654, appointed, piously by Stuyvesant, as a day of general thanksgiving.

During the same month, 1654, Le Moyne, a Jesuit

father and missionary to the Indians, immortalized his name by a discovery which afterward formed one of the largest sources of wealth in our State. Reaching the entrance of a small lake, filled with salmon-trout and other fish, he tasted the water of a spring, which his Indian guides were afraid to drink, saying that there was a demon in it which rendered it offensive. But the Jesuit had discovered "a fountain of salt water," from which he actually made salt as natural as that of the sea. Taking a sample, he descended the Oneida, passed over Ontario and the St. Lawrence, and safely reached Quebec with the intelligence of his wonderful discovery. To the State of New York it has been more valuable than a mine of silver or gold.

During the year 1654, the Swedish and the Casimir colonists on the Delaware took the Dutch fort on that river; and soon after, Stuyvesant avenged himself by capturing the *Golden Shark*, a Swedish ship, bound to South River, which, by mistake, had entered Sandy Hook and anchored behind Staten Island. The captain, having discovered his error, sent a boat to Manhattan for a pilot, when the Governor ordered the crew to the guard-house, and dispatched soldiers to seize the vessel. The *Shark's* cargo was removed to the Company's magazine, until a reciprocal restitution should be made. The Swedish agent sent a long protest to Governor Stuyvesant, complaining of his conduct.

In the year 1656, there were in New Amsterdam one hundred and twenty houses and one thousand souls. A proclamation, issued at this time, forbade the removal of any corps in the town or colony, until the Company's tithes had been paid. The authorities of Rensselaerswick refusing to publish this notice, the tapsters were sent down to New Amsterdam, pleading that they acted under the orders of their feudal officers. This

defense was overruled, and one person was fined two hundred pounds, and another, eight hundred guilders.

The cities of Holland, for a long time, had enjoyed certain municipal privileges called "great" and "small" burgher rights. In Amsterdam, all who paid five hundred guilders were enrolled "great burghers," and they monopolized all the offices, and were also exempt from attainder and confiscation of goods. The "small burghers" paid fifty guilders for the honors, and had the freedom of trade only. This burghership became hereditary in Holland, and could pass by marriage, and be acquired by females as well as by males. Foreigners, after a year's probation, could also become burghers; and the burghers were generally the merchants and tradesmen. The various trades and professions formed separate associations, or "*guilds*," and their members were bound to assist each other in distress or danger. In *Fatherland*, each guild generally inhabited a separate quarter of the town, was organized as a military company, and fought under its own standard, having its own "dekken," or dean.

In the year 1657, "in conformity to the laudable custom of the city of Amsterdam in Europe," this great burgher right was introduced into New Amsterdam.

1657. This was an absurd imitation of an invidious policy, and the mother city herself was soon obliged to abandon it, notwithstanding Governor Stuyvesant attempted to establish in New Amsterdam this most offensive of all distinctions—an aristocracy founded on a class, or mere wealth.

In Mr. Paulding's "Affairs and Men of New Amsterdam in the Time of Governor Peter Stuyvesant," there is a list of the recorded GREAT CITIZENSHIP, in the year 1657. As a rare matter of the olden time, it is here given entire:

"Joh. La Montagne, Junior; Jan Gillesen Van Burggh, Hendricksen Kip, De Heere General Stuyvesant, Domine

Megapolensis, Jacob Gerritsen Strycker, Jan Virge, The wife of Cornelis Van Tienhoven, Hendrick Van Dyck, Kip Hendrick, Junior; Captain Martin Krigier, Karl Van Burggh, Jacob Van Couwenhoven, Laurisen Cornelisen, Van Wyek, Johannes Pietersen, Van Burggh, Cornelis Steenwyck, Wilb. Bogardus, Daniel Litschoe, Pieter Van Couwenhoven." These twenty names composed the aristocracy of New York two hundred and thirteen years ago, when umbrellas and carriages were unknown.

We have also before us the names of the "small" citizenship, which number two hundred and sixteen. In a few short years it was found that this division of the citizens into two classes produced great inconvenience, in consequence of the very small number of great burghers who were eligible to office. It became necessary for the Government to change this unpopular order. The heavy fee to obtain it frightened most foreigners, so that it was purchased but once during a period of sixteen years. In the year 1668, the difference between "great" and "small" burghers was abolished, when every burgher became legally entitled to all burgher privileges.

During the year 1659, it was discovered that the Dutch colony had as yet produced no returns, and was already seven thousand guilders in arrears. It was therefore determined that, to prevent further loss, such colonists only as had left Holland before December, 1658, should be supplied with provisions. Goods were to be sold only for cash, and exemptions from tithes and taxes were to cease several years before the original stipulated period, and merchandise thereafter was to be consigned to the city of Amsterdam exclusively. The colonists remonstrated against this new restriction of trade, which had the appearance of gross slavery, and of fettering the free prospects of a worthy people. This remonstrance was well timed, and the City Council consented that all the traders

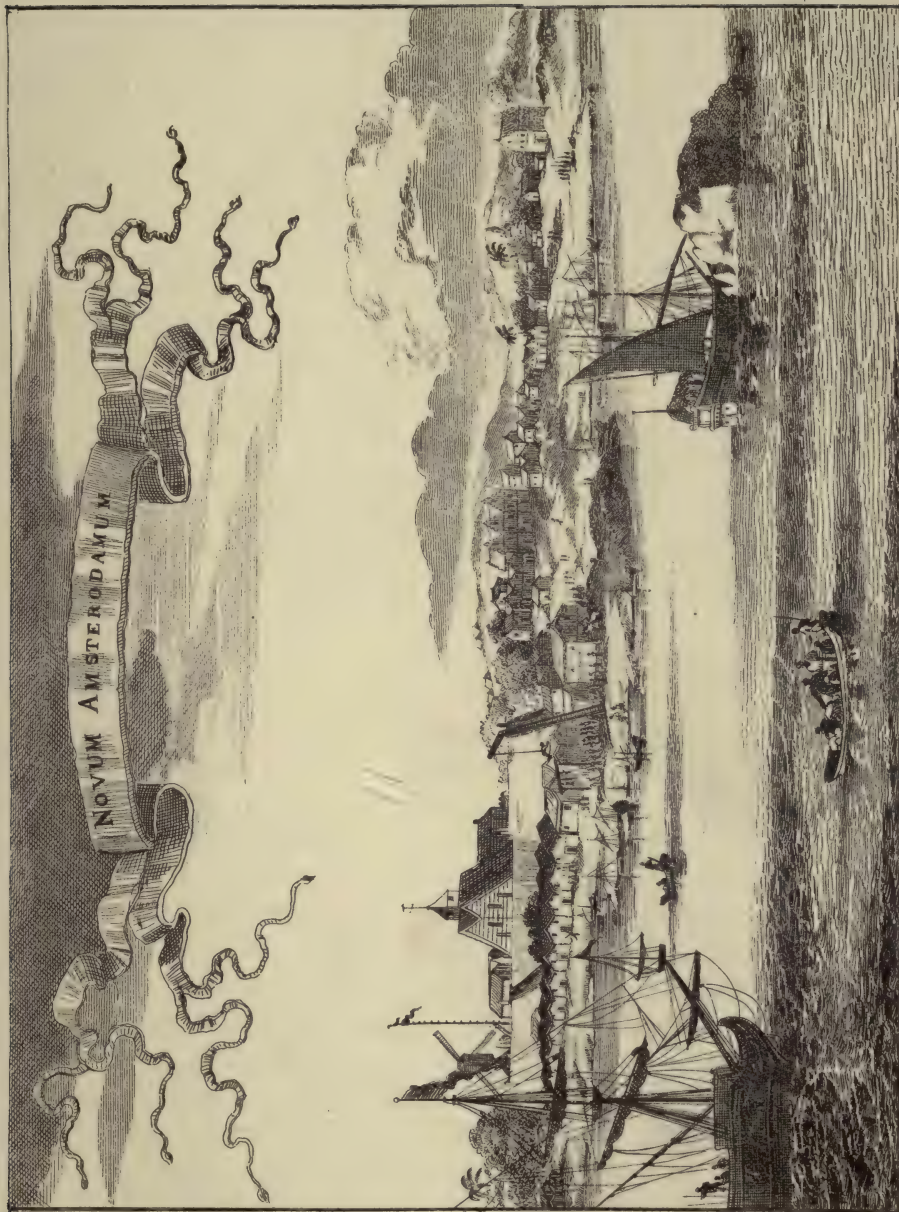
1659.

on the South River might export all goods, except peltry, to any place they wished.

In the year 1660, a second survey and map of New Amsterdam was made by Jacques Cortelyou, and the city was found to contain three hundred and fifty
1660. houses. It was sent to the Amsterdam Chamber, in case it should be thought "good to make it more public by having it engraved." This early map has probably been lost.

The restoration of Charles the Second, in 1661, did not produce in England more friendly feelings towards the Dutch; and the two nations now became com-
1661. mercial rivals. The Act of Navigation had already closed the ports of New England, Virginia, and Maryland against Holland and its colony of New Netherland; and such at that time was the narrow spirit of British statesmen, that many Independents and Dissenters desired to seek new homes, where they would be alike free from monarchy, prelacy, and British rule.

Nor were these considerations overlooked in Holland. The West India Company now determined to invite emigration to New Netherland by larger inducements; accordingly, a new charter was drawn up, which granted to "all such people as shall be disposed to take up their abode in those parts," fifteen leagues of land along the sea-coast, "and as far in depth in the continent as any plantation hath, or may be, settled in New Netherland." Emigrants were also to have "high, middle, and low jurisdiction," "freedom from head-money" for twenty years, property in mines, freedom for ten years from taxes, the right to use their own ships, and freedom in the fishing trade. "Therefore," added the Company, "if any of the English, good Christians, who may be assured of the advantage to mankind of plantations in these latitudes to others more southerly, and shall ration-



Copied, with a small addition, from the Plate in Koutz's History of the City of New York, 1744.

VIEW OF THE CITY OF NEW AMSTERDAM (NOW NEW YORK)

Engraved by J. E. C.

ally be disposed to transport themselves to the said place, under the conduct of the United Provinces, they shall have full liberty to live in the fear of the Lord, upon the aforesaid good conditions, and shall be likewise courteously used." A proper act, under the seal of the Company, was issued at the Hague, which granted to "all Christian people of tender conscience in England or elsewhere oppressed, full liberty to erect a colony in the West Indies, between New England and Virginia, in America, now within the jurisdiction of Peter Stuyvesant, the States-General Governor for the West India Company." How many "Christian people of tender conscience" availed themselves of these advantageous offers, does not appear; but the metropolis prospered. A better currency was now found to be indispensable, and the burgo-masters wrote to Holland for authority to establish a mint for the coinage of silver, and to constitute *wampum* (needed for trade with the savages) an article of sale. But the Amsterdam Directors refused to grant this improvement of the colonial currency.

A number of breweries, brick-kilns, and other manufactories, carried on a successful business; and the potteries on Long Island some persons esteemed equal to those of Delft. Dirck De Wolf having obtained from the Amsterdam Chamber, in 1661, the exclusive privilege of making salt for seven years in New Netherland, began its manufacture upon Coney Island; but the Gravesend settlers, who claimed the spot, arrested the enterprise; and this, too, notwithstanding Governor Stuyvesant sent a military guard to protect him.

In the year 1664, the population of New Netherland had increased to "full ten thousand," and New Amsterdam contained one thousand five hundred, and wore an appearance of great prosperity. English jealousy evidently increased with the augmenting com-

merce of the Dutch. James, Duke of York, was the King's brother, and also Governor of the African Company, and he denounced the Dutch West India Company, which had endeavored to secure the territory on the Gold Coast from English speculators and intruders. England now resolved to march a step further, and, at one blow, to rob Holland of her American province. The King granted a sealed patent to the Duke of York for a large territory in America, including Long Island, and all lands and rivers from the west side of the Connecticut to the east side of Delaware Bay. This sweeping grant embraced the whole of New Netherland.

The Duke of York, that he might lose no time in securing his patent, dispatched Captain Scott, with one hundred and fifty followers, to visit the Island of Manhattan, the value of which was now estimated at three thousand pounds. On the 11th of January, 1664, the valorous Scott made his appearance at "Breukelen" Ferry Landing, and, with a great flourish of trumpets, demanded submission to the English flag. Governor Stuyvesant, despatching his Secretary, politely asked Captain Scott, "Will you come across the river?" and the reply was, "No; let Stuyvesant come over with one hundred soldiers; I will wait for him here!" "What for?" demanded the Secretary. "I would run him through the body!" was the Captain's courteous answer. "That would not be a friendly act," replied the Governor's Deputy. Thus they parted; Scott retiring to Midwout (Flatbush) with his forces, with drums beating and colors flying, while the people "looked on with wonder, not knowing what it meant." Scott told them that they must abandon their allegiance to the Dutch, and promised to confer with Governor Stuyvesant. But when he reached the river, on his way to New Amsterdam for this purpose, he declined crossing it. Still he felt very brave, *threatening*

to go over, proclaim the English King at the Manhattans, and "rip the guts, and cut the feet from under any man who says, 'This is not the King's land.'" This was, certainly, very bloodthirsty; but the good people of Manhattan all escaped with whole feet and bowels. The valiant Captain then marched to New Utrecht, ordered the only gun of which the block-house boasted to be fired in the King's honor, and then continued his triumphant march to Amersfort, for another bloodless victory.

Governor Stuyvesant now ordered a new commission to confer with Captain Scott, at Jamaica, and Cornelis Steenwyck*—one of the fathers of New Amsterdam, residing on his farm at Harlem—was one of the commission. It was here agreed that the English Captain should desist from disturbing the Dutch towns. The latter, however, insisted that the basis of future negotiations should recognize Long Island as belonging to Great Britain. He also hinted that the Duke of York intended to reduce, in time, the whole province of New Netherland—a declaration which was to prove true sooner than the Dutch Governor anticipated.

In September of the same year (1664), Colonel Nicolls anchored before New Amsterdam with a fleet and soldiers. His imperious message to Governor Stuyvesant was: "I shall come with ships and soldiers, raise the white flag of peace at the fort, and then something may be considered. The Dutch colony was entirely unprepared for such a warlike visit, and capitulated at eight o'clock on the morning of September 8th, 1664. Stuyvesant, at the head of the garrison, marched out of the fort with the honors of war, pursuant to the terms of the surrender. His soldiers were immediately led down the "*Bever's*

* There is a portrait of Mr. Steenwyck in the collection of the N. Y. Historical Society.

Paatje," or Beaver Lane, to the shore of the North River, where they embarked for Holland. An English "corporal's guard" immediately entered and took possession of the fort, over which the English flag was at once hoisted. Its name, Fort Amsterdam, was then changed to "Fort James," and New Amsterdam was henceforth known as "NEW YORK." This was a violent and treacherous seizure of territory at a time of profound peace—a breach of private justice and public faith; and by it, a great State had imposed on it a name which is unknown in history, save as it is connected with bigotry and tyranny, and which has ever been an enemy of political and religious liberty.*

Before following further the course of events, a brief retrospect of the commercial prosperity of New Netherland seems desirable. At the period when Governor Stuyvesant's administration was so suddenly terminated by the arrival of the Duke of York's forces, the population of New Netherland was established at "full ten thousand." When New Amsterdam was first surveyed, in 1656, it contained one hundred and twenty houses and one thousand souls, which increased to fifteen hundred in 1664. Not quite two hundred and fifty of these were male

* As the surrender of Fort Amsterdam involved the loss of the entire Dutch possessions in New Netherland, the conduct of Governor Stuyvesant, in not maintaining its defense, was severely criticised by his superiors in Holland. In his justification, he explained that the fort was encompassed only by a slight wall, two to three feet in thickness, backed by coarse gravel, not above eight, nine, and ten feet high, in some places; in others, higher, according to the rise and fall of the ground. It was for the most part crowded all around with buildings, and better adapted for a citadel than for defense against an open enemy. The houses were, in many places, higher than the walls and bastions, and rendered those wholly exposed. Most of the houses had cellars not eight rods distant from the wall of the fort; in some places not two or three feet distant; and at one point scarce a rod from the wall,—so that whoever should be master of the city, could readily approach with scaling-ladders from the adjacent houses, and mount the walls, which had neither a wet nor a dry ditch.—*Valentine's Manual.*

adults; and the rest women and children below eighteen years of age. The same city now numbers about a million of people! New York, on an average, has about doubled its population every twenty-three years. Be it remembered that trade and commerce became the great stimulus of population, and their regulation of the utmost importance. The damages incurred by the West India Company during 1645-'6, in Brazil, and estimated at one hundred tons of gold, rendered some measures necessary to retrieve its condition. Trade with that country was therefore opened in the year 1648 to the New Netherlanders, who were permitted to send thither their produce, and return with African slaves, whose subsequent exportation from the Dutch Province was forbidden. Four years afterward, the province obtained the privilege of trading to Africa for slaves and other articles. In the same year, the monopoly of the carrying trade between Holland and this country (before in the hands of the Amsterdam Chamber) was abolished; "for the first time," private vessels were now entered at Amsterdam; and, in 1659, the privilege of exporting produce to France, Spain, Italy, and the Caribbean Islands, was obtained. Thus, the markets of the world, except those of the East, were opened to New Netherland ships. From this regulation, however, furs alone were an exception, as these were to be sent exclusively to Amsterdam.

The duties were fixed by the tariff of 1648, at ten per cent. on imported, and fifteen upon exported goods; but some difference existed in favor of English colonial buttons, causing them first to be sent to New England, and thence imported into New Netherland at a low rate. To obviate this, in 1651, the duties on such goods were raised to sixteen per cent., tobacco excepted, its eight per cent. tax being taken off. In the year 1655, the duties on imports again were reduced to ten per cent., and, in 1659,

owing to the demand for lead to be used in window-frames, this article was placed on the free-list. As we have noticed, the industry of the Dutch colonists was early manifested in ship-building. At the close of Stuyvesant's administration, a number of distilleries, breweries, and potasheries, were in operation, with several manufactories of tiles, bricks, and earthenware. An attempt was also made, in 1657, to introduce the silk culture; two years after, mulberry-trees were exported to Curacoa; and, as before stated, the making of salt was attempted; but the inhabitants of Gravesend, claiming Coney Island under their patent, destroyed the houses and improvements, burnt the fences, and threatened to throw the workmen into the flames.

Although *wampum*, or "*zeawan*," had become almost the exclusive currency of New Netherlands (1664), still, beaver remained the standard of value. During the years 1651-'2, Director Stuyvesant tried to introduce a specie currency, and applied to Holland for twenty-five thousand guilders in Dutch shillings and four-penny pieces, but the Directors there disapproved of his project. The people were thus entirely dependent on *wampum*, as we are now upon "greenbacks," and the value of wages, property, and every commodity, was, in consequence, seriously disturbed. So it is in this day, and ever will be, with an irredeemable currency, whether of clam-shells, thin paper, or any thing else, not equal to specie. At first, *wampum* passed at the rate of four black beads for one stiver; next, it was lowered to six; again, in 1657, to eight; and then it was ordered to be considered a tender for gold and silver. But Stuyvesant wisely objected, as it would bring the value of property to naught. In the year 1650, the white *wampum* was next reduced from twelve to sixteen, and the black from six to eight for a stiver. What was the result? The holder was obliged to give more *wampum*

for any article he purchased of the trader, who, in return, allowed the natives a large quantity of it for their beavers and skins; and, to use the plain record of the day, "little or no benefit accrued." Nominally, prices advanced, when beavers which had been sold for twelve or fourteen guilders rose to twenty-two and twenty-four, bread from fourteen to twenty-two stivers (eight-pound loaves) beef nine to ten stivers per pound, pork fifteen to twenty stivers, shoes from three and a half guilders to twelve a pair, and wrought-iron from eighteen to twenty stivers the pound. Beavers and specie remained all the while of equal value; but the difference between these and *wampum* was fifty per cent. The effect on wages was almost ruinous. An old record says: "The poor farmer, laborer, and public officer, being paid in *zeawan*, are almost reduced to the necessity of living on alms."

Those in the employ of the Dutch Company asked that their salaries might be paid in beavers, but this was refused; as well might public officers in our day desire to receive gold and silver for their services. This depreciation of the currency, and the consequent disturbance of prices, caused much popular clamor, and various expedients were adopted to amend the unfortunate state of things. The Directors of New Netherland would have the colonists consider *wampum* as "bullion," but would only receive beavers in payment of duties and taxes. We adopt something of the same theory in our Custom-House payments. Governor Stuyvesant raised the value of specie in the country twenty to twenty-five per cent, "*to prevent its exportation.*" Finally, however, the price of beaver in 1663 fell from eight guilders (specie) to four and a half, white *wampum* from sixteen to eight, and black from eight to four for a stiver. What a fall! This was the state of the public finances when the English came in possession of New Netherland. Some persons

are met with at the present time who fear a similar financial crash sooner or later in our enlightened land with its hundreds and millions in paper-money operations and promises.

The public revenue in New Netherland embraced two descriptions, provincial and municipal: the former consisting of the export duty on furs, the impost on European goods, with the tenths of agricultural produce, butter, cheese, etc.; the latter of an excise duty on liquors and slaughtered cattle. In the year 1655, the duty on exported furs is stated at twenty-two thousand guilders. The expenses of the Government became very large, especially from the Indian wars, which also cut off the supplies of furs; so that by the close of Stuyvesant's administration, there was a deficit of fifty thousand florins, or twenty thousand dollars. The municipal revenue arising from the liquor excise was of two kinds, the tapsters and the burghers—the first paying a duty of four florins a ton on home-brewed, and six on foreign beer; eight florins a hogshead on French; and four on Spanish wine, brandy, or other spirits. These rates were doubled in 1662. The income of New Amsterdam from these sources was estimated at twenty-five thousand guilders. The Company in Holland had now expended twelve tons of gold in the settlement of New Netherland, and now (1664), when some return was expected for this large outlay, foreigners seized and possessed themselves of all the benefits resulting from such expenditures.

We again resume the thread of our narrative. The war which broke out in 1672 between the English and the Dutch, and which was chiefly carried on by
1672. the navies of the two powers, occasioned apprehensions for the safety of the province of New York; and Governor Lovelace, the successor of Nicolls, the first English Governor, made preparations for a demonstra-

tion of that character on the part of the Dutch. Nor were his fears unfounded; although, some months elapsing without any appearance of the enemy, he allowed himself to fall into a fatal sense of security, and accordingly disbanded the levies, while he himself departed on a visit to the Eastern colonies, leaving the Fort in charge of Captain John Manning. The Dutch, however, were not asleep; nor had they relinquished their design. Determined to regain New Amsterdam at all hazards, they fitted out a fleet of five ships, commanded by Admirals Benckes and Evertsen, with Captains Colve, Boes, and Van Zye. On the 29th of July, 1673, they appeared off Sandy Hook; and quietly sailing up the bay, and anchoring before Staten Island, soon appeared opposite the Battery. The fleet then opened a heavy cannonade upon the city, at the same time that Captain Colve, landing with six hundred men, drew up in order of battle on the Commons, ready to march into the city. At a given signal the men marched down Broadway, whereupon Captain Manning surrendered the fort, on condition that its garrison should march out with all the honors of war. This condition having been granted, the Dutch troops again possessed the fort and city. New York received the name of New Orange, and the fort itself the name of Fort William Hendrick. Governor Lovelace, who, meanwhile had hastened back from his pleasure tour, was allowed to return with the Dutch Admiral. He received from the English Government a severe reprimand for cowardice and treachery, and his estates were confiscated to the Duke of York.

Captain Colve, now in command of the Province of New Netherland, received a commission from Benckes and Evertsen to govern the new territory. His rule, though brief, was energetic. He at once took measures to improve the defenses of the fort; and, in October, 1673, we

find it stated in one of his orders, that the fortifications had then, at great expense and labor to the citizens and inhabitants, been brought "to perfection." Anthony De Milt was appointed Schout, with three burgomasters and five schepens. The entire city assumed the appearance of a military post, the Commons (the present Park) becoming the parade-ground. A *wall* or palisade was placed around it, running from Trinity Church along *Wall Street*—hence its name—and block-houses protected the settlement on every side. Every day the Schout reviewed the military, before the "Stadt Huys," at the head of Coenties Slip. At six in the evening he received the city keys, and with a guard of six men locked the public gates, and stationed the sentinels. He unlocked the gates at sunrise. The city at this period numbered three hundred and twenty houses.

But the second administration of the Dutch was destined to be of short duration. On the 9th of February, 1674, the treaty of peace between England and the
1674. States-General was signed at Westminster; and the Dutch, having discovered and possessed the beautiful country of New Netherland for almost sixty years, were now, once and forever, dispossessed of it. On that day the old fort became "Fort James," having surrendered to Sir Edmund Andros, who had been appointed Governor by the Duke of York.

CHAPTER III.

BEFORE closing this section, and bidding farewell entirely to New York under the Dutch rule, it seems fitting to glance somewhat minutely at the social manners and customs of our early Dutch ancestors.

The Dutch of New Amsterdam were distinguished for their good nature, love of home, and cordial hospitality. Fast young men, late hours, and fashionable dissipation were unknown. There was, nevertheless, plenty of opportunity for healthful recreation. Holidays were abundant, each family having some of its own, such as birth-days, christenings, and marriage anniversaries. Each season, too, introduced its own peculiar and social festivals—the “Quilting,” “Apple-Raising,” and “Husking Bees.” The work on such occasions was soon finished, after which the guests sat down to a supper, well supplied with chocolate and waffles—the evening terminating with a merry dance. Dancing was a favorite amusement. The slaves danced to the music of their rude instruments, in the markets; while the maidens and youths practiced the same amusement at their social parties, and around the annual May-Pole on the Bowling Green.

Besides such holidays, five public or national festivals were observed. These were—*Kerstrydt*, or Christmas; *Nieuw Jar*, or New Year; *Paas*, or Passover; *Pinxter*, Whitsuntide; and *Santa Claus*, St. Nicholas, or Christ-Kin-

kle Day. The morn of the Nativity was hailed with universal salutations of a "Merry Christmas"—a good old Knickerbocker custom which has descended unimpaired to us. Next, in the day's programme, came "Turkey Shooting"—the young men repairing either to the "Beekman Swamp," or on the Common (Park), for this amusement. Each man paid a few stivers* for a "chance," when the best shot obtained the prize. The day was also commemorated, as it is at the present time, by family dinners, and closed with domestic gayety and cheerfulness.

New-Year's Day was devoted to the universal interchange of visits. Every door in New Amsterdam was thrown wide open, and a warm welcome extended to the stranger as well as the friend. It was considered a breach of established etiquette to omit any acquaintance in these annual calls, by which old friendships were renewed, family differences settled, and broken or neglected intimacies restored. This is another of the excellent customs of the olden times that still continues among New Yorkers; and its origin, like many others, is thus traced exclusively to the earliest Hollanders.

Paas, or Easter, was a famous festival among the Dutch, but is now almost forgotten, except by the children, who still take considerable interest in coloring eggs in honor of the day. The eggs were found *then* on every table. This old festival, however, is rapidly passing away, and, like *Pinxter*, will soon be forgotten.

Santa Claus, however, was *the* day of all others with the little Dutch folk, for it was sacred to St. Nicholas—the tutelar divinity of New Amsterdam—who had presided at the figure-head of the first emigrant ship that reached her shores. The first church erected within her fort was

* A stiver was equal to nearly two cents in United States money.

also named after St. Nicholas. He was, to the imagination of the little people, a jolly, rosy-cheeked, little old man, with a slouched hat, large Flemish nose, and a very long pipe. His sleigh, loaded with all sorts of Christmas gifts, was drawn by swift reindeer; and, as he drove rapidly over the roofs of the houses, he would pause at the chimneys to leave presents in the stockings of the good children; if *bad*, they might expect nothing but a switch or leather-strap. In this way the young Knickerbockers became models of good behavior and propriety. They used to sing a suitable hymn on the occasion, one verse of which is here given, for the benefit of those readers who may wish to know how it sounded in Dutch:

“Sint Nicholaas, myn goden vriend,
Ik heb u altyd wel gediend;
Als gy my nu wot wilt geven,
Zal ik dienen als myn leven.”

TRANSLATION.

“Saint Nicholas, my dear, good friend,
To serve you ever was my end;
If you me now something will give,
Serve you, I will, as long as I live.”

“Dinner parties” in these primitive days were unknown; but this seeming lack of social intercourse was more than made up by the well-known and numerous tea parties. To “take tea out” was a Dutch institution, and one of great importance. The matrons arrayed in their best petticoats and linsey jackets, “home spun” by their own wheels, would proceed on the intended afternoon visit. They wore capacious pockets, with scissors, pin-cushion, and keys hanging from their girdle, outside of their dress; and, reaching the neighbor’s house, the visitors industriously used knitting-needles and tongues at the same time. The village gossip was talked over, neighbors’ affairs settled, and the stockings finished by tea-time, when the important meal appeared on the table

precisely at six o'clock. This was always the occasion for the display of the family plate, with the Lilliputian cups, of rare old family china, out of which the guests sipped the fragrant herb. A large lump of loaf-sugar invariably accompanied each cup, on a little plate, and the delightful beverage was sweetened by an occasional nibble, amid the more solid articles of waffles and Dutch doughnuts. The pleasant visit finished, the visitors, donning cloaks and hoods—as bonnets were unknown—proceeded homeward in time for milking and other necessary household duties. The kitchen fire-places were of immense size, large enough to roast a sheep or whole hog; and the hooks and trammels sustained large iron pots and kettles. In the spacious chimney-corners the children and negroes gathered—telling stories and cracking nuts by the light of the blazing pine-knots, while the industrious *wrows* turned the merry spinning-wheel, and their lords, the worthy burghers—mayhap just returned from an Indian scrimmage—quietly smoked their long pipes, as they sat watching the wreaths curling above their heads. At length, the clock, with its brazen tongue, having proclaimed the hour of nine, family prayers were said, and all retired, to rise with the dawn.

A model housekeeper rose at cock-crowing, breakfasted with the dawn, and proceeded to the duties of the day; and when the sun reached the meridian or “noon mark,” dinner, which was strictly a family meal, was on the table. This domestic time-piece answered every purpose, so regular were the hours and lives of the people. At one time there were not more than half a dozen clocks in New Amsterdam, with about the same number of watches. But they were strikingly peculiar in one respect: they were scarcely ever known to go, and hence were of very little practical utility. No watch-maker had yet found it profitable to visit the settlement; and

this was a period two centuries before the invention of Yankee clocks. For a long while, time was marked by hour-glasses and sun-dials.

We have already seen the interior of the kitchen, and will now go up stairs into the parlor of the early Dutch dwellings. Stoves were never dreamed of; but instead of them was the cheerful fire-place, sometimes in the corner, but more generally reaching nearly across the back of the room, with its huge gum back-log and glowing fire of hickory. The shovel and tongs occupied each corner of the fire-place, keeping guard, as it were, over the family brass-mounted andirons which supported the blazing wood. Marble mantles had not yet been invented; but chimney-jambes, inlaid with party colors, imported Holland tiles, representing all kinds of Scriptural stories, were quite ornamental as well as instructive. Many a youngster has received categorical instruction from these silent venerable teachers.

In one corner of the room always stood the huge oaken iron-bound chest, brimful of household linen, spun by the ladies of the family, who delighted to display these domestic riches to their visitors. Later, this plain wardrobe gave place to the "*chest of drawers*," one drawer placed upon the other, until the pile reached the ceiling, with its shining brass rings and key-holes. The book-case, too, with its complicated writing-desk, mysterious secret-drawers and pigeon-holes, came into use about the same period, though both were unknown to the early Knickerbockers. Sideboards were not introduced into New Amsterdam until after the American Revolution, and were entirely of English origin. The round tea-table also occupied a place in the corner of the parlor, while the large square dining-table stood in the kitchen for daily use. In another corner stood the well-known Holland cupboard, with glass doors, conspicuously displaying

the family plate and porcelain. Little looking-glasses in narrow black frames, were in common use; two or three only of the wealthiest burghers possessing larger mirrors, elaborately ornamented with gilding and flowers. About 1730, the *sconce* came in fashion—a hanging or projecting candlestick, with a mirror to reflect the rays. This was a very showy article, giving a fine light to the rooms.* After this period pier and mantel glasses came into fashion. Pictures, such as they were, abounded; but they were, for the most part, poor engravings of Dutch cities and naval engagements. Chintz calico of inferior quality formed the only window-curtains, without any cornices. There were no carpets among the early Dutch, nor any in general use among the New Yorkers until up to the period of the Revolution. The famous Captain Kidd, it is said, owned the first modern carpet in his best room, and the pirate's house was the best furnished in the city. It was made of Turkey work, at a cost of twenty-five dollars, and resembled a large rug. The custom of sanding the floor of the principal room, or parlor, was universal, and much taste was displayed in the many fanciful devices and figures made in the sand with the brooms of the smart Dutch matrons and daughters. Our Dutch ancestors knew nothing of lounges or sofas, or even of that comfortable American invention, the rocking-chair. Their best chairs were straight and high-backed, covered with Russia leather, and elaborately ornamented with double and triple rows of brass nails. In addition to these, the parlor was decorated with one or two chairs having embroidered seats and backs, the

* Two of these quaint fixtures, a hundred and fifty years old, hung, until a year or two since, in the parlor of the Union Hall, at Saratoga Springs, N. Y. Old visitors will readily recall them. They now adorn the parlors of Mrs. Washington Putnam, of Saratoga Springs, the widow of the late Washington Putnam, for many years the genial host and owner of the "Union."

handiwork of the daughters. Some of the oldest families also displayed in their best rooms two chairs with cushions of tapestry, or velvet, trimmed with lace. About the year 1700, cane seats became fashionable, and thirty years after came the leather chairs, worth from five to ten dollars each. These led the fashion about thirty years more, when mahogany and black walnut chairs, with their crimson damask cushions, appeared.

But the most ornamental piece of furniture in the parlor was the bed, with its heavy curtains and valance of camlet. No mattresses then, but a substantial bed of live geese feathers, with a very light one of down for the covering. These beds were the boast and pride of the most respectable Dutch matrons, and, with their well-filled chests of home-made linen, supplied their claims to skill in housekeeping. A check covering cased the bed and pillows; the sheets were made of homespun linen; and over the whole was thrown a bed-quilt of patchwork, wrought into every conceivable shape and pattern.

The "*betste*" (bedstead) was at this period a part of the house. It was constructed something like a cupboard, with closing doors, so that by day, when unoccupied, the apartment could be used for a sitting-room. In more humble houses, the "*sloap bank*," or "bunk," was the sleeping-place. In Dutch taverns, the good *vrouw* or her maid opened the doors of the "*betste*" for the traveler, and, like a kind mother, bade him "*mel te rusten*"—"good-night," and always, as an old friend, "*hoo-y rees*"—"good-by." To this day, in Holland, travelers meet similar receptions at the taverns; and all the guests, assembling in one room, eat, drink, and smoke.

Our Dutch forefathers were fond of pure, good milk—a luxury unknown to their unfortunate descendants. It was the common practice for all who could afford stable room, to keep their own cows, and thus furnish their fami-

lies with milk and butter. Rip Van Dam, in 1748, kept two cows; and Abraham De Puyster, one of the wealthiest merchants, owned the same number. Good pasturage, too, surrounded the town, no further off than the present Park. A man with a bell came along early in the morning for the cows, driving them through Wall to the city-gate, at the corner of that street and Water; thence to the fields about the Collect, where the Tombs now stands; in the evening he brought them back to their owners.

In the earlier period of New Amsterdam, the grain was made into flour by pestle and mortar, every family adopting this method. Coin then as now was exceedingly scarce; nor was there even any paper currency. Hence, grain became as much the circulating medium as "greenbacks" are at the present day with us. From this circumstance, the pestle and mortar constituted the real mints of the people; the pounded grain passing current for goods and labor, like bank-notes.

The horses of those days were bred wild in the woods and pastures which covered the upper part of Manhattan Island. Thousands of them ran at large, their owners, at certain seasons, branding them with their names, when they were turned loose again, until winter rendered a shelter for them necessary. Such was their great increase, that it is said the Island was overrun by the animals, now become as wild and dangerous as the buffaloes of the prairies; the breed was, consequently, inferior, the price of a horse ranging from ten dollars to forty dollars, according to the strength, and not the speed, of the animal. This great plenty of horse-flesh, however, afforded ample opportunity for the fair Dutch dames to indulge their favorite pastime—riding on horseback. The ladies, at this period, however, did not ride on horseback *alone*, as is now the fashion, but were mounted upon a pillion, or padded cushion, placed behind the gentleman's saddle (or a servant's), upon

whose support they depended. This was the common custom, as the roads were unbroken, being, in fact, little better than bridle-paths. Early in the eighteenth century side-saddles came into partial use. The gentlemen's housings were made of bright-colored cloths or velvet, often trimmed with silver lace; holsters were common.

The literature of New Amsterdam was entirely different from that of modern times. In the place of the novels, magazines, and light reading which now fill the center-tables, there was to be found little else than Bibles, Testaments, and hymn-books. The matrons' church books were generally costly bound, with silver clasps and edgings, and sometimes of gold. These were suspended to the girdle by silver and gold chains, and distinguished the style of the families using them, on the Sabbath days.

The Sundays in New Amsterdam were, moreover, better observed by its inhabitants than at the present day. All classes, arrayed in their best, then attended the public services of religion; and the people, almost exclusively Calvinists, attended the Dutch Reformed Church. The "*Koeck*," or bell-ringer and sexton, was an important personage on the Sabbath. He not only summoned the congregation by the sound of the church-going bell, but formed a procession of himself and his assistants to carry the cushions of the burgomasters and schepens from the City Hall to the pews appropriated to these officials. At the same time, the Schout went his rounds, to see that quiet was kept in the streets during Divine worship, and also to stop the games of the negro slaves and Indians—to whom the Sabbath was allowed as a day of recreation, except during church hours.

Small pieces of *wampum* were obtained by the deacons, and sold at great value to the heads of the Dutch families. These, having been distributed among the different members of families, were then taken to church, and deposited

in the collection-bags, which were attached to long poles. Such was the custom a long while; nor, in some of the interior Dutch settlements, has it been entirely abandoned at the present day. Formerly, a small bell was attached to the bottom of the bags, to remind the drowsy of the collection. The deacons, being thus prepared to receive the benefactions of the congregation, presented themselves in front of the pulpit, when, the Dominie having addressed a few appropriate words to them, they forthwith proceeded to collect the contributions. At that day, also, the "*Koorleser*," or Clerk, occupied a little pew in front of the pulpit, holding in his hand a rod, on the end of which all notices were placed, and thus passed up to the Dominie. The moment the minister reached the pulpit stairs, he offered a private prayer, holding his hat before his face, until, having sought the aid of the Lord and Master, he ascended the sacred desk.

It was also at this time the custom to publish from the pulpit the *bans* three times before a marriage could be solemnized.

The Dutch Church was, at this period, within the fort, at the Battery; and the present Bowling Green, an open field, exhibited many country wagons, arranged in regular order, while their horses were allowed to graze on the green slopes that led down to the Hudson River. And here, in the old Church of *St. Nicholas*, for half a century, from 1642 to 1693, the early Dutch worshipped God in His Holy Temple.

Every house in New Amsterdam was surrounded by a garden, sufficiently large to accommodate a horse, a cow, two pigs, fowls, a patch of cabbages, and a tulip-bed. Indeed, the love of flowers seems to have been inherent in the Dutch dames. While the head of a family carefully watched the growth of some ancient household tree, planted, in accordance with a universal custom in New

Amsterdam, directly before the door-way, the matron might have been seen with her large calash over her shoulders, and her little painted basket of seeds in her hand, going to the labors of the garden. Nor is this figurative. It was the universal custom for a Dutch lady in independent circumstances, gentle of form and manner, to sow, plant, and cultivate. These fair gardeners were also good florists. Where have there ever been found choicer



THE BOWLING GREEN IN 1861.

hyacinths and tulips than among the Hollanders? Indeed, all New Yorkers may well feel proud of their great-great-grandmothers from Holland. They were fair and unblemished religious dames, with great grasp of mind, and of exemplary industry. The important task of religious instruction chiefly devolved upon them; and the essentials, especially the ceremonials of piety, were

instilled upon the minds of their children. Hence mothers among the early Dutch were always regarded with peculiar reverence.

The Dutch ladies wore no bonnets, as is still the fashion with some of the German emigrants who now arrive at Castle Garden. At New Amsterdam the fashionable dress was a colored petticoat, rather short (for ease in walking), waist jacket, colored hose of homespun woolen, and high-heeled shoes, suitable to a city destitute of pavements or sidewalks of any kind. The Dutch burghers wore long-waisted coats, with skirts reaching almost to their ankles, and adorned with large silver buttons. The wardrobe of a prominent burgomaster at the transfer of New Amsterdam to the British, was as follows: A cloth coat, with silver buttons, worth fifteen dollars; a stuff coat, ten dollars; cloth breeches, ten shillings; a cloth coat, with gimp buttons, seven dollars and fifty cents; a black cloth coat, seven dollars; a black velvet coat, fifteen dollars; a silk coat, breeches, and doublet, six dollars; a silver cloth breeches and doublet, five dollars; a velvet waistcoat, with silver lace, five dollars; a buff coat and silk sleeves, five dollars; three grass-green cloaks, six dollars each; besides several old suits. To these also must be added linen, hose, shoes with silver buckles, a cane with an ivory head, and a hat. It may be doubted if our present Mayors, with all their cloths and cassimeres, possess even one tithe of such an assortment of coats, pants, and vests, as this official Dutchman, their predecessor, in "ye olden time."*

In the good old Dutch times respectable tradesmen

* A little later, in 1690, we find among a fashionable gentleman's apparel, etc., green silk breeches, fluted with silver and gold; silver gauze-breeches, scarlet and blue silk stockings, laced shirt, a blue cloth stuff and frieze coat, a gun and a pair of pistols, a silver-hilted sword, a silver spoon and fork, a lacku hat, a campaign, shut-bob, old-bob wigs, and periwigs.

worked hard; none were drones or mere lookers-on. There existed but little competition among tradesmen, as with us. No tempting display of goods in show-windows attracted the attention and excited the desire of passers-by to go beyond their means. Content to sell their goods at a fair profit, they secured both good customers and a reputation for probity and fair dealing. It was the English who first introduced display, fashion, and extravagance. It was they who first introduced the custom of keeping the shops open at night—a needless and expensive fashion, and greatly injurious to the health and morals of the clerks. In these early days, however, the diligent closed their stores and shops at an early hour. All classes went on foot; for carriages and wheeled vehicles were very scarce. Even physicians paid all their visits on foot; and, in another respect, they differed widely from the doctors of the present day—their charges were very moderate.

At funerals, it was the custom to give hot wine in winter, and wine-sangaree in summer. Ladies generally attended on such mournful occasions, especially if the deceased was a female, when burnt wine was served in silver tankards. At a later era, on the death of Mrs. Daniel Phoenix, the wife of the City Treasurer, all the pall-bearers were ladies.

The working man always wore his leather apron, no matter what his employment. Tradesmen were accustomed to saw their own wood; and a most healthful exercise it was. Nor did any man in middle circumstances fear to carry home his “one hundred weight” of meal from market. On the contrary, it would have been considered a disgrace to have avoided such a burden.

A greater change, however, in the habits of the people, cannot be named than in that of hired servants or

"help." The female servants formerly wore short gowns of green baize, with petticoats of linsey-woolsey, receiving only half a dollar a week for their wages. Now they demand from eight to fourteen dollars a month, and dress like fashionable ladies, displaying all their pride and show.

In these primitive days, also, when a man "set up business," he invariably took down his own shutters, opened the door, swept the store, and dusted the goods himself by the gray dawn. Then men grew rich by early rising, economy, and industry, and by attending to their own business themselves, and not leaving their interest in the charge of boys, agents, or clerks. The only capital of most young men then were industry and punctuality; and labor and honesty were as fashionable at this early day as stylish young men, defaulting cashiers, fast living, and fast horses are now. Neither would any sensible matron permit her daughter to encourage the attention of any young man who was not his own servant.

Shortly before the cession of New Amsterdam to the British rule, the settlement was celebrated for its number of young people, as the children of the early immigrants had then reached adult age. Several daughters of the wealthy burghers were married to young Englishmen whose visits were only of a temporary character. Many romantic rural spots, everywhere surrounding the settlements at New Netherland, were naturally favorable to the important business of courtship, and there were several places of pleasant resort famed for this business, even at that early day. The *Locust-Trees* was one, upon a bluff on the shore of the North River, a little back of the present Trinity Church-yard. From this commanding and shady eminence, the eye could wander over an extensive vista of river, bay, islands, and the bold, distant hills of New Jersey. Here, too, was the West India

Company's beautiful garden, on the site of the present Trinity Church, with its rich flowers and vegetable productions. A little beyond the town was *Maiden's Valley*, now Maiden Lane, a rural, shady walk, with a charming little rivulet meandering through it. The original name of this rustic walk was *T' Maagde Paatje*, or the "Maiden's Path." South of this lane stretched the *Clover Watie*, or "Pasture Field;" and from the present Gold street, hidden in the foliage, a little stream, fed by a living spring, came tumbling down the rocks. From John, near Gold, a longer walk led to the enchanting lakelet, the *Kolek*, or "Collect," nestling within a circle of forest hills. Like many such ponds in the vicinity of old villages, this, traditionally, had no bottom, and was said to be haunted by the spirits of some old native sachems, the paddles of whose canoes could be heard at night, though nothing was seen visibly to disturb the crystal waters. All these spots were famous trysting-places of the youthful New Netherlanders. But how changed the scene! Where those sparkling and beautiful waters once flowed, and the morning carols of the birds were heard, the dark, sorrowful and simple abodes of the "Five Points" now stand in close proximity to the gloomy prison cells of the "Tombs."

But although New York City, two hundred years ago, passed over to British rule, still the inhabitants remained Dutch in their manners, customs, modes of thought, and religious ideas, for many subsequent years. Sleighing was a fashionable amusement; and a ride to Harlem became the longest drive among the "city folk." Parties, however, often turned aside to visit "Hell Gate," influenced, doubtless, by the fact that on this road, over the Tamkill (a little stream emptying into the East River, opposite Blackwell's Island), was the *Kissing Bridge*, so laid down on the old maps, and named from the old Dutch custom of the gentlemen saluting their

lady companions whenever they crossed the bridge. That was the day also of the "cocked hats" and "cues," which stuck out from behind the head "stiff as a poker." The most fashionable gentleman made his appearance before the fair one who was to be his companion in the ride, in a large camlet cloak, with a very large cape, snuff-colored coat, small clothes and thick stockings drawn over the



VIEW NEAR HELL-GATE.

shoes to keep out the snow. In addition, a woolen tip-pet warmly protected his neck, and domestic-knit mittens his hands. People then showed their good sense by dressing according to the weather.

An old chronicle tells us that an Ethiopian, named Cæsar, had great fame as a driver, fiddler, and waiter. The ladies, once upon a time, appeared in linsey-woolsey, with

hoods of immense size; and at noon away went the party in high glee, to the jingle of sleigh-bells, to take a cup of tea and a dance at Harlem. Reaching there, Cæsar tuned his three-stringed fiddle; when the gentlemen appeared in their snare-toed shoes, and the ladies in peak-toed, high-heeled slippers. Dancing and skipping the "light, fantastic toe" immediately begun, and continued until



TURTLE BAY AND BLACKWELL'S ISLAND.

eight o'clock in the evening, when they again hastened back to the city; for "to be out" after nine, on common occasions, was considered a certain sign of bad morals.

The earliest Dutch emigrants to New York left their deep impress upon the city and upon the State. Far-reaching commerce, which immortalized Old Amsterdam

in the seventeenth century, soon provoked the envy of New Amsterdam's neighbors, and in the end made our city the emporium of the Western World. Our ancestors left children and children's children, who were well fitted to act important parts in the great work of opening the American continent to European Christian civilization. They brought with them honest maxims, industry, and the liberal ideas of their *Fatherland*—their school-masters, their dominies, and their BIBLES. In the course of events, however, New Netherland passed over to British rule, when new customs, new relationships, and new habits of thought, were introduced.*

* It may be amusing to many of the present generation, so little accustomed to the old Dutch names, to read some titles once very familiar in New Amsterdam and New York, but now so seldom thought of or understood :

De Herr—Officer ; or *Hoofd-Schout*, High-Sheriff.

De Fiscoll—Attorney-General.

Groot Bingenecht, and *Klein Bingenecht*, the Great and Small Citizenship, early marking the two orders of society.

The *Schout* (Sheriff), *Burgomeesters*, and *Schepens*, then ruled the city, "as in all cities of the *Fatherland*."

Geheim Schuyner—Recorder of Secrets.

Wees-Meesters—Guardians of Orphans.

Roy-Meester—Regulator of Fences.

Eyck-Meester—The Weigh-Master.

The word *Boss*, still in use, a century ago was written "*Baas*," and literally means "master."

SECOND PERIOD.

1674-1783.

From the English Conquest to the Revolutionary War and the Termination of British Rule.

CHAPTER I.

BEFORE entering upon the history of this period, it seems desirable to take a ramble about the limits of New Amsterdam, and see for ourselves how it appeared at the time that the Dutch surrendered it to the English. In our walk we will take as our guide a map of the "*Towne of Wambados, or New Amsterdam, as it was in September, 1661,*" a copy of which now lies before us. 1661. This is, so far as known, the only plan of the city executed in the early Dutch times, and was found a few years since in the British Museum.

The town wind-mill stood on a bluff, within our present Battery, opposite Greenwich Street. On Water, between Whitehall and Moore Streets, was the "Government House," built, by Stuyvesant, of stone, and the best edifice in the town. When Governor Dongan became its owner he changed its name from the "Government House" to "Whitehall," and hence the name of the street. It was surrounded by a large inclosure, one side of which, with

the garden, was washed by the river. A little dock for pleasure-boats ran into the stream at this point. Here, also, was located the Governor's house, between which and the canal in Broad street was the present Pearl Street, then the great center of trade—known as the "Water-side," and sometimes as the "Strand." Near the Governor's house was the "Way-house," or Weigh-house, at the head of the public wharf at the foot of the present Moore Street. A very short distance off, and parallel with Pearl, ran the *Brugh Straat* (the present Bridge Street), so named from the fact of its leading to the bridge across the canal in Broad. There was a small passage-way running through this block and along the side of the "Old Church," for convenient access to a row of houses laid down on the map. These, five in number, belonged to the Company, and were built of stone. In front of them was a beautiful sloping green. The canal in Broad Street was, in truth, but a narrow stream, running toward Wall Street for a quarter of a mile. Both sides were dyked with posts, in the fashion of *Fatherland*, at the distance of twelve feet from the houses. On each side, as houses line a canal in Holland, stood a row of buildings in the ultra-Dutch style, low, high-peaked, and very neat, with their gables toward the street. Each had its stoop, a vane or weather-cock, and its dormer-window. From the roof of one, a little iron crane projected, with a small boat at its end, as a sign of this being the "Ferry-house." The landing was at the head of the canal, in Broad Street, at the point where Garden united with it. This canal or little stream originally went up to "Verlettenberg Hill" (Exchange Place), afterward corrupted into "Flottenbanck." This was the head of tide-water; and here the country people from Brooklyn, Gowanus, and Bergen brought their marketing to the center of the city. Many of the market-boats were rowed by stout women, without

hats or bonnets, but wearing in their place close caps, There were generally two rowers to each craft.

Further along the East River, or "water-side," a building of considerable pretension appeared—the *Stadt Huys*, or City Hall, first erected as a tavern, but afterward taken by the municipal government. In front of the *Stadt Huys* was placed a battery of three guns. Proceeding along the river-shore, we pass Hanover Square, where two boats are lying, and approach the "City Gate," at the foot of Wall Street, sometimes called the "Water Gate," to distinguish it from the "Land Gate" at the end of the road on the *Sheera Straat* (Broadway). The Water Gate seems to have been quite an imposing structure, doubtless because Pearl Street was the great thoroughfare and main entrance to the town. Most of the strangers or visitors to New Amsterdam came from Long Island.

Continuing our walk toward Long Island Ferry, or "Passage Place," and passing by *Maagde Paatje* (Maiden Lane), we come to another public way leading to "Shoemakers' Land" and "Vandercliff's Orchard," both places of noted resort. This was the present John Street, from Pearl to Cliff.

At a very early day the tanneries in Broad Street were declared a nuisance, and their owners ordered to remove beyond the city limits. This they did, and established themselves along Maiden Lane, then a marshy valley.*

* When the *Maagde Paatje*, or Maiden Lane, was continued through to the river, and widened below Pearl Street for the slip called "Countess's Slip," in compliment (for some "slip" of hers?) to the lady of the Governor, Lord Bellamont, a market was built there, known as the *Vly Market*, the "Market in the Marsh," corrupted to the Fly Market. Hence, when in subsequent years there arose a sharp contest between a New-Yorker and a Philadelphian on the all-important question, in which of their cities was the best fare, the New-Yorker would boast of his fish, their variety, scores of kinds, their freshness, some even alive and gasping in the market. This fact was not to be denied; but to avoid the effect of a triumph, the Philadelphian would only, significantly, remind him, that however fresh his *fish* might be, the *flesh* he ate during the summer months

Four of the number, shoemakers by trade, purchased a tract of land bounded by Broadway, Ann, William, and Gold Streets, and here commenced their business. This region was thenceforth known as the *Shoemakers' Land*, a name which it retained so late as 1696, when it was divided into town-lots. The tanners were next driven from this locality into what is even now known as the "*Swamp*." The *Vandercliff's Orchard* was bounded by the East River, Shoemakers' Land, and Maiden Lane. Its original owner was Hendrick Ryker, who sold it in 1680 to Dirck Vandercliff. During the Revolution this tract received the more pleasant-sounding name of *Golden Hill*, so named, it is said, from the fine wheat grown on it. Cliff Street yet preserves a part of the old title. Proceeding past Golden Hill we come to a large edifice, close to the present site of Fulton Market, and marked on the map as "Alderton's Buildings," surrounded by a fence. This is supposed to be the store-house of Isaac Allerton, who resided at New Amsterdam and carried on an extensive trade with the New-England colonies. He was one of the emigrants in the *May Flower*, and a notable character in our early history. His business was the importation of tobacco from Virginia, and this edifice was probably his great tobacco depot.

Continuing our tour, we reach the "Passage Place," the present Peck Slip, known for a long time as the "Old Ferry." This was the earliest Brooklyn ferry; and its rates were regulated by the city authorities, in 1654, at three stivers for foot passengers, except Indians, who paid six, unless there were two or more. Here Cornelis Dirck-

was not quite free from taint. Since, from the swarms of the insect in the principal market, it was called emphatically the *Fly Market*. The poor New-Yorker, ignorant of the Dutch language and of the etymologies from it, and hence knowing no better than that it was the true name of the market, left without a reply; left to experience what no one can know who has not experienced how provoking it is to be obliged in a disputation to give up the point.

sen, the ferryman, who owned a farm near by, at the sound of a horn hanging on the tree ferried the passengers over in his little skiff. Still further on there was a little stream, on the bank of which stood a water-mill. This brook ran into *Walphat's Meadow*, which covered the present Roosevelt street and vicinity. This stream, known as "Old Wreck Brook," ran from the meadow into the Kolck (Collect), a bridge crossing it on the highway in Chatham near Pearl.

The "*Commons*" (the present Park) was a well-known spot in early New York. Through it passed the post-road to Boston, the present Chatham Street, and for many years this was the place for public executions. North of the Commons or the *Vlackte* (the "Flat"), lay the Fresh-Water Pond (to which allusion has already been made) with its neighboring district *Kolck Hook*, or Collect, below the Commons.* Near the Collect rose Potter's Hill. At its foot followed the "Owl's Kill," leading the waters of that pond through the marshes of "Wolfert's Valley" to the East River. Toward the river was the *Swamp*, the present Ferry Street and neighborhood, a low marshy place, covered with bushes and briars.†

* As the city gradually extended its limits, the powder-house, at first built on the Commons, was considered unsafe, and a new magazine was built in 1728 upon a secluded little island in the Fresh-Water Pond. Not far from this place, in the course of the following year, Noe Willey, of London, gave to his three sons in New York the ground for a Jewish cemetery. It was bounded by Chatham, Catharine and Oliver Streets, and was to be held forever as a burial place for the Israelites. But the wishes of the old Hebrew have been violated long since, for Chatham Street now runs through the sacred inclosure, and Mammon has erected a bank and stores upon the spot. Some tomb-stones, however, still stand, like grim sentinels, to keep guard over this once hallowed and venerable grave-yard.

† In 1744, this tract was sold for £200 to Jacobus Roosevelt, who divided it into fifty lots and established on them several tanneries. This indicated its future destiny, and ever since it has been the center of the large leather trade of the city. More immense fortunes have been made about that region than any other of the same extent in the city. It was originally called *Beekman's Swamp*, and leased to Rip Van Dam, a member of the Council, for twenty-one years, at a yearly rent of twenty shillings.

The city-wall, called the "*Lingel*," or ramparts, was a row of palisades, with embankments nine feet high and four wide, on which several canon were mounted on bastions. Two large stone points were afterward added—one on the corner of Broadway and Wall, called "*Hollandia*," and the other on the north-west corner of Wall and William, known as "*Zealandia*." These completely commanded the whole front of the city-wall.

Retracing our steps into town, we have now leisure to examine more carefully the canal, which is laid down as running through the entire length of Broad Street. Thirty years later this canal was filled up. It had a little branch running toward the west through Beaver Street. The *Steeregraft*, or main canal, appears to have been crossed by two principal bridges, one at Bridge and the other at Stone Street, with smaller ones, evidently designed for foot-passengers. Near Beaver Street, small boats or canoes lay moored in the canal.

Pearl Street then, and many years afterward, formed the river bank. Water and South Streets have both been reclaimed from the water. On the west side of Broadway, above the grave-yard, at the present Morris Street, were the country-seats of Messrs. Vandergrist and Van Dyck. On Whitehall Street stood the parsonage of the Dutch Dominie, with its garden of beautiful tulips and hyacinths, and its paths of cedar and clipped box. Close at hand stood the bakery, brewery, and warehouse of the Company. In William, near Pearl, was the old horse-mill, erected, it will be remembered, by Director Minuit, and which did good service until superseded by the three wind-mills of Van Twiller. One of these stood on State Street, and was the most prominent object seen on approaching the city from the bay. The old fort itself was bounded by Bridge, Whitehall, and State Streets, and the Bowling Green.

Two main roads led from the fort at the Battery toward the northern part of the island. One of these, afterward the "Boston, or the old Post Road," followed Broadway to the Park, and then extended through Chat-ham, Duane, William, and Pearl Streets to the Bowery.* Along the Bowery road lay "Steenwyck's" and "Heer-man's" orchards, with the well-known Stuyvesant's "Bowerie" (farm), whence the name. Near the last, and in the neighborhood of Gramercy Park, came "Crummashie Hill," while beyond were the "Zantberg" hills, with "Minetta" brook, which found its way through a marshy valley into the North River. Still further toward the north, near Thirty-Sixth street and Fourth Avenue, rose the "*Incleberg*" or "Beacon Hill," the Murray Hill of later times. From this latter point there was a commanding view of the whole island. The other main road also started from the fort, and passing through Stone Street to Hanover Square, led along the East River to the Brooklyn ferry.

Thus much for the *outward* appearance of New York at this time. In regard to its manners and interior life we are enabled—thanks to the late researches of the Hon. Henry C. Murphy, the Foreign Corresponding Secretary of the Long Island Historical Society—to speak even more definitely. Toward the middle of the seven-teenth century a peculiar religious sect existed in West-phalia. They were known as Labadists, and professed a kind of mysticism, holding, nevertheless, to the tenets of the Dutch Reformed Church. In the summer of 1679 two of their number were sent over to America, with the view of ascertaining the nature of the

* In the year 1696 the first hackney-coach was introduced upon the Bowery road. Previous to this time, with the exception of the Governor's, private coaches were unknown.

country and government, and selecting a suitable place for the establishment of a colony of the religious community to which they belonged. The journal which they kept during their stay in America is of great interest, particularly that portion having reference to their visit to New York; for, aside from the quaintness and originality of the narrative, it is of peculiar value, as giving an inside view of the people of New Amsterdam at this time. As there were but a very small number of copies printed, and the circulation is therefore extremely limited, we shall take the liberty of quoting somewhat extensively from the work itself. *

"Having then fortunately arrived, by the blessing of the Lord, before the City of New York, on Saturday, the 23d day of September, we stepped ashore about four o'clock in the afternoon, in company with Gerrit, our fellow-passenger, who would conduct us in this strange place. He had lived here a long time, and had married his wife here, although she and his children were living at present at Zwolle. We went along with him, but as he met many of his old acquaintances on the way, we were constantly stopped. He first took us to the house of one of his friends, who welcomed him and us, and offered us some of the fruit of the country, very fine peaches and full-grown apples, which filled our hearts with thankfulness to God. This fruit was exceedingly fair and good, and pleasant to the taste; much better than that in Holland or elsewhere, though I believe our long fasting and craving of food made it so agreeable. After taking a glass of Madeira, we proceeded on to Gerrit's father-in-law's, a very old man, half lame, and unable either to walk or stand, who fell upon the neck of his son-in-law, welcoming him with tears of joy. The old woman was also very glad. This good man was born in Vlissingen, and was named Jacob Swart. He had been formerly a master-carpenter at Amsterdam, but had lived in this country upwards of forty-five years. After we had been here a little while, we left our traveling-bag, and went out to take a walk in the fields. It was strange to us to feel such stability under us, although it seemed as if the earth itself moved under our feet like the ship had done for three months past, and our body also still swayed after the manner of the rolling of the sea; but this sensation gradually passed off in the course of a few days. As we walked along we saw in different gardens trees full of apples of various kinds, and so laden with peaches and other fruit that one might doubt whether there were more leaves or fruit on them. I have never seen in Europe, in the best seasons, such an overflowing abundance. When we had finished our tour and

* This journal was found in manuscript, a few years since, in Holland, by Mr. Murphy, who, perceiving its value, presented it to the Long Island Historical Society, by whom a few copies were printed for the members in 1867.

given our guide several letters to deliver, we returned to his father-in-law's, who regaled us in the evening with milk, which refreshed us much. We had so many peaches set before us that we were timid about eating them, though we experienced no ill effects from them. We remained there to sleep, which was the first time in nine or ten weeks that we had lain down upon a bed undressed, and able to yield ourselves to sleep without apprehension of danger.

"24th, Sunday. We rested well through the night. I was surprised on waking up to find my comrade had already dressed himself and breakfasted upon peaches. We walked out awhile in the fine, pure morning air, along the margin of the clear running water of the sea, which is driven up this river at every tide. As it was Sunday, in order to avoid scandal and for other reasons, we did not wish to absent ourselves from church. We therefore went, and found there truly a wild, worldly world. I say wild, not only because the people are wild, as they call it in Europe, but because most all the people who go there to live, or who are born there, partake somewhat of the nature of the country, that is, peculiar to the land where they live. We heard a minister preach who had come from the up-river country, from Fort Orange, where his residence is, an old man named Domine Schaats, of Amsterdam. * * * "This Schaats then preached. He had a defect in the left eye, and used such strange gestures and language that I think I never in all my life heard anything more miserable; indeed, I can compare him with no one better than with one Do. Van Eecke, lately the minister at Armuyden, in Zeeland, more in life, conversation, and gestures than in person. As it is not strange in these countries to have men as ministers who drink, we could imagine nothing else than that he had been drinking a little this morning. His text was, *Come unto me all ye, &c.*, but he was so rough that even the roughest and most godless of our sailors were astonished.

"The church being in the fort, we had an opportunity to look through the latter, as we had come too early for preaching. It is not large; it has four points or batteries; it has no moat outside, but is inclosed with a double row of palisades. It is built from the foundation with quarry stone. The parapet is of earth. It is well provided with cannon, for the most part of iron, though there were some small brass pieces, all bearing the mark or arms of the Netherlanders. The garrison is small. There is a well of fine water dug in the fort by the English, contrary to the opinion of the Dutch, who supposed the fort was built upon rock, and had, therefore, never attempted any such thing. There is, indeed, some indication of stone there, for along the edge of the water below the fort there is a very large rock extending apparently under the fort, which is built upon the point formed by the two rivers, namely, the East River, which is the water running between the Manhattans and Long Island, and the North River, which runs straight up to Fort Orange. In front of the fort, on the Long Island side, there is a small island called Noten Island (Nut Island), around the point of which vessels must go in sailing out or in, whereby they are compelled to pass close by the point of the fort, where they can be flanked by several of the batteries. It has only one gate, and that is on the land side, opening upon a broad plane or street, called the Broadway or Beaverway. Over this gate are the arms of the Duke of York. During the time of the Dutch there were two gates, namely, another on the water side; but the English have closed it and made a battery there, with a false gate. In front of the church is inscribed the name of Governor Kyft, who caused the same to be built in the

year 1642. It has a shingled roof, and upon the gable towards the water there is a small wooden tower with a bell in it, but no clock. There is a sun-dial on three sides. The front of the fort stretches east and west, and consequently the sides run north and south.

"After we had returned to the house and dined, my companion, not wishing to go to church, set about writing letters, as there was a ship, of which André Bon was master, about to leave in a few days for London; but in order we should not be both absent from church, and as the usual minister was to preach in the afternoon, I went alone to hear him. He was a thick, corpulent person, with a red and bloated face, and of very slabbering speech.* His text was 'The elders who serve well,' &c., because the elders and deacons were that day renewed, and I saw them admitted. After preaching, the good old people with whom we lodged, who, indeed, if they were not the best on all the Manhattan, were at least among the best, especially the wife, begged we would go with their son Gerrit to one of their daughters, who lived in a delightful place, and kept a tavern, where we would be able to taste the beer of New Netherland, inasmuch as it was also a brewery. Some of their friends passing by requested Gerrit and us to accompany them, and so we went for the purpose of seeing what was to be seen; but when we arrived there, we found ourselves much deceived. On account of its being to some extent a pleasant spot, it was resorted on Sundays by all sorts of revelers, and was a low pot-house. Our company immediately found acquaintances there and joined them, but it being repugnant to our feelings to be there, we walked into the orchard to seek pleasure in contemplating the innocent objects of nature. Among other trees we observed a mulberry-tree, the leaves of which were as large as a plate. The wife showed us pears larger than the fist, picked from a three years' graft which had borne forty of them. A great storm of rain coming up in the evening compelled us to go into the house, where we did not remain long with the others, but took our leave of them against their wishes. We retraced our steps in the dark, exploring a way over which we had gone only once in our life, through a *valey* (salt meadow) and over water upon the trunk of a tree. We nevertheless reached home, having left the others in their revels. While in their company we conversed with the first male born of Europeans in New Netherland, named Jean Vigné. His parents were from Valenciennes, and he was now about sixty-five years of age. He was a brewer and a neighbor of our old people."

* * * * *

"25th, Monday. We went on board the ship this morning in order to obtain our traveling bag and clothes for the purpose of having them washed, but when we came on board we could not get ashore again before the afternoon, when the passengers' goods were to be delivered. All our goods which were between-decks were taken ashore and carried to the public store-house, where they had to be examined, but some time elapsed before it was done, in consequence of the examiners being elsewhere. At length, however, one Abraham Lennoy, a good fellow apparently, befriended us. He examined our chest only, without touching our bedding or any thing else. I showed him a list of the tin which we had in the upper part of our chest, and he examined it and

* The minister here referred to was the Rev. William Nieuenhuisen.

also the tin, and turned up a little more what was in the chest, and with that left off, without looking at it closely. He demanded four English shillings for the tin, remarking at the same time that he had observed some other small articles, but would not examine them closely, though he had not seen either the box or the pieces of linen. This being finished, we sent our goods in a cart to our lodgings, paying for the two heavy chests and straw beds and other goods from the public store-house to the Smit's *valey*, sixteen stivers of zeawan, equal to three stivers and a half in the money of Holland. This finished the day, and we retired to rest.

"26th, Tuesday. We remained at home for the purpose of writing, but in the afternoon, finding that many goods had been discharged from the ship, we went to look after our little package, which also came. I declared it and it was examined. I had to pay twenty-four guilders in zeawan, or five guilders in the coin of Holland. I brought it to the house and looked the things all over, rejoicing that we were finally rid of that miserable set and the ship, the freight only remaining to be paid, which was fixed at four guilders in coin. We went first to Margaret in relation to the freight, who said she had nothing more to do with it, and that we must speak to her husband about it, which it was not convenient to do that evening, and we therefore let it go, waiting for an opportunity to speak to her and her husband with the captain, and perhaps also Mr. Jan.

* * * * *

"As soon as we had dined we sent off our letters, and this being all accomplished, we started at two o'clock for Long Island. This island is called Long Island, not so much because it is longer than it is broad, but particularly because it is the longest island in this region, or even along the whole coast of New Netherland, Virginia, and New England. It is one hundred and forty-four miles in length, and from twenty-four to twenty-eight miles wide, though there are several bays and points along it, and consequently it is much broader in some places than others. On the west is Staten Island, from which it is separated about a mile, and the great bay over which you see the *Nevesincke*. With Staten Island it makes the passage through which all vessels pass in sailing from or to the *Mahatans*, although they can go through the *Kil Van Kol*, which is on the other side of Staten Island. The ends of these islands opposite each other are quite high land, and they are therefore called the *Hoofden* (Headlands), from a comparison with the Hoofden of the channel between England and France in Europe. On the north is the island of *Mahatans* and a part of the mainland. On the east is the sea, which shoots up to New England, and in which there are various islands. On the south is the great ocean. The outer shore of this island has before it several small islands and broken land, such as Coney Island,* a low, sandy island of about three hours' circuit, its westerly point forming with Sandy Hook on the other side the entrance to the sea. It is oblong in shape, and is grown over with bushes. Nobody lives upon it, but it is used in winter for keeping cattle, horses, oxen, hogs and others, which are able to obtain there sufficient to eat the whole winter, and to shelter themselves from the cold in the thickets. This island is not so cold as Long Island of the *Mahatans*, or others, like some

* 't *Conijnen Eylant*, Rabbit's Island.

islands on the coast, in consequence of their having more sea-breeze, and of the saltiness of the sea breaking upon the shoals, rocks, and reefs with which the coast is beset. There is also the Bear's Island * and others, separated from Long Island by creeks and marshes overflowed at high water. There are also on this sea-coast various miry places like the Vlaeck † and others, as well as some sand bays and hard and rocky shores. Long Island stretches into the sea for the most part east by south and east-south-east. None of its land is very high, for you must be nearly opposite Sandy Hook before you can see it. There is a hill or ridge running lengthwise through the island, nearest the north side and west end of the island. The south side and east end are more flat. The water by which it is separated from the *Mahatans* is improperly called the East River, for it is nothing else than an arm of the sea, beginning in the bay on the west and ending in the sea on the east. After forming in this passage several islands, this water is as broad before the city as the Y before Amsterdam, but the ebb and flood tides are stronger. There is a ferry for the purpose of crossing over it which is farmed out by the year and yields a good income, as it is a considerable thoroughfare, this island being one of the most populous places in this vicinity. A considerable number of Indians live upon it, who gain their subsistence by hunting and fishing, and they, as well as others, must carry their articles to market over this ferry or boat them over, as it is free to every one to use his own boat, if he have one, or to borrow or hire one for the purpose. The fare over the ferry is three stivers ‡ in zeawan for each person.

"Here we three crossed over, my comrade Gerrit, our guide, and myself, in a row-boat, as it happened, which, in good weather and tide, carries a sail. When we came over we found there Jan Teunissen, our fellow-passenger, who had promised us so much good. He was going over to the city to deliver his letters and transact other business. He told us he would return home in the evening and we would find him there. We went on up the hill along open roads and a little woods, through the first village, called Breukelen, which has a small and ugly little church standing in the middle of the road. § Having passed through here, we struck off to the right in order to go to *Gouanes*. We went up on several plantations, where Gerrit was acquainted with most all of the people, who made us very welcome, sharing with us bountifully whatever they had, whether it was milk, cider, fruit, or tobacco, and especially and first and most of all, miserable rum or brandy which had been brought from Barbadoes and other islands, and which is called by the Dutch "*kill-devil*." All these people are very fond of it, and most of them extravagantly so, although

* *t Beeren Eylant*. Now called Barren Island.

† The Wieringen shoals in the Zuyder Zee are probably meant.

‡ Less than half a cent in our money.

§ Breukelen, now Brooklyn, was so called from the village of that name in the province of Utrecht. The church here referred to was built in 1666, and was the first one in Brooklyn. When it was taken down does not appear. "A second church," says Furman, in his *Notes relating to Brooklyn*, 76,* "was erected, on the site of that built in 1666, which second church continued standing until about 1810, when a new and substantial church was erected on Joralemon street, and the old one taken down. This old church was a very gloomy-looking building, with small windows, and stood in the middle of the highway, about a mile from Brooklyn ferry." Of this second church a view is given in the *Brooklyn Manual* of 1863.

it is very dear and has a bad taste. It is impossible to tell how many peach-trees we passed, all laden with fruit to breaking down, and many of them actually broken down. We came to a place surrounded with such trees, from which so many had fallen off that the ground could not be discerned, and you could not put your foot down without trampling them, and notwithstanding such large quantities had fallen off, the trees still were as full as they could bear. The hogs and other animals mostly feed on them. This place belongs to the oldest European woman in the country. We went immediately into her house, where she lived with her children. We found her sitting by the fire, smoking tobacco incessantly, one pipe after another. We inquired after her age, which the children told us was a hundred years. She was from Luyck (Liege), and still spoke good Waalsche (old French) with us. She could reason very well sometimes, and at other times she could not. She showed us several large apples, as good fruit of that country, and different from that of Europe. She had been about fifty years now in the country, and had above seventy children and grandchildren. She saw the third generation after her. Her mother had attended women in childbed in her one hundred and sixth year, and was one hundred and eleven or twelve years old when she died. We tasted here, for the first time, smoked *twaelft* * (twelfth), a fish so called because it is caught in season next after the *elft* † (eleventh). It was salted a little and then smoked, and although it was now a year old, it was still perfectly good, and in flavor not inferior to smoked salmon. We drank here, also, the first new cider, which was very fine.

"We proceeded on to Gouanes, a place so called, where we arrived in the evening at one of the best friends of Gerrit, named Symon. He was very glad to see us, and so was his wife. He took us into the house, and entertained us exceedingly well. We found a good fire, half-way up the chimney, of clear oak and hickory, of which they made not the least scruple of burning profusely. We let it penetrate us thoroughly. There had been already thrown upon it, to be roasted, a pail-full of Gouanes oysters, which are the best in the country. They are fully as good as those of England, and better than those we eat at Falmouth. I had to try some of them raw. They are large and full, some of them not less than a foot long, and they grow sometimes ten, twelve, and sixteen together, and are then like a piece of rock. Others are young and small. In consequence of the great quantities of them, everybody keeps the shells for the purpose of burning them into lime. They pickle the oysters in small casks, and send them to Barbadoes and the other islands. We had for supper a roasted haunch of venison, which he had bought of the Indians for three guilders and a half of *seerwant*, that is, fifteen stuivers of Dutch money (fifteen cents), and which weighed thirty pounds. The meat was exceedingly tender and good, and also quite fat. It had a slight spicy flavor. We were also served with wild turkey, which was also fat and of a good flavor; and a wild goose, but that was rather dry. Every thing we had was the natural production of the country. We saw here, lying in a heap, a whole hill of watermelons, which were as large as pumpkins, and which Symon was going to take to the city to sell. They were very good, though there is a difference between them and those of the

* The striped bass.

† The shad

Caribby islands; but this may be owing to its being late in the season, as these were the last pulling. It was very late at night when we went to rest in a Kermis bed, as it is called, in the corner of the hearth, alongside of a good fire.

"30th, Saturday. Early this morning the husband and wife set off for the city with their marketing; and we, having explored the land in the vicinity, left after breakfast. We went a part of the way through a woods and fine, new-made land, and so along the shore to the west end of the island, called *Najack*.* As we proceeded along the shore, we found, among other curiosities, a highly-marbled stone, very hard, in which we saw Muscovy glass lying in layers between the clefts, and how it was struck or cut out. We broke off a small piece with some difficulty, and picked out a little glass in the splits. Continuing onward from there, we came to the plantation of the *Najack* Indians, which was planted with maize, or Turkish wheat. We soon heard a noise of pounding, like thrashing, and went to the place whence it proceeded, and found there an old Indian woman busily employed beating Turkish beans out of the pods by means of a stick, which she did with astonishing force and dexterity. Gerrit inquired of her, in the Indian language, which he spoke perfectly well, how old she was, and she answered eighty years; at which we were still more astonished that so old a woman should still have so much strength and courage to work as she did. We went from thence to her habitation, where we found the whole troop together, consisting of seven or eight families, and twenty or twenty-two persons, I should think. Their house was low and long, about sixty feet long and fourteen or fifteen feet wide. The bottom was earth, the sides and roof were made of reed and the bark of chestnut-trees; the posts, or columns, were limbs of trees stuck in the ground, and all fastened together. The top, or ridge of the roof, was open about half a foot wide, from one end to the other, in order to let the smoke escape, in place of a chimney. On the sides, or walls of the house, the roof was so low that you could hardly stand under it. The entrances, or doors, which were at both ends, were so small that they had to stoop down and squeeze themselves to get through them. The doors were made of reed, or flat bark. In the whole building there was no lime, stone, iron, or lead. They build their fire in the middle of the floor, according to the number of families which live in it, so that from one end to the other each of them boils its own pot, and eats when it likes, not only the families by themselves, but each Indian alone, according as he is hungry, at all hours, morning, noon, and night. By each fire are the cooking utensils, consisting of a pot, a bowl, or calabash, and a spoon also made of a calabash. These are all that relate to cooking. They lie upon mats, with their feet towards the fire on each side of it. They do not sit much upon any thing raised up, but, for the most part, sit on the ground, or squat on their ankles. Their other household articles consist of a calabash of water, out of which they drink, a small basket in which to carry and keep their maize and small beans, and a knife. The implements are, for tillage, a small, sharp stone, and nothing more; for hunting, a gun and pouch for powder and lead; for fishing, a canoe without mast or sail, and without a nail in any part of it, though it is sometimes full forty feet in length, fish-hooks and lines, and scoop to paddle with in place of oars. I do not know whether there are not some others of a trifling nature. All who live in one house are generally of one stock or de-

* Fort Hamilton, which is surrounded, in a great measure, by a marsh, and hence is here called an island.

scents, as father and mother, with their offspring. Their bread is maize, pounded in a block by a stone, but not fine. This is mixed with water, and made into a cake, which they bake under the hot ashes. They gave us a small piece when we entered, and although the grains were not ripe, and it was half-baked and coarse grains, we nevertheless had to eat it, or, at least, not throw it away before them, which they would have regarded as a great sin, or a great affront. We chewed a little of it *with long teeth*, and managed to hide it so they did not see it. We had also to drink out of their calabashes the water which was their drink, and which was very good. We saw here the Indians who came on board the ship when we arrived. They were all very joyful at the visit of our Gerrit, who was an old acquaintance of theirs, and had heretofore long resided there. We presented them with two jews-harps, which much pleased them, and they immediately commenced to play upon them, which they could do tolerably well. Some of their *patroons* (chiefs), some of whom spoke good Dutch, and are also their medicine-men and surgeons as well as their teachers, were busy making shoes of deer-leather, which they understand how to make soft by continually working it in their hands. They had dogs, fowls, and hogs, which they learn by degrees from the Europeans how to manage better. They had, also, peach-trees, which were well laden. Towards the last, we asked them for some peaches, and they answered: 'Go and pick them,' which showed their politeness. However, in order not to offend them, we went off and pulled some. Although they are such a poor, miserable people, they are, nevertheless, licentious and proud, and given to knavery and scoffing. Seeing a very old woman among them, we inquired how old she was, when some young fellows, laughing and jeering, answered twenty years, while it was evident to us she was not less than a hundred. We observed here the manner in which they travel with their children, a woman having one which she carried on her back. The little thing clung tight around her neck like a cat, where it was kept secure by means of a piece of daffels, their usual garment. Its head, back, and buttocks, were entirely flat. How that happened to be so we will relate hereafter, as we now only make mention of what we saw.

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"4th, Wednesday. We slept for the night in our old place. In the morning the horses were harnessed to the wagon for the purpose of carrying us to the city, and bringing back some medicines which had arrived for him (Jaques) from Holland in our ship. We breakfasted to our full, and rode first to the bay, where we had left our traveling-bag. Seeing there was nothing to be accomplished with our Jan Theunissen, all his great promises having vanished without the least result, though they had cost us dearly enough, we let that rest quiet, and taking our leave, rode on to 't *Vlacke Bos*, a village situated about an hour and a half's distance from there, upon the same plain, which is very large. This village seems to have better farms than the bay, and yields full as much revenue. Riding through it, we came to the woods and hills, which are very stony and uncomfortable to ride over. We rode over them, and passed through the village of *Breukelen* to the ferry, and leaving the wagon there, we crossed over the river and arrived at home at noon, where we were able to rest a little, and where our old people were glad to see us. We sent back to Jaques half of our tincture calimanaris, and half of our balsam sulphur-

cous, and some other things. He had been of service to us in several respects, as he promised to be, and that with perfect willingness.

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"6th, Friday. We remained in the house during the forenoon, but after having dined we went out about two o'clock to explore the island of *Manathans*. This island runs east and west, or somewhat more northerly; on the north side of it is the North River, by which it is separated from the main-land on the north; on the east end it is separated from the main-land by a creek, or rather a branch of the North River, emptying itself into the East River. They can go over this creek at dead low water, upon rocks and reefs, at the place called *Spyt den duyvel*. This creek coming into the East River forms with it the two *Barents islands*.* At the west end of these two running waters, that is, where they come together to the east of these islands, they make, with the rocks and reefs, such a frightful eddy and whirlpool that it is exceedingly dangerous to pass through them, especially with small boats, of which there are some lost every now and then, and the persons in them drowned; but experience has taught men the way of passing through them with less danger. Large vessels have always less danger, because they are not capable of being carried along quickly. There are two places where such whirling of the stream occurs, which are on account of the danger and frightfulness called the Great and Little Hellgate. After these two streams are united, the island of *Manathans* is separated on the south from Long Island by the East River, which, beginning at the bay before New York, runs eastwardly, after forming several islands, again into the sea. This island is about seven hours' distance in length, but it is not a full hour broad. The sides are indented with bays, coves, and creeks. It is almost entirely taken up, that is, the land is held by private owners, but not half of it is cultivated. Much of it is good woodland. The west end, on which the city lies, is entirely cleared for more than an hour's distance, though that is the poorest ground; the best being on the east and north side. There are many brooks of fresh water running through it, pleasant and proper for man and beast to drink, as well as agreeable to behold, affording cool and pleasant resting-places, but especially suitable places for the construction of mills, for although there is no overflow of water, yet it can be shut off and so used. A little eastward of *Nieu Haerlem* there are two ridges of very high rocks, with a considerable space between them, displaying themselves very majestically, and inviting all men to acknowledge in them the majesty, grandeur, power, and glory of the Creator, who has impressed such marks upon them. Between them runs the road to *Spyt den duyvel*. The one to the north is most apparent; the south ridge is covered with earth on its north side, but it can be seen from the water or from the main-land beyond to the south. The soil between these ridges is very good, though a little hilly and stony, and would be very suitable, in my opinion, for planting vineyards, in consequence of its being shut off on both sides from the winds which would most injure them, and is very warm. We found blue grapes along the road, which were very good and sweet, and as good as any I have tasted in the Fatherland.

We went from the city, following the Broadway, over the *valey*, or the

* Now called Great and Little Barn Islands.

fresh water. Upon both sides of this way were many habitations of negroes, mulattoes, and whites. These negroes were formerly the proper slaves of the West India Company, but, in consequence of the frequent changes and conquests of the country, they have obtained their freedom and settled themselves down where they have thought proper, and thus on this road, where they have ground enough to live on with their families. We left the village called the *Bouwerij*, lying on the right hand, and went through the woods to New Harlem, a tolerably large village situated on the south side of the island, directly opposite to the place where the north-east creek and the East River come together, situated about three hours' journey from New Amsterdam, like as old Harlem in Europe is situated about three hours' distance from old Amsterdam. As our guide, Gerrit, had some business here, and found many acquaintances, we remained over night at the house of one *Geresolveert*,* scoup (sheriff or constable) of the old place, who had formerly lived in Brazil, and whose heart was still full of it. This house was constantly filled with people all the time drinking for the most part that execrable rum. He had also the best cider we have tasted. Among the crowd we found a person of quality, an Englishman, named Captain Carteret, whose father is in great favor with the king, and he himself had assisted in several exploits in the king's service. He was administrator or captain-general of the English forces which went, in 1660, to retake St. Kitts, which the French had entirely conquered, and were repulsed. He had also filled some high office in the ship of the Duke of York, with two hundred infantry under his command. The king has given to his father, Sir George Carteret, the entire government of the lands west of the North River, in New Netherland, with power to appoint as governor whom he pleased; and at this present time there is a governor over it by his appointment, another Carteret, his nephew, I believe, who resides at Elizabethtown, in New Jersey.† From this Carteret in England the Quakers have purchased the privilege of a government of their own over a large tract of territory which they have bought and settled within his dominion; and it is but little different from their having bought the entire right of government of the whole of his land. This son is a very profligate person. He married a merchant's daughter here, and has so lived with his wife that her father has been compelled to take her home again. He runs about among the farmers, and stays where he can find most to drink, and sleeps in barns on the straw. If he conducted himself properly, he could be, not only governor here, but hold higher positions, for he has studied the moralities, and seems to have been of a good understanding; but that is all now drowned. His father, who will not acknowledge him as his son, as before, allows him yearly as much only as is necessary for him to live on.

"7th, Saturday. This morning, about half-past six, we set out from the village in order to go to the end of the island; but before we left we did not omit

* *Resolved*, a Christian name.

† Philip Carteret, the brother, not the nephew, of Sir George, is the person here meant. He was appointed governor of New Jersey, under the joint proprietorship of Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, in 1664, and of East Jersey in 1674, under the sole grant of Sir George. He resigned in 1682, and died in December of that year, in this country, leaving a widow, the daughter of Richard Smith, Smithtown, on Long Island.—*Whitehead's East Jersey under the Proprietors*, 36, 84.

supplying ourselves with peaches, which grew in an orchard along the road. The whole ground was covered with them and with apples, lying upon the new grain with which the orchard was planted. The peaches were the most delicious we had yet eaten. We proceeded on our way, and when we were not far from the point of *Spyt den duyvel* we could see on our left hand the rocky cliffs of the main-land on the other side of the North River, these cliffs standing straight up and down, with the grain, just as if they were antimony. We crossed over the *Spyt den duyvel* in a canoe, and paid nine stuivers fare for us three, which was very dear. We followed the opposite side of the land, and came to the house of one *Valentyn*, a great acquaintance with our Gerrit. He had gone to the city, but his wife, though she did not know Gerrit or us, was so much rejoiced to see Hollanders that she hardly knew what to do for us. She set before us what she had. We left after breakfasting there. Her son showed us the way, and we came to a road entirely covered with peaches. We asked the boy why they left them to lie there and they did not let the hogs eat them. He answered, "We do not know what to do with them, there were so many; the hogs are satiated with them, and will not eat any more." From this we may judge of the quantity of them. We pursued our way now a small distance through the woods and over the hills, then back again along the shore to a point, where one *Webbligh*, an Englishman, lived, who was standing ready to cross over. He carried us over with him, and refused to take any pay for our passage, offering us at the same time some of his rum, a liquor which is everywhere. We were now again at New Harlem, and dined with *Gerosolveert*, at whose house we slept the night before, and who made us welcome. It was now two o'clock; and leaving there we crossed over the island, which takes about three-quarters of an hour to do, and came to the North River, which we followed a little within the woods, to *Sappokanikke*.* Gerrit having a sister and friends there, we rested ourselves, and drank some good beer, which refreshed us. We continued along the shore to the city, where we arrived in an hour in the evening, very much fatigued, having walked this day about forty miles. I must add, in passing through this island we sometimes encountered such a sweet smell in the air that we stood still, because we did not know what it was we were meeting."

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"14th, Saturday. Being under sail, as I have said, it was so entirely calm that we could only float with the stream until we came to *Schutters* island, where we obtained the tide again. It was now about four o'clock. In order to protect ourselves from the air, which was very cold and piercing, we crept under the sail, which was very old and full of holes. The tide having run out by daylight we came under sail again, with a good wind, which brought us to the city at about eight o'clock, for which we were glad, and returning thanks to God, betook ourselves to rest.

"15th, Sunday. We went at noon to-day to hear the English minister, whose services took place after the Dutch church was out. There were not above twenty-five or thirty people in the church. The first thing that occurred was the reading of all their prayers and ceremonies out of the prayer-book, as

* According to Judge Benson this was the Indian name of the point, afterward known as Greenwich, on the north side of the city.—*New York Historical Collections*, second series, 84.

is done in all Episcopal churches. A young man then went into the pulpit and commenced preaching, who thought he was performing wonders; but he had a little book in his hand out of which he read his sermon, which was about a quarter of an hour or half an hour long.† With this the services were concluded, at which we could not be sufficiently astonished. This was all that happened with us to-day."

† The only English minister in the whole province at this time was attached to the garrison at the City of New York. This was the Rev. Charles Wooley, a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge, in 1677. He came to New York in August, 1678, and left there for England in July, 1680. He was the author of a small volume with the title of *A Two Years' Journal in New York, etc.*, published in 1701, and recently republished, with notes by Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, in Mr. Gowan's interesting series of early works on the colonies.

CHAPTER II.

The new *regime* in New York, under Edmund Andross, as her first Governor, dates from the year 1674. Andross was a public officer of ability, but well
1674. known for his imperious and despotic disposition. The people immediately petitioned their royal master, the Duke of York, for an Assembly of Representatives; but James, who regarded popular bodies as dangerous, refused their prayer, with the question: "What do they want with Assemblies? They have the Court of Sessions presided over by the Governor; or, if this is not enough, they can appeal to me!" Such was the English spirit of oppression a century before it was resisted in blood at Golden and Bunker Hills. Upon learning of this reply of Andross, Sir William Berkley, Governor of Virginia, "thanked God that there were neither free-schools nor printing-presses in the colony," fervently adding, "God keep us from both!"

Governor Andross, however—much as he may in after years have merited from the people of the Eastern Colonies the title of the "Tyrant of New England"—governed New York with wisdom and moderation. Desirous of establishing himself on a popular basis with the people, one of his first official acts was to appoint, in 1676, a native Hollander—Nicholas Meyer—Mayor of the city. The selection was a good one. Meyer was one of the

most enterprising of traders, and, withal, a most respectable burgher; and although the duties of his office could not have been particularly onerous at a time when only *three hundred and one* names were recorded upon the list of tax-payers, yet what little he did was done honestly and *well*. Nor did Andros strive to be popular alone. Aware that no government can be a stable one unless placed on a basis of sound morality, he at once established ordinances for regulating the public morals and promoting the welfare of the city. "The city-gates were ordered to be closed at night at nine o'clock, and to be opened at daylight. The citizens were required to keep watch by turns, and were fined for absence or neglect of duty; and all profanity and drunkenness were strictly forbidden. Every citizen was ordered to provide himself with a good musket or firelock, with at least six charges of powder and ball, and to appear with good arms before the Captain's colors, at the first beating of the drum."

In 1677 the first native-born Mayor was appointed to the Mayoralty. This was Stephanus Van Cortlandt, a large property-holder, and after whom Cortlandt street is named. Under his administration seven 1677. public wells were placed in different parts of the city, chiefly as a protection against fires.

Meanwhile the necessity of conciliating the Iroquois—the most powerful Indian confederacy, at that time, in America—had received little or no attention from the people of New York or their Government. The first three English Governors of the colony, or rather lieutenants of the Duke of York—viz., Colonels Nicholls, Lovelace, and Major, afterward Sir Edmund Andros-----bestowed but inconsiderable attention upon the Five Nations, not seeming to appreciate either the importance of their trade or of their friendship. Still, the moral hatred they had borne for the French inclined them rather to prefer the

friendship of the English. But the Duke of York, in his affection for the Church of Rome, shutting his eyes to what unquestionably should have been the true policy of the English toward the Indians, had conceived the idea of handing the Confederates over to the Holy See, as converts to its forms, if not to its faith. Hence the efforts to mediate the peace between the Iroquois and the French of 1667, which were followed by invitations to the Jesuit missionaries from the English, to settle among the Confederates, and by persuasions to the latter to receive them. The Mohawks were either too wise, or too bitter in spirit toward the French, to listen to the proposal. But not so with the other nations of the alliance; and the Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas opened their eyes to the strangers in holy garb, causing infinite mischief in after years, as will appear in the sequel.

This peace of 1667 continued several years, during which time both the English and French prosecuted their trade with the Indians to a great and profitable extent. The French, especially, evinced a degree of energy, and a spirit of enterprise, almost unexampled in the history of colonization—planting their trading-posts, under the lead of the adventurous La Salle, at all the commanding points of the great lakes, and across the country of the Illinois to the Mississippi; and stealing the hearts of the Indians by means of the ministers of the order of Jesus, whom they sprinkled among the principal nations over the whole country of the exploration. By these bold advances deep into the interior, and the energy which everywhere characterized their movements, the French acquired a decided advantage over the English colonists in the fur trade, which it was evidently their design exclusively to engross; while the direct tendency of the Duke of York's policy, originating in blindness and bigotry, was to produce exactly the same result.

The error was soon perceived by Governor Dongan, who arrived in the colony as the successor of Major Andross, in 1683. Though his religious faith was in harmony with that of his royal master, he nevertheless possessed an enlarged understanding, with a disposition, as a Civil Governor, to look more closely after the interests of the crown than those of the crosier. He had not been long at the head of the colony before he perceived the mistakes of his predecessors in the conduct of its Indian relations. In fighting-men, the Five Nations at that time numbered ten times more than they did half a century afterward;* and the Governor saw at once their importance as a wall of separation between the English colonies and the French. He saw, also, the importance of their trade, which the Jesuit priests were largely influential in diverting to Canada. He saw that M. de Courcelles had erected a fort at Cadaraqui, within the territory of the Iroquois, on the north side of Lake Ontario,† and that La Salle had built a bark of ten tons upon that lake, and another of fifty upon Lake Erie, planting also a stockade at Niagara. He saw that the French were intercepting the trade of the English upon the lakes, and that the priests had succeeded in seducing numbers of the Mohawks and river Indians away from their own country, and planting their colonies upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the neighborhood of Montreal, through whose agency an illicit trade had been established with the City of Albany, by reason of which, Montreal, instead of Albany, was becoming the principal depot of the Indian trade. He saw, in a word, that the followers of Ignatius Loyola were rapidly alienating the affections of the Confederates from the English and transferring them to the French, and

* Memoir of Dr. Colden, concerning the fur trade, presented to Governor Burnet in 1724.

† The site of Kingston, Canada West.

that unless the policy respecting them were changed, the influence of the English would, at no distant day, be at an end with them. Nor had the priests confined their efforts simply to moral suasion; but, as though aiming to separate the Confederates from the English at a blow, and by a gulf so wide and deep as to be impassable, they had instigated them to commit positive hostilities upon the frontier settlements of Maryland and Virginia.

Having made himself thoroughly acquainted with these matters, Colonel Dongan lost no time in seeking to countervail the influence of the French, and bring back the Indians to a cordial understanding with his own people. His instructions from home were to encourage the Jesuit missionaries. These he not only disregarded, but he ordered the missionaries away, and forbade the Five Nations to entertain them. It is true this order was never enforced to the letter, the priests, some of them at least, maintaining a foot-hold at several points of the Confederacy—dubious at times, certainly—but yet maintaining it for three-quarters of a century afterward. Still, the measures of conciliation adopted by Colonel Dongan made a strong and favorable impression upon the Indians.

Availing himself of the difficulty between the Confederates and Virginia, consequent upon the outrages just adverted to as having been instigated by the priests, Colonel Dongan was instrumental in procuring a convention of the Five Nations, at Albany, in 1684, to
1684. meet Lord Howard, of Effingham, Governor of Virginia, at which he (Dongan) was likewise present. This meeting, or council, was attended by the happiest results. The difficulties with Virginia were adjusted, and a covenant made with Lord Howard for preventing further depredations.* But what was of yet greater importance,

* Smith's *History of New York*.

Colonel Dongan succeeded in completely gaining the affections of the Indians, who conceived for him the warmest esteem. They even asked that the arms of the Duke of York might be put upon their castles, a request which it need not be said was most readily complied with, since, should it afterward become necessary, the Governor might find it convenient to construe it into an act of at least partial submission to English authority, although it has been asserted that the Indians themselves looked upon the ducal insignia as a sort of charm that might protect them against the French.*

There was likewise another fortunate occurrence of events just at that time, which revived all the ancient animosity between the Iroquois and the French. While the conferences between Lord Howard and the Indians were yet in progress, a message was received from M. de la Barre, the Governor of Canada, complaining of the conduct of the Senecas in prosecuting hostilities against the Miamies and other western nations in alliance with the French, and thus interrupting their trade. Colonel Dongan communicated the message to the Iroquois chiefs, who retorted by charging the French with supplying their enemies with all their munitions of war. "Onontio † calls us children," said they, "and at the same time sends powder to our enemies to kill us!" This collision resulted in open war between the Iroquois and the French, the latter sending to France for powerful reinforcements, with the design of an entire subjugation of the former in the ensuing year. Meantime the French Catholics continued to procure letters from the Duke of York to his lieutenant commanding him to lay no obstacles in the way of the invaders. But these commands were again disregarded.

* Colden's *History of the Five Nations*.

† The name by which the Iroquois were wont to speak of the French Governors of Canada.

Dongan apprised the Iroquois of the designs of the French, not only to march against them with a strong army, but simultaneously to bring down upon them the western Indians in their interest.

Thus, by the wisdom and strong sense of justice of Colonel Dongan, was the chain of friendship between the

English and the Five Nations brightened and the
1685. most amicable relations re-established. Yet for the course he had taken, he fell under the displeasure of his bigoted master on his accession to the throne in 1685.

It is not, of course, within the purpose of this history to trace the progress of the long and cruel wars that succeeded the negotiations between Colonel Dongan and the Confederates. Briefly, it may be said, in respect to the expedition of M. de la Barre, that it failed by reason of sickness in his army at Cadaraqui, before crossing the lake. He was succeeded in the government of Canada by

the Marquis Denonville, who invaded the Seneca
1687. country in 1687 with a powerful force, gaining, however, such a victory over the Indians in the Genesee Valley as led to an inglorious retreat. This invasion was speedily recompensed by the Confederates, who descended upon the French settlements of the St. Lawrence like a tempest, and struck a blow of terrible vengeance upon Montreal itself.

New York was at this time torn by the intestine commotions incident to the revolution which drove the Stuarts from the English throne and ended the power of the Catholics in the colony. It was a consequence of these divisions that the English could afford the Indians no assistance in their invasion of Canada at that time, else that country would then doubtless have been wrested from the Crown of France. But the achievements of the Indians were, nevertheless, most important for the colony of New York, the subjugation of which was at that pre-

cise conjuncture meditated by France, and a combined expedition, by land and sea, was undertaken for that purpose—Admiral Caffniere commanding the ships which sailed from Rochefort for New York, and the Count de Frontenac, who had succeeded Denonville, being the General of the land forces. On his arrival at Quebec, however, the Count beheld his province reduced to a field of devastation, and he was therefore constrained to abandon the enterprise.

Nor was Governor Dongan's administration in the government of the colony itself characterized by less wisdom than his dealings with the Indians. He was highly respected as Governor—being upright, discreet, and of accomplished manners, added to which his firm and judicious policy, and his steadfast integrity, soon won for him "the affections of his people, and made him one of the most popular of the Royal Governors." Two years previous to his arrival, the aldermen of New York, and the justices of the peace of the Court of Assize, in consequence of the tyranny of Andros, had petitioned the Duke that the people might be allowed to participate in the affairs of the government by the construction of a General Assembly, in which they might be represented. Through the interposition of William Penn, who enjoyed the favor both of the King and the Duke, the point was yielded, and Colonel Dongan was instructed to allow the people a voice in the government. Greatly, therefore, to the joy of the inhabitants, who had become turbulent, if not disaffected, under the rule of Andros, writs were issued to the sheriffs summoning the freeholders to choose representatives to meet the new Governor in Assembly. He thus gave the colony its first legislative Assembly, which, meeting for the first time in the city of New York, on the 17th of October, 1683, consisted of the Governor, ten

councilors, and seventeen representatives elected by the people. Henceforth, and up to the period of the American Revolution, the history of New York city as the legislative capital of the province, consists, for the most part, in a series of bitter scenes between the Assembly and the Royal Governors. The first act of the Assembly was to give to the province its first "Charter of Liberties," by which it was ordained "that supreme legislative power should forever reside in the Governor, Council, and people met in General Assembly; that every freeholder and freeman might vote for representatives without restraint; that no freeman should suffer but by judgment of his peers, and that all trials should be by a jury of twelve men; that no tax should be assessed on any pretense whatever but by the consent of the Assembly; that no seaman or soldier should be quartered on the inhabitants against their will; that no martial law should exist; and that no person professing faith in God, by Jesus Christ, should at any time be in any way disquieted or questioned for any difference of opinion in matters of religion." Three assemblies, at least, were to be held every year; and should any seat become vacant, a new election was to be at once ordered by the Governor. One of the first acts of the Assembly was to divide the Province into twelve counties—New York, Richmond, Kings, Queens, Suffolk, Orange, Ulster, Albany, Westchester, Dutchess, Dukes, and Cornwall—all of which names, with the exception of the last two, still remain at the present day.

The Assembly, also, lost no time in bettering the condition of the city itself. "New police regulations were at once established. Sunday laws were enacted; tavern-keepers were forbidden to sell liquor except to travellers, citizens to work, children to play in the streets, and Indians and negroes to assemble on the Sabbath. Twenty

cartmen were licensed by the municipal authorities, on condition that they should repair the highways gratis whenever called on by the Mayor, and cart the dirt from the streets (which the inhabitants were required to sweep together every Saturday afternoon) beyond the precincts of the city. The rate of cartage was fixed at three pence per load to any place within the bounds of the city; beyond which the price was doubled. The cartmen, however, soon proved refractory, and a few weeks after the license system was abandoned, and all persons, with the exception of slaves, were allowed to act as cartmen.

“On the 8th of December, 1683, the city was divided into six wards. The First or South Ward, beginning at the river, extended along the west side of Broad to Beaver Street; thence westward along Beaver Street to the Bowling Green; thence southward by the fort to Pearl Street; and thence westward along the river-shore to the place of starting. The Second or Dock Ward, also beginning at the river at the south-east corner of Pearl and Broad street, extended along the shore to Hanover Square; thence northward through William to Beaver Street; thence along Beaver to Broad Street; thence back through Broad Street to the river-shore. The Third or East Ward formed a sort of triangle, beginning at the corner of Pearl and Hanover Square, and extending along the shore to the Half-Moon Fort at the foot of Wall Street; thence stretching along Wall to the corner of William, and thence returning along the east side of William to the river. The Fourth or North Ward, beginning at the northwest corner of William and Beaver Streets, extended through the former to the corner of Wall; thence westerly along the palisades to a line a little beyond Nassau Street; thence southerly to Beaver Street; thence easterly along Beaver to the first-named point. The Fifth or West Ward, beginning at the junc-

tion of the Fourth Ward with Beaver Street, extended northerly along the boundary line of the latter to Wall Street; thence along the palisades to Broadway; thence southerly to Beaver Street; thence easterly to the point of starting. The Sixth or Out Ward comprised all the farms and plantations outside the city walls, including the town of Harlem. Each of these wards was authorized to elect an alderman and councilman annually to represent them in the city government. The Governor and Council retained the appointment of the Mayor in their own hands; it was not, indeed, until long after the Revolution that this office was made elective by the people.

* * * * *

“ In 1686 the Dongan Charter was granted to the city. This instrument, which still forms the basis of the municipal rights and privileges of New York, confirmed the franchises before enjoyed by the corporation, and placed the city government on a definite footing. The Governor retained the appointment of the mayor, recorder, sheriff, coroner, high-constable, town-clerk, and clerk of the market in his own hands; leaving the aldermen, assistants, and petty constables to be chosen by the people at the annual election on St. Michael's Day. This charter, which was dated April 22, 1686, declared that New York city should thenceforth comprise the entire island of Manhattan, extending to the low-water mark of the bays and rivers surrounding it.

“ In the same year the city received a new seal from the home government. This still preserved the beaver of the Dutch, with the addition of a flour-barrel and the arms of a wind-mill, in token of the prevailing commerce of the city. The whole was supported by two Indian chiefs and encircled with a wreath of laurel, with the motto, SIGILLUM CIVITATIS NOVI EBORACI.

"In 1687, Stephanus Van Cortlandt was again appointed Mayor. During his Mayoralty, it was determined to enlarge the city by building a new street in the river along the line of Water Street, between White-^{1687.} hall and Old Slip, and water-lots were sold by the corporation on condition that the purchasers should make the street toward the water, and protect it by a substantial wharf from the washing of the tide, in imitation of Waal (or sheet-pile) Street, extending along the line of Pearl street, from Broad to William Street, in front of the City Hall. It was not, however, until some years after, that this scheme was carried into effect, and the projected street rescued from the waters.

"Measures were also taken to enlarge the city still further by placing the fortifications further out, and laying out Wall Street thirty-six feet wide. The fortifications, indeed, were now worse than useless. The palisades which had been erected in 1653 along the line of Wall Street had fallen down, the works were in ruins, the guns had disappeared from the artillery-mounts, and the ditches and stockades were in a ruinous condition. Their immediate removal was determined on and ordered, but was delayed by the revolution which followed soon after. When war broke out between France and England in 1693, they were again repaired to be in readiness for the expected French invasion, and it was not until 1699 that their demolition was finally accomplished. Wall Street, however, was laid out immediately, and it was not long before it became one of the most important thoroughfares in the city. During the same year, a valuation was made of the city property, which was estimated on the assessor's books at £78,231."*

Many other municipal regulations concerning huck-

* Miss Mary L. Booth's *History of New York*.

sters, bakers, butchers, and others, were established—then esteemed of vital importance, but a repetition of which would only weary. A single item, however, deserves notice, as illustrating the punishments practiced in olden times. A pillory, cage, whipping-post,[†] and ducking-stool were set up in the vicinity of the City Hall, and hither were brought all vagrants, slanderers, pilferers, and truant children, to be exposed to the public gaze, and to receive such chastisement as their offenses might warrant.

Meanwhile, William and Mary had been proclaimed King and Queen of England in place of James II, who, having abdicated the throne, had become a wanderer on the Continent. This change in the home government from a Catholic to a Protestant one, necessitated a corresponding change in the Governor at New York. Colonel Slough-ter was, accordingly, commissioned to the government of New York in January, 1689, but did not arrive until the

1691. 19th of March, 1691. The selection of Slough-ter was not fortunate. According to Smith, he was utterly destitute of every qualification for government: licentious in his morals, avaricious, and base. Leisler, who had administered the government after a fashion, since the departure of Dongan, intoxicated with power, refused to surrender the government to Slough-ter, and attempted to defend the fort, in which he had taken refuge. Finding it expedient, however, very soon to abandon the fort, he was arrested, and, with his son-in-law, Milburne, tried and executed for treason. Still, on the whole, the conduct of Leisler during the revolution had been considered patriotic, and his sentence was deemed very unjust and cruel. Indeed, his enemies could not prevail upon Slough-ter to sign the warrant for his execution until, for that purpose, they got him intoxicated. It was

* A whipping-post, put up in 1630, is still standing on the Village Green, in Fairfield, Connecticut.

a murderous affair. Sloughter's administration was short and turbulent. He died July 23d, 1691.

On the death of Sloughter, Richard Ingoldsby, the captain of an independent company, was made president of the council, to the exclusion of Joseph Dudley, who, but for his absence in Boston, would have had the right to preside, and upon whom the government would have devolved. But although Dudley very soon returned to New York, he did not contest the authority of Ingoldsby, who administered the government until the arrival of Colonel Fletcher, with a commission as governor, in August, 1692. In the preceding month of June, Ingoldsby met the Five Nations in council at Albany, on which occasion they declared their enmity to the French in the strongest possible terms. Their expressions of friendship for the English were also renewed. "Brother Corlaer," said the sachem, "we are all the subjects of one great king and queen; we have one head, one heart, one interest, and are all engaged in the same war." They nevertheless condemned the English for their inactivity, "telling them that the destruction of Canada would not make one summer's work, against their united strength, if ingeniously exerted."

In conducting the Indian affairs of the colony, Colonel Fletcher took Major Schuyler into his councils, and was guided by his opinions. "No man understood those affairs better than he; and his influence over the Indians was so great, that whatever Quider,* as they called him, either recommended or disapproved, had the force of a law. This power over them was supported, as it had been obtained, by repeated offices of kindness, and his single bravery and activity in the defense of his country."† Through the in-

* Quider, the Iroquois pronunciation of Peter. Having no labials in their language, they could not say Peter.

† Smith's *History of New York*.

fluence of Quider, therefore, Colonel Fletcher was placed upon the best footing with the Indians, by whom was conferred upon him the name of Cayenguinago, or "The Great Swift Arrow," as a compliment for a remarkably rapid journey made by him from New York to Schenectady on a sudden emergency.*

Despairing, at length, of accomplishing a peace with the Five Nations, Count Frontenac determined to strike a blow upon the Mohawks in their own country—which purpose was securely executed in the month of February, 1693. For once this vigilant race of warriors were taken by surprise, two of their castles being entered and captured without much resistance—the warriors of both having been mostly absent at Schenectady. On assailing the third or upper castle, however, the invaders met with a different reception. The warriors within, to the number of forty, were engaged in a war-dance, preparatory to some military expedition upon which they were about entering; and though inferior in force, yet they yielded not without a struggle, nor until thirty of the assailants had been slain. About three hundred of the Mohawks were taken prisoners in this invasion, in respect to which the people of Schenectady have been charged with bad conduct. They neither aided their neighbors, nor even apprised them of the approach of danger, although informed of the fact in due season themselves. But Quider, the fast friend of the Indians, took the field at the head of the militia of Albany, immediately on hearing of the invasion, and harassed the enemy sharply during their retreat. Indeed, but for the protection of a snow-storm, and the accidental resting of a cake of ice upon the river, forming a bridge for their escape, the invaders would have been cut off.

Fletcher was by profession a soldier, a man of strong

* Colden's *Six Nations*.

passions and inconsiderable talents; very active, and equally avaricious. His administration was so energetic and successful the first year, that he received large supplies, and a vote of special thanks from the Assembly. He was a bigot, however, to the Episcopal form of church government, and labored hard to introduce into the province the English language, to encourage English churches and schools. On this account he was soon involved in a violent controversy with the Assembly, who were at first inclined rather to favor the Dutch churches. But in 1693 an Assembly was found who, more pliant, 1693. passed an act "Providing for the building of a church in the city of New York, in which was to be settled a Protestant minister"—the word Protestant being tacitly understood to mean *Episcopal*. This was the origin of Trinity Church,* which was forthwith begun in 1696, and finished and opened for public worship, 1696. February, 1697, under the auspices of Rev. William Vesey. The church itself, which was a very insignificant building, resembled its present namesake 1697. on the same site in nothing save in having a very tall spire. Certainly it did not resemble the present Trinity in having set apart in it (as it did) a pew for the Mayor and Common Council, to whom a sermon was annually preached, on the day of the city election.

Fletcher was succeeded by Richard, Earl of Bellamont, who was appointed Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, in May, 1695, but did not arrive in New York until May, 1698. He 1698. was appointed by King William with a special view to the suppression of piracy in the American seas—New York, at that time, having been a commercial depot of

* This church was destroyed by fire in 1776, and lay in ruins until 1788, when it was rebuilt. In 1839 it was torn down to build the present edifice, which was opened in 1846.

the pirates, with whom Fletcher and other officers in the colony had a good understanding. Kidd was fitted out with a ship by Bellamont, Robert Livingstone, and others, including several English noblemen. Turning pirate himself, Kidd was afterward arrested in Boston by the Earl, and sent home for trial. The Earl was a nobleman of polite manners, a great favorite of King William, and very popular among the people both of New York
1701. and Boston. He had been dissipated in his youth, but afterward became penitent and devout. He died in New York in March, 1701.

On the death of Earl Bellamont, the government devolved upon Mr. Nanfan, the Lieutenant-Governor, until the appointment of Lord Cornbury in 1702.

1702. A public dinner was given in honor of his arrival; he was presented with the freedom of the city, in a gold box; and a congratulatory address was tendered him by the city authorities. It was not long, however, before his true character appeared. He was a very tyrannical, base, and profligate man, and was appointed to the government of New York by King William as a reward for his desertion of King James, in whose army he was an officer. He was a savage bigot and an ungentlemanly tyrant. He imprisoned several clergymen who were dissenters, and robbed the Rev. M. Hubbard, of Jamaica, of his house and glebe. He was wont to dress himself in women's clothes, and thus patrol the fort. His avarice was insatiable, and his disposition that of a savage.

The only things worthy of note during his administration are: First, the establishment by the corporation of the city of a free grammar-school; and, second, the raging of a malignant epidemic, which strongly resembled the yellow-fever. The terror-stricken citizens fled to the shores of New Jersey and Staten Island; and Lord Cornbury, with his council, took up his quarters at Ja-

maica, Long Island. But the inhabitants of New York had a worse plague than even the pestilence, in Cornbury; who, at length, becoming an object of universal abhorrence and detestation, was superseded 1708. by Queen Anne, who, in the autumn of 1708, appointed John, Lord Lovelace, Baron of Hurley, in his place.

Lovelace, however, did not long enjoy either the cares or pleasures of office. He died on the 5th of May in the next year, of a disorder contracted in crossing the ferry on his first arrival in New York. On the death of his lordship, the government once more devolved 1710. upon Richard Ingoldsby, the Lieutenant-Governor of the colony, until the arrival of Governor Hunter, in the summer of 1710.

Hunter was a Scotchman, and when a boy, an apprentice to an apothecary. Leaving his master, he entered the army, and, being a man of wit and beauty, gained promotion, and also the hand of Lady Hay. In 1707, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia, but being captured by the French on his voyage out, on his return to England he was appointed to the government of New York and New Jersey, then united in the same jurisdiction. Governor Hunter was the man who brought over the three thousand Palatines from Germany, by whom the German settlements in the interior of New York and Pennsylvania were founded. He administered the government of the colony "well and wisely," as was said to him in an affectionate parting address by 1719. the General Assembly, until the summer of 1719, when he returned to England on leave of absence, as well on account of his health as to look after his private affairs. He intimated, upon his departure, that he might return to the government again, but did not. The chief command on his departure devolved on the Hon. Peter Schuyler, as the oldest member of the council, but only

for a brief period. He, however, held a treaty with the Six Nations at Albany, which was considered satisfactory; yet it would have been more so had his efforts to induce the Confederates to drive Joncaire, the agent of the French, out of their country, been successful. This Jesuit emissary had resided among the Senecas from the beginning of Queen Anne's reign. He had been adopted by them, and was greatly beloved by the Onondagas. He was incessant in his intrigues in behalf of the French, facilitating the missionaries in their progress through the country, and contributing greatly to the vacillating course of the Indians toward the English. Schuyler was aware of all this; but, notwithstanding his own great influence over the Six Nations, he could not prevail upon them to discard their favorite. In other respects the government of Schuyler was marked by moderation, wisdom, and integrity.

About this period a "new market was established at the upper end of Broad Street, between the City Hall and Exchange Place, and permission was given to the residents of the vicinity to erect stalls and sheds to suit their convenience, under the direction of the Clerk of the Market. Country people were also permitted to sell meat at wholesale or retail, as they pleased, subject to the same supervision; and bakers were required to brand their loaves with their initials, under penalty of forfeiture of the bread. In the spring of the same year (1711), it was resolved that a meeting of the Common Council should be held at the City Hall on the first Friday of every month; and the treasurer was also ordered to purchase eighteen *rush*-bottomed chairs and an oval table for their accommodation.

In regard to the appearance of the city itself at this time we are not left entirely to conjecture. In the
1704. month of October 1704, Miss Sarah Knight, a Boston lady of considerable shrewdness and observa-

tion, and who was connected with some of the old New-England families, traveled on horseback from Boston to New York, on a visit to some of her friends. During her journey she kept a journal, in which she jotted down her experiences of men and things noted by the way. This journal, which has recently been printed for private circulation, contains the following quaint passage, descriptive of the city at this period:

"The Citie of New York is a pleasant well compacted place, situated on a commodious River, wch is a fine harbour for shipping. The Building Brick Generally very stately and high, though not altogether like ours in Boston. The Bricks in some of the Houses are of divers Coullers and laid in Checkers, being glazed, look very agreeable. The inside of them are neat to admiration, the wooden work, for only the walls are plastered, and the Sumers and Gist* are plained and kept very white scowr'd as so is all the partitions made of Bords. The fire-places have no Jambs (as ours have) But the Backs run flush with the walls, and the Hearth is of Tyles and is as farr out into the Room at the Ends as before the fire, wch is Generally Five foot in the Low'r rooms, and the peice over where the mantle tree should be is made as ours with Joyners work, and as I suppose is fasten'd to iron rodds inside. The House where the Vendue was, had Chimney Corners like ours, and they and the Hearth were laid wth the finest tile that I ever see, and the stair cases laid all with white tile which is ever clean,† and so are the walls of the Kitchen, which had a Brick floor. They were making Great preparations to Receive their Governor, Lord CORNBURY from the Jerseys, and for that End raised the militia to Gard him on shore to the fort.‡

"They are Generally of the Church of England and have a New-England Gentleman§ for their Minister, and a very fine church set out with all Customary requisites. There are also a Dutch|| and Divers Conventicles, as they

* Summers and joist. The Summer, a word now not in very common use, was a central beam supporting the joist, such as is now sometimes called the bearing beam.

† The tiles were set into the wall, forming, as it were, a continuous border or row of the width of one tile (or perhaps sometimes of more) close to the upper line of staircase. The Coeymans house, standing on the bank of the Hudson, just north of the village of Coeymans, still shows most of these peculiarities of building mentioned by Mme. Knight; the staircase laid with tiles, no plaster except on the walls, and heavy floor-timbers, strengthened at the ends by solid knees, planed and "kept very white scoured."

‡ On the block between Bowling Green, Whitehall, Bridge, and State Streets.—*Valentine's History of New York*, 28.

§ William Vesey, previously "a dissenting preacher on Long Island. He had received his education in Harvard under that rigid Independent, Increase Mather, and was sent thence by him to confirm the minds of those who had removed for their convenience from New England to this Province. * * * But Col. Fletcher, who saw into his design, took off Mr. Vesey by an invitation to this living; * * * and Mr. Vesey returned from England in Priest's orders."—*Documentary History of New York*, III, 438.

|| The Reformed Dutch Church, built in 1693, in what is now Exchange Place.—*Greenleaf's History of N. Y. Churches*, 11.

call them, viz.: Baptist,* Quakers,† &c. They are not strict in keeping the Sabbath as in Boston and other places where I had bin, But seem to deal with great exactness as farr as I see or Deall with. They are sociable to one another and Curteos and Civill to strangers and fare well in their houses. The English go very fashernable in their Dress. But the Dutch, especially the middling sort, differ from our women, in ther habitt go loose, were French muches wch are like a Capp and a head band in one, leaving their ears bare, which are sett out wth Jewells of a large size and many in number. And their fingers hoop't with rings, some with large stones in them of many Coullers as were their pendants in their ears, which You should see very old womens wear as well as Young.

"They have Vendues very frequently, and make their earnings very well by them, for they treat with good Liquor Liberally, and the customers Drink as Liberally, and Generally pay for't as well, by paying for that which they Bidd up Briskly for, after the sack has gone plentifully about, tho' sometimes good penny worths are got there. Their Diversions in the Winter is Riding Sleys about three or four Miles out of Town, where they have Houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery,‡ and some go to friends' Houses, who handsomely treat them. Mr. BURROUGHS carry'd his spouse and Daughter and myself out to one Madame DOWES, a Gentlewoman that lived at a farm House, who gave us a handsome entertainment of five or six Dishes and choice Beer and metheglin, Cyder, &c., all which she said was the produce of her farm. I believe we mett fifty or sixty slays that day; they fly with great swiftness, and some are so furious that they'll turn out of the path for none except a Loaden Cart. Nor do they spare for any diversion the place affords and sociable to a degree, they'r Tables being as free to their Naybours as to themselves."

William Burnet, son of the celebrated prelate of that name, who flourished in the reign of William and Mary, succeeded Hunter in the government of the colony, in the year 1720; and of all the colonial Governors
 1720. of New York, with the exception of Colonel Donagan, his Indian and colonial policy was marked by the most prudent forecast and the greatest wisdom. Immediately after the peace of Utrecht a brisk trade in goods for the Indian market was revived between Albany and

* Greenleaf, however, gives 1799 as the first Baptist preaching—that of Wickenden. A petition of Nicholas Eyres states that in 1715 his house was registered for an Anabaptist meeting-house.—*Documentary History of New York*, III, 480.

† The first Friends' Meeting-house—a small frame building, standing on Little Green Street—is said to have been erected in 1696 or 1705.—*Greenleaf*, 116.

‡ "A small tavern stood on the banks of the Harlem River. This tavern was the occasional point of excursion for riding parties from the city, and was known as the 'Wedding-place.' One or two small taverns were on the road between the town and the Bowery."—*Valentine's History of New York*, 69.

Montreal, the Caughnawaga tribe of the Mohawks residing near Montreal serving as carriers. The chiefs of the Six Nations foresaw the evil and inevitable consequences to result from allowing that trade to pass round in that direction, inasmuch as the Indians would of course be drawn exclusively to Montreal for their supplies, to be received immediately at the hands of the French, and they cautioned the English authorities against it. Mr. Hunter had indeed called the attention of the General Assembly to the subject at an antecedent period; but no action was had thereon until after Mr. Burnet had assumed the direction of the colonial administration. The policy of the latter was at once to cut off an intercourse so unwise and dangerous with Montreal, and bring the entire Indian trade within the limits and control of New York. To this end an act was passed, at his suggestion, subjecting the traders with Montreal to a forfeiture of their goods, and a penalty of one hundred pounds for each infraction of the law. It likewise entered into the policy of Mr. Burnet to win the confidence of the Caughnawagas, and reunite them with their kindred in their native valley. But the ties by which the Roman priesthood had bound them to the interests of the French were too strong, and the efforts of the Governor were unsuccessful.

In furtherance of the design to grasp the Indian trade, not only of the Six Nations, but likewise that of the remoter nations of the upper lakes, a trading-post was established at Oswego in 1722. A trusty agent was also appointed to reside at the great council-fire of the Onondagas, the central nation of the Confederates. 1722. A congress of several of the colonies was held at Albany to meet the Six Nations, during the same year, which, among other distinguished men, was attended by Governor Spottswood, of Virginia, Sir William Keith, of Pennsylvania, and by Governor Burnet. At this council the

chiefs stipulated that in their Southern war expeditions they would not cross the Potomac; and in their marches against their Southern enemies, their path was to lie westward of the great mountains, meaning the Alleghanies. Mr. Burnet again brightened the chain of friendship with them on the part of New York, notwithstanding the adverse influences exerted by the Chevalier Joncaire, the Jesuit agent residing alternately among the Senecas and Onondagas.

The beneficial effects of Mr. Burnet's policy were soon apparent. In the course of a single year more than forty young men plunged boldly into the Indian country as traders, acquired their language, and strengthened the precarious friendship existing between the English and the more distant nations; while tribes of the latter previously unknown to the colonists, even from beyond the Michilimackinac, visited Albany for purposes of traffic.

The establishment of an English post at Oswego was a cause of high displeasure to the French, who, in order to intercept the trade from the upper lakes that would otherwise be drawn thither, and thus be diverted from Montreal, determined to repossess themselves of Niagara, rebuild the trading-house at that point, and repair their dilapidated fort. The assent of the Onondagas to this measure was obtained by the Baron de Longueil, who visited their country for that purpose, through the influence of Joncaire and his Jesuit associates. But the other members of the Confederacy, disapproving of the movement, declared the permission given to be void, and dispatched messengers to Niagara to arrest the procedure. With a just appreciation of the importance of such an encroachment upon their territory, the Confederates met Mr.

1727. Burnet in council upon the subject at Albany in 1727. "We come to you howling," said the chiefs; "and this is the reason why we howl, that the

Governor of Canada encroaches upon our land and builds thereon." Governor Burnet made them a speech on the occasion, beautifully expressed in their own figurative language, which gave them great satisfaction.* The chiefs, declaring themselves unable to resist this invasion of the French, entreated the English for succor, and formally surrendered their country to the great king, "to be protected by him for their use," as heretofore stated. But Governor Burnet, being at that period involved in political difficulties with an Assembly too short-sighted or too factious to appreciate the importance of preserving so able a head to the colonial government, was enabled to do nothing more for the protection of the Indians than to erect a small military defense at Oswego; and even this work of necessity he was obliged to perform at his own private expense. Meantime the French completed and secured their works at Niagara without molestation.

In the course of the same year, having been thwarted in his enlarged and patriotic views by several successive assemblies, Mr. Burnet, one of the ablest and wisest of the colonial administrators, retired from the government of New York, and accepted that of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. His departure, personally, was universally regretted. He was not only a man of letters, but of wit—a believer in the Christian religion, yet not a serious professor. A variety of amusing anecdotes has been related of him. When on his way from New York to assume the government at Boston, one of the committee who went from that town to meet him on the borders of Rhode Island was the facetious Colonel Tailer. Burnet complained of the long graces that were said before meals by clergymen on the road, and asked when they would

* Smith's *History of New York*.

shorten. Tailer answered: "The graces will increase in length till you come to Boston; after that they will shorten till you come to your government of New Hampshire, where your excellency will find no grace at all."

Colonel John Montgomery succeeded Mr. Burnet in the government of the colonies of New York and New Jersey in the month of April, 1728. He was a Scotchman, and bred a soldier. But quitting the profession of arms, he went into Parliament, serving, also, for a time, as groom of the bed-chamber to his majesty George II, before his accession to the throne. He was a man of moderate abilities and slender literary attainments. He was too good-natured a man to excite enmities; and his administration was one of tranquil inaction. He was an indolent man, and had not character enough to inspire opposition.

The French, perceiving this, and enraged at the erection of a fort at Oswego, were now menacing that post. The new Governor thereupon met the Six Nations in council at Albany, to renew the covenant chain, and engage them in the defense of that important station. Large presents were distributed among them, and they declared their willingness to join the reinforcements detached from the independent companies for that service. Being apprised of these preparations, the French desisted from their threatened invasion.

Much of the opposition to the administration of Governor Burnet had been fomented and kept alive by the Albanians, who, by the shrewdness of his Indian policy, and the vigorous measures by which he had enforced it, had been interrupted in their illicit trade in Indian goods with Montreal, and also by the importers of those goods residing in the city of New York. Sustained, however, by his council-board, and by the very able memoir of Dr. Colden upon that subject, Mr. Burnet, as the reader

**MAP OF
NEW YORK CITY**
From an Actual Survey by
JAMES LANE
1728

Legend:

- a King's Chapel (built 1690)
- b Trinity Church
- c City Hall Church
- d French Church
- e French Church
- f French Church
- g Quaker Meeting House
- h Quaker Meeting House
- i Quaker Meeting House
- j Quaker Meeting House
- k Quaker Meeting House
- l Quaker Meeting House
- m Quaker Meeting House
- n Quaker Meeting House
- o Quaker Meeting House
- p Quaker Meeting House
- q Quaker Meeting House
- r Quaker Meeting House
- s Quaker Meeting House
- t Quaker Meeting House
- u Quaker Meeting House
- v Quaker Meeting House
- w Quaker Meeting House
- x Quaker Meeting House
- y Quaker Meeting House
- z Quaker Meeting House

Scale of 1800 feet.

- Scale of 100 feet.

has already been apprised, had succeeded in giving a new and more advantageous character to the inland trade, while the Indian relations of the colony had been placed upon a better footing, in so far, at least, as the opportunities of the French to tamper with them had been measurably cut off. But in December of the succeeding year, owing to some intrigues that were never clearly understood, all these advantages were suddenly relinquished by an act of the Crown repealing the measures of Mr. Burnet; reviving, in effect, the execrable trade of the Albanians, and thus at once re-opening the door of intrigue between the French and the Six Nations, which had been so wisely closed.

The three principal events, however, of Montgomery's administration affecting the city itself, were the grant of an amended city charter in 1730, by which the jurisdiction of the city was fixed to begin at 1730. King's Bridge, the establishment of a line of stages to run between New York and Philadelphia once a fortnight during the winter months, and the founding of the first public library.

For more than a century there had been no public library in the city; but in the year 1729 some sixteen hundred and twenty-two volumes were bequeathed by the Rev. John Millington, rector of Newington, England, to the "Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts," by whom the books were in turn immediately presented to the city. To this number also was added another collection, the gift of the Rev. John Sharp, chaplain to Lord Bellamont, when both collections, now one, were opened to the public as the "Corporation Library." The librarian dying soon after, the books were neglected until 1754, when a few public-spirited citizens founded the *Society Library*, at the same time adding the Corporation collection and depositing the whole in the City

Hall. The undertaking prospered, and in 1772 George III granted it a charter. During the Revolutionary struggle the library was neglected; but when peace was restored in 1783, the society revived their charter and again set themselves to work collecting those volumes that had been scattered and replacing those irretrievably lost by new ones. Their efforts were so far successful as to warrant them in erecting a library building on Nassau Street, opposite the Dutch church, a building that for a long time was considered one of the finest specimens of architecture of which the city could boast. Thence it was removed to the Mechanics' Society building on Chambers Street, where it remained until the completion of their new and fine edifice in 1840 on the corner of Broadway and Leonard Street. This spot was next vacated and quarters were obtained for it in the new Bible House, Astor Place, whence, in 1857, it once more removed to its beautiful edifice in University Place, between Twelfth and Thirteenth Streets. Such is a short sketch of the first public library of New York, commenced one hundred and thirty-nine years ago.

On the decease of Colonel Montgomery, in 1731, the duties of the colonial executive were for a brief period exercised by Mr. Rip Van Dam, as President of
1731. the Council.* His administration was signalized by the memorable infraction of the treaty of Utrecht by the French, who then invaded the clearly-defined territory of New York, and built the fortress of St. Frederick, at Crown Point, a work which gave them the command of Lake Champlain—the highway between the English and French colonies. The pusillanimity evinced by the government of New York on the occasion of that flagrant

* Mr. Van Dam was an eminent merchant in the city of New York, "of a fair estate," says Smith, the historian, "though distinguished more for the integrity of his heart than his capacity to hold the reins of government."

encroachment upon its domains, excites the amazement of the retrospective reviewer. Massachusetts, alarmed at this advance of the rivals, if not natural enemies, of the English upon the settlement of the latter, first called the attention of the authorities of New York to the subject; but the information was received with the most provoking indifference. There was a regular military force in the colony abundantly sufficient, by a prompt movement, to repel the aggression, yet not even a remonstrance was uttered against it. With the exception of this infringement upon the territory of New York, nothing worthy of special mention occurred during the administration of Mr. Van Dam. In August, 1732, Colonel William Cosby arrived in New York as his successor.

The first act of the new Governor was one which, having its rise at first in a mere personal quarrel, was destined to establish, for all time in America, the question of the liberty of the press. The act of the Governor here alluded to was the institution of proceedings against Rip Van Dam to recover half of the salary which the latter had received during his occupation of the Governor's chair. The suit was decided against Van Dam, who was consequently suspended from the exercise of his functions as President of the Council. This unfair decision naturally aroused the indignation of the people, who gave vent to their feelings in squibs and lampoons hurled without mercy at the Governor and his party. These were, in turn, answered by the *New York Gazette*, a paper published by William Bradford in the interest of the Government; and the controversy finally grew so bitter that John Peter Zenger, a printer by trade, was induced, under the patronage, as was supposed, of Rip Van Dam, to start a new paper, the *New York Weekly Journal*—the columns of which were to be devoted to opposing the colonial administration of Governor Cosby. The columns of the new paper teemed

with able and spicy articles assailing the acts of the Governor—written, probably, by William Smith and James Alexander, the two prominent lawyers of New York. The Governor, and those members of his council who were his satellites, were not long in bringing themselves into the belief that these articles were actionable; and thus it happened that the *first great libel suit tried in this city* was insti-

tuted by the Government, in 1734, against Zenger.

1734.

The latter, in a pamphlet which he wrote afterward upon his trial, quaintly says: * “As there was but one Printer in the Province of New York that printed a public News Paper, I was in Hopes, if I undertook to publish another, I might make it worth my while, and I soon found that my Hopes were not groundless. My first paper was printed November 15th, 1733, and I continued printing and publishing of them (I thought to the satisfaction of every body) till the January following, when the Chief Justice was pleased to animadvert upon the Doctrine of Libels in a long charge given in that term to the Grand Jury.”

Zenger was thereupon imprisoned on Sunday, the 17th of November, 1734, by virtue of a warrant from the Governor and Council; and a concurrence of the House of Representatives in the prosecution was requested. The House, however, declined by laying the request of the Council upon the table. The Governor and Council then ordered the libelous papers to be burned by the common hangman or whipper, near the pillory. But both the common whipper and the common hangman were officers of the Corporation, not of the Crown, and they declined officiating at the illumination. The papers were therefore

* This pamphlet, which is exceedingly rare, is a large 8vo (5½ x 9½ inches) of 39 pages. It is entitled: *A Brief Narrative of the Case and Trial of John Peter Zenger, Printer of the New York Weekly Journal:—New York Printed: Lancaster re-printed, and sold by W. Dunlap, at the New Printing Offices, Queen Street, 1736.*

burned by the Sheriff's negro servant at the order of the Governor.* An ineffectual attempt was next made to procure an indictment against Zenger, but the Grand Jury refused to find a bill. The Attorney-General was then directed to file no information against him for printing the libels, and he was consequently kept in prison until another term. His counsel offered exceptions to the commissions of the judges, which the latter not only refused to hear, but excluded his counsel, Messrs. Smith and Alexander, from the bar. Zenger then obtained other counsel—John Chambers of New York, and Andrew Hamilton of Philadelphia. The trial at length came on and excited great interest. The truth, under the old English law of libel, could never be given in evidence, and was of course excluded on the present trial. Hamilton, nevertheless, tried the case with consummate ability. He showed the jury that they were the judges as well of the law as the fact, and Zenger was acquitted. "The jury," says Zenger in relating the result of the trial, "withdrew, and in a small time returned, and being asked by the clerk whether they were agreed upon their verdict and whether John

* In the pamphlet before alluded to, Zenger gives the following account of this proceeding:

"At a council held at Fort George in New York the 2d of November, 1734, present, His Excellency William Cosby, Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, &c., J. R. Clark, Mr. Harrison, Dr. Colden" [a note says Dr. Colden was that day at Esopus, ninety miles away], "Mr. Livingston, Mr. Kennedy, the Chief Justice, Mr. Cortlandt, Mr. Lane, Mr. Horsmanden:

"Whereas, By an order of the Board of this day, some of John Peter Zenger's journals, entitled the *New York Weekly Journal*, Nos. 7, 47, 48, 49, were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman or whipper, near the pillory of this city, on Wednesday, the 6th inst., between the hours of eleven and twelve. It is therefore ordered that the Mayor and Magistrates of this city do attend at the burning of the several papers or journals aforesaid, numbered as above-mentioned.

FRED. MORRIS, *D. Cl. Con.*

"To ROBERT LUTING, Esq., *Mayor of the City of New York, &c.*"

(The Aldermen protested vigorously against the execution of this order, and refused to instruct the Sheriff to execute it. The Sheriff burned the papers, however, or "*delivered them into the hands of his own negro, and ordered him to put them into the fire, which he did.*")

Peter Zenger was guilty of printing and publishing the libels in the information mentioned, they answered by Thomas Hunt, their foreman, NOT GUILTY, upon which there were three huzzas in the hall, which was crowded with people, and the next day I was discharged from imprisonment."

Immediately after the trial the Corporation voted the freedom of the city in a magnificent gold box* to Andrew Hamilton, "for the remarkable service done to this city and colony, by his defense of the rights of mankind and the liberty of the press."

Twenty years afterward, however, the Government organ itself fell under the displeasure of the reigning powers. Upon the relinquishment of his paper in 1743, it was resumed by James Parker under the double title of the *New York Gazette and Weekly Post Boy*. In 1753, ten years afterward, Parker took a partner by the name of William Wayman. But neither of the partners, nor both of them together, possessed the indomitable spirit of John Peter Zenger. Having in March, 1756, published an article reflecting upon the people of Ulster and Orange counties, the Assembly, entertaining a high regard for the majesty of the people, took offense thereat, and both the editors were taken into custody by the sergeant-at-arms. What the precise nature of the insult upon the sovereign people of those counties was, does not appear. But the editors behaved in a craven manner. They acknowledged their fault, begged pardon of the House, and paid the costs of the proceedings, in addition to all which

* This gold box was five ounces and a half in weight and inclosed the seal of the said Freedom. On its lid were engraved the arms of the City of New York and these mottoes: On the outer part of the lid, DEMERSÆ LEGES—TIMEFACTA LIBERTAS—HÆC TANDEM EMERGUNT. On the inner side of the lid, NON NUMMIS—VIRTUTE PARATUR. On the front of the rim, ITA CUIQUE EVENIAT UT DE REPUBLICA MERUIT. "Which freedom and box," naively adds Zenger, "was presented in the manner that had been directed, and gratefully accepted by the said Andrew Hamilton, Esquire."

they gave up the name of the author. He proved to be none other than the Rev. Hezekiah Watkins, a missionary to the County of Ulster, residing at Newburg. The reverend gentleman was accordingly arrested, brought to New York, and voted guilty of a high misdemeanor and contempt of the authority of the House. Of what persuasion was this Mr. Watkins does not appear. But neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor Hugh Latimer would have betrayed the right of free discussion as he did by begging the pardon of the House, standing to receive a reprimand, paying the fees, and promising to be more circumspect in future—for the purpose of obtaining his discharge. This case affords the most singular instance of the exercise of the doubtful power of punishing for what are called contempts on record. A court has unquestionably a right to protect itself from indignity while in session, and so has a legislative body, although the power of punishing for such an offense without trial by jury is now gravely questioned. But for a legislative body to extend the mantle of its protection over its constituency in such a matter is an exercise of power of which, even in the annals of the Star Chamber, when presided over by Archbishop Laud, it is difficult to find a parallel. Sure it is that a people, then or now, who would elect such members to the Legislature deserve nothing else than contempt. From the establishment, however, of the independence of the country until the present day there has been no attempt to fetter the press by censors or by law; while the old English law of libel, which prevailed until the beginning of the present century, has been so modified as to allow the truth in all cases to be given in evidence. For the attainment of this great end the country is indebted, more than to all other men, to the early and bosom friend of the late venerable Dr. Nott—Alexander Hamilton.

At length the incessant quarrels of the weak and avaricious Cosby with the people and their representatives was suddenly terminated by his death in

1736.

March, 1736. On his decease, Mr. George Clarke, long a member of the Council, after a brief struggle with Mr. Van Dam for the presidency, succeeded to the direction of the government, and, being shortly afterward commissioned as Lieutenant-Governor, continued at the head of the colonial administration from the autumn of 1736 to that of 1743. Mr. Clarke was remotely

1743.

connected by marriage with the family of Lord Clarendon, having been sent over as Secretary of the colony in the reign of Queen Anne. Being, moreover, a man of strong common sense and of uncommon tact, and, by reason of his long residence in the colony and the several official stations he had held, well acquainted with its affairs, his administration—certainly until toward its close—was comparatively popular, and, all circumstances considered, eminently successful. In the brief struggle for power between himself and Mr. Van Dam, the latter had been sustained by the popular party, while the officers of the Crown and the partisans of Cosby, with few, if any, exceptions, adhered to Mr. Clarke. This difficulty, however, had been speedily ended by a royal confirmation of the somewhat doubtful authority assumed by Mr. Clarke. His own course, moreover, on taking the seals of office, was conciliatory. In his first speech to the General Assembly, he referred in temperate language to the unhappy divisions which had of late disturbed the colony, and which he thought it was then a favorable moment to heal. The English flour-market having been overstocked by large supplies furnished from the other colonies, the attention of the Assembly was directed to the expediency of encouraging domestic manufactures in various departments of industry. To the

Indian affairs of the colony Mr. Clarke invited the special attention of the Assembly. The military works of Fort Hunter being in a dilapidated condition, and the object of affording protection to the Christian settlements through the Mohawk Valley having been accomplished, the Lieutenant-Governor suggested the erection of a new fort at the carrying-place between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek* leading into the Oneida Lake, and thence through the Oswego River into Lake Ontario; and the transfer of the garrison from Fort Hunter to this new and commanding position. He likewise recommended the repairing of the block-house at Oswego, and the sending of smiths and other artificers into the Indian country, especially among the Senecas.†

During the greater part of the year 1738—if we except the establishing of a quarantine on Bedloe's Island and the opening of Rector Street—but little attention was paid to local affairs, the principal historical incident of that year being the memorable con-

1738.

* The site, afterward, of Fort Stanwix, now the opulent town of Rome.

† In the course of this Session of the General Assembly, Chief Justice De Lancey, Speaker of the Legislative Council, announced that his duties in the Supreme Court would render it impossible for him to act as Speaker through the session. It was therefore ordered that the oldest Councilor present should thenceforward act as Speaker. Under this order, Dr. Colden first came to the chair.

On the 26th of October, the Council resolved that they would hold their sittings in the Common Council chamber of the City Hall. The House immediately returned a message that they were holding their sessions, and should continue to hold them, in that chamber; and that it was conformable to the constitution that the Council, in its legislative capacity, should sit as a distinct and separate body. During the same session, also, the Council having sent a message to the House by the hand of a deputy-clerk, a message was transmitted back, signifying that the House considered such a course disrespectful. Until that time messages had been conveyed between the Houses, with bills, resolutions, &c., by the hands of their members respectively. The House considered the sending of a clerk an innovation upon their privileges; and Colonel Phillipse, Mr. Verplank, and Mr. Johnson were appointed a committee to wait upon the Council and demand satisfaction. The Council healed the matter by a conciliatory resolution, declaring that no disrespect had been intended.

tested election between Adolphe Phillipse and Gerrit Van Horne, in connection with which, owing to the extraordinary skill and eloquence of Mr. Smith, father of the historian and counsel for Van Horne, the Hebrew freeholders of the City of New York, from which place both parties claimed to have been returned to the Assembly, were most unjustly disfranchised, on the ground of their religious creed, and their votes rejected. The colony was greatly excited by this question, and the persuasive powers exerted by Mr. Smith are represented to have been wonderful—equaling, probably, if not surpassing, those of Andrew Hamilton, four years previously, in the great libel case of Zenger—and possibly not excelled even by Patrick Henry a few years afterward, when he dethroned the reason of the court, and led captive the jury, in the great tobacco case in Virginia.

CHAPTER III.

THE years 1738 and 1739, were marked by increasing political excitement; and the dividing line of parties, involving the great principles of civil liberty on the 1738. one side and the prerogatives of the Crown on the 1739. other, were more distinctly drawn, perhaps, than at any antecedent period. The administrations of the earlier English Governors, Nicholls and Lovelace, were benevolent and almost parental. Andros, it is true, was a tyrant; and during his administration parties were formed, as in England, upon the mixed questions of politics and religion, which dethroned the last and most bigoted of the Stuarts, and brought William and Mary upon the throne. Dongan, however, the last of the Stuart Governors in New York, although a Roman Catholic, was nevertheless mild in the administration of the government, and a gentleman in his feelings and manners. It was upon his arrival, in the autumn of 1683, that the freeholders of the colony, as we have seen, were invested with the right of choosing representatives to meet the Governor in General Assembly. For nearly twenty years subsequent to the revolution of 1689, the colony was torn by personal, rather than political, factions, having their origin in the controversy which compassed the judicial murder of the unhappy Leisler and his son-in-law, Milburn. These factions dying out in the lapse of years, other questions arose, the principal of which

was that important one which always, sooner or later, springs up in every English colony—involving, on the one hand, as I have already remarked, the rights of the people, and on the other the claims of the Crown. Invariably, almost, if not quite, the struggle is originated upon some questions of revenue—either in the levying thereof, or in its disposition, or both. Thus in the origin of those political parties in New York, which continued with greater or less acrimony until the separation from the parent country, Sloughter and Fletcher had both endeavored to obtain grants of revenue to the Crown for life, but had failed. Subsequently, grants had been occasionally made to the officers of the Crown for a term of years; but latterly, especially during the administration of Governor Cosby, the General Assembly had grown more refractory upon the subject—pertinaciously insisting that they would vote the salaries for the officers of the Crown only with the annual supplies. This was a principle which the Governors, as the representatives of the Crown, felt bound to resist, as being an infringement of the royal prerogative. Henceforward, therefore, until the colony cast off its allegiance, the struggle in regard to the revenue and its disposition was almost perpetually before the people, in one form or another; and in some years, owing to the obstinacy of the representatives of the Crown on one side, and the inflexibility of the representatives of the people on the other, supplies were not granted at all. Mr. Clarke, although he had the address to throw off, or to evade, the difficulty, for the space of two years, was nevertheless doomed soon to encounter it. Accordingly, in his speech to the Assembly at the autumnal session of 1738, he complained that another year had elapsed without any provision being made for the support of his Majesty's government in the province—the neglect having occurred by reason of “a practice not warranted by the usage of

any former General Assemblies." He therefore insisted strongly upon the adoption of measures for the payment of salaries, for the payment of public creditors, and for the general security of the public credit by the creation of a sinking-fund for the redemption of the bills of the colony.

The Assembly was refractory. Instead of complying with the demands of the Lieutenant-Governor, the House resolved unanimously that they would grant no supplies upon that principle; and in regard to a sinking-fund for the redemption of the bills of credit afloat, they refused any other measure than a continuance of the existing excise. These spirited and peremptory resolutions gave high offense to the representative of the Crown; and on the day following their adoption, the Assembly was summoned to the fort, and dissolved by a speech, declaring the said resolutions "to be such presumptuous, daring, and unprecedented steps that he could not look upon them but with astonishment, nor could he with honor suffer their authors to sit any longer."

The temper of the new Assembly, summoned in the spring of the succeeding year, 1739, was no more in unison with the desires of the Lieutenant-Governor than that of the former. The demand for a permanent supply-bill was urged at several successive sessions, only to be met with obstinate refusals. The second session, held in the autumn, was interrupted in October by a prorogation of several days, for the express purpose of affording the members leisure "to reflect seriously" upon the line of duty required of them by the exigencies of the country; for, not only was the Assembly resolutely persisting in the determination to make only annual grants of supplies, but they were preparing to trench yet further upon the royal prerogative by insisting upon specific applications of the revenue, to be inserted in the bill itself. Meantime, on the 13th of October, the Lieutenant-Governor brought the

subject of his differences with the Assembly formally before his privy council. In regard to the new popular movement of this Assembly, insisting upon a particular application of the revenues to be granted in the body of the act for the support of the Government, the Lieutenant-Governor said they had been moved to that determination by the example of New Jersey, where an act of that nature had lately been passed. He was unwilling to allow any encroachment upon the rights of the Crown. Yet, in consideration of the defenseless situation of the colony, he felt uneasy at such a turn of affairs, and not being disposed to revive old animosities, or to create new ones by another summary dissolution, he asked the advice of the council. The subject was referred to a committee, of which the Hon. Daniel Horsmanden, an old member of the council, was chairman. This gentleman was one of the most sturdy supporters of the royal prerogative; but, in consequence of the existing posture of affairs, and the necessity of a speedy provision for the public safety, the committee reported unanimously against a dissolution. They believed, also, that the Assembly, and the people whom they represented, had the disputed point so much at heart that it would be impossible to do business with them unless it was conceded; and, besides, it was argued, should a dissolution take place, there was no reason for supposing that the next Assembly would be less tenacious in asserting the offensive principle. Since, moreover, the Governor of New Jersey had yielded the point, the committee advised the same course in New York.* The point *was* conceded;

* See the old minutes of the executive or privy council, in manuscript, in the Secretary-of-State's office in Albany. To avoid confusion hereafter, it may be well to state, in this connection, that the council acted in a twofold capacity: first, as advisory; second, as legislative. "In the first," says Smith, in his chapter entitled Political State, "they are a privy council to the Governor." When thus acting they are often called the executive or majesty's council. Hence, privy council and executive council are synonymous. During the ses

and the effect, for the moment, was to produce a better state of feeling in the Assembly. Supplies were granted, but only for the year; and various appropriations were made for placing the city and colony in a posture of defense.

But it is seldom that the wheels of revolution roll backward, and the concession which allowed the General Assembly to prescribe the application or disposition of the supplies they voted, ever before claimed as the legal and known prerogative of the Crown, appeased the popular party only for a very short time. Indeed, nothing is more certain, whether in monarchies or republics, than that the governed are never satisfied with concessions, while each successful demand only increases the popular clamor for more. Thus it was in the experience of Mr. Clarke. It is true, indeed, that the year 1740 passed without any direct collision upon the question of prerogative; although at the second short session of that year, the speech alleged the entire exhaustion of the revenue, and again demanded an ample appropriation for a term of years. But the controversy was re-opened at the spring session of the following year—1741—on which occasion the Lieutenant-Governor delivered a speech, long beyond precedent, and enumerating the grievances of the Crown by reason of the continued encroachments of the General Assembly. The speech began by an elaborate review of the origin and progress of the difficulties that had existed between the representatives of the Crown and the Assembly, in respect to the granting of supplies, evincing—such, indeed, is the inference

sion of the legislature, however, *the same council* sat (without the presence of the Governor) as a legislative council; and in such capacity exercised the same functions as the Senate of the present day—so far as regards the passing of laws. The journals of this last or legislative council have recently been published by the State of New York under admirable editorship and the supervision of Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan.

—a want of gratitude on the part of the latter, in view of the blessings which the colony had enjoyed under the paternal care of the Government since the revolution of 1688. But it was not in connection with the supplies only that the Assembly had invaded the rights of the Crown. It was the undoubted prerogative of the Crown to appoint the Treasurer. Yet the Assembly had demanded the election of that officer. Not satisfied with that concession, they had next claimed the right of choosing the Auditor-General. Failing in that demand, they had sought to accomplish their object by withholding the salary from that officer. These encroachments, he said, had been gradually increasing from year to year, until apprehensions had been seriously awakened in England “that the plantations are not without thoughts of throwing off their dependence on the Crown.” He, therefore, admonished the Assembly to do away with such an impression “by giving to his Majesty such a revenue, and in such a manner, as will enable him to pay his own officers and servants,” as had been done from the Revolution down to the year 1709—during which period the colony was far less able to bear the burden than now.*

Thus early and deeply were those principles striking root in America which John Hampden had asserted and poured out his blood to defend in the great ship-money contest with Charles I—which brought that unhappy monarch to the block, and which, fulfilling the apprehensions of Mr. Clarke, thirty-five years afterward, separated the colonies from the British Crown—although in the answer of the House to the “insinuation of a suspicion” of a desire for independence, with real or affected

* Vide *Journals of the Colonial Assembly*, vol. 1, Hugh Gain's edition. This (1741) was the year in which the chapel, barracks, Secretary's office, &c, at Fort George (the Battery) were burned, and the speech referred to in the text asked an appropriation for their rebuilding—but without success.

gravity, they "vouched that not a single person in the colony had any such thoughts;" adding, "for under what government can we be better protected, or our liberties or properties so well secured?"

But the popularity of Mr. Clarke was rapidly on the wane. Chief-Justice De Lancey, the master-spirit of the council, having rather abandoned him, and attached himself to the popular party, managed to preserve a considerate coolness on the part of that body toward their executive head, while the house heeded but little his recommendations.

The only object of local excitement, however, during the year 1741, was the celebrated plot (supposed to have been discovered), on the part of the negroes, to murder the inhabitants of New York, and ravage and burn the city—an affair which reflects little credit either upon the discernment or the humanity of that generation.

African slavery had existed from an early period in New Netherland. It was encouraged as the most certain and economical way of introducing slavery in a new country, where there was no surplus population. The slave-trade was brought into the Dutch colony by the Dutch West India Company, and, shortly after its introduction, became a considerable and profitable branch of its shipping interest. A "prime slave" was valued from one hundred and twenty dollars to one hundred and fifty dollars, and below this price he could not profitably be purchased from Africa or the West Indies. In 1702, there were imported one hundred and sixty-five African slaves; in 1718 five hundred and seventeen. After that year, however, the traffic began to fall off, the natural increase being large.*

* Almost every family in the colony owned one or more negro servants; and among the richer classes their number was considered a certain evidence of their master's easy circumstances. About the year 1703—a period of pros-

As far back as 1628, slaves constituted a portion of the population of New Amsterdam; and to such an extent had the traffic in them reached that, in 1709, a slave-market was erected at the foot of Wall Street, where all negroes who were to be hired or sold, stood in readiness for bidders. Their introduction into the colony was hastened by the colonial establishment of the Dutch in Brazil and upon the coast of Guinea, and also by the capture of Spanish and Portuguese prizes with Africans on board. The *boere-knechts*, or servants, whom the settlers brought over with them from Holland, soon deserted their field-work for the fur traffic, thus causing European laborers to become scarce and high; and, as a natural result, slaves, by their cheapness, became one of the staples of the new country. In 1652, the Directors at Amsterdam removed the export duty of eight per cent., which had been hitherto paid by the colonists on tobacco. The passage-money to New Netherland was also lessened from fifty to thirty guilders; and, besides trading to the Brazils, the settlers were allowed "to sail to the coast of Angola and Africa to procure as many negroes as they might be willing to employ."*

Several outbreaks had already happened among the negroes of New Amsterdam; and the whites lived in constant anticipation of trouble and danger from them. Rumors of an intended insurrection, real or imaginary, would circulate (as in the negro plot of 1712) and the

perity in wealth and social refinement with the Dutch of New Amsterdam—the widow Van Cortlandt held five male slaves, two female, and two children; Colonel De Peyster had the same number; William Beekman, two; Rip Van Dam, six; Mrs. Stuyvesant, five; Mrs. Kip, seven; David Provoost, three, &c.

* In the year 1755 a census of slaves was taken in all the colonies except Albany, New York, and Suffolk—Borough numbered 91; Manor of Polham, 24; Westchester, 73; Bushwick, 43; Flatbush, 35; New Utrecht, 67; Newtown, 87; Oyster-Bay, 97, &c., &c.

whole city be thrown into a state of alarm. Whether there was any real danger on these occasions cannot be known, but the result was always the same, viz.: the slaves always suffered, many dying by the fagot or the gallows.

The "Negro Plot" of 1741, however, forms a serious and bloody chapter in the history of New York. At this distance of time it is hard to discover the truth amid the fears and prejudices which attended that public calamity. The city then contained some ten thousand inhabitants, about one-fifth of whom were African slaves, called the "black seed of Cain." Many of the laws for their government were most unjust and oppressive. Whenever three of them were found together they were liable to be punished by forty lashes on the bare back, and the same penalty followed their walking with a club outside of their master's grounds without a permit. Two justices could inflict any punishment, except amputation or death, for any blow or assault by a slave upon a Christian or a Jew. Such was the outrageous law. New York swarmed with negroes, and her leading merchants were engaged in the slave-trade, at that time regarded fair and honorable. New York then resembled a Southern city, with its calaboose on the Park Commons and its slave-market at the foot of Wall Street.

The burning of the public buildings, comprising the Governor's residence, the Secretary's office, the chapel, and barracks, in March, 1741, was first announced to the General Assembly by the Lieutenant-Governor as the result of an accident—a plumber who had been engaged upon some repairs having left fire in a gutter between the house and chapel. But several other fires occurring shortly afterward in different parts of the city, some of them, perhaps, under circumstances that could not readily be explained, suspicions were awakened that the whole were acts of

incendiaries. Not a chimney caught fire—and chimneys were not at that day very well swept—but the incident was attributed to design. Such was the case in respect to the chimney of Captain Warren's house, situated near the ruins of the public buildings, by the taking fire of which the roof was partially destroyed; and other instances might be enumerated. Suspicion, to borrow the language of Shakespeare, "hath a ready tongue," and is "all stuck full of eyes," which are not easily put to sleep. Incidents and circumstances, ordinary and extraordinary, were seized upon and brought together by comparison, until it became obvious to all that there was actually a conspiracy for compassing such a stupendous act of arson as the burning of the entire town and murder of the people. Nor was it long before the plot was fastened upon the negro slaves, then forming no inconsiderable portion of the population. A negro, with violent gesticulation, had been heard to utter some terms of unintelligible jargon, in which the words "fire, fire, scorch, scorch," were heard articulated, or supposed to have been heard. The crew of a Spanish ship brought into the port as a prize were sold into slavery. They were suspected of disaffection—as well they might be, and yet be innocent—seized, and thrown into prison. Coals were found arranged, as had been supposed, for burning a hay-stack; a negro was seen jumping over a fence and flying from a house that had taken fire in another place; and, in a word, a vast variety of incidents, trifling and unimportant, were collated and talked over until universal consternation seized upon the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest. As Hume remarks of the Popish plot in the reign of Charles II, "each breath of rumor made the people start with anxiety; their enemies, they thought, were in their bosoms. They were awakened from their slumbers by the cry of *Plot*, and, like men affrighted and in the dark.

took every figure for a specter. The terror of each man became a source of terror to another, and a universal panic being diffused, reason, and argument, and common sense, and common humanity, lost all influence over them."* A Titus Oates was found in the person of a poor, weak, servant-girl in a sailors' boarding-house, named Mary Burton, who, after much importunity, confessed that she heard certain negroes, in the preceding February, conferring in private, for the purpose of setting the town on fire. She at first confined the conspirators to blacks, but afterward several white persons were included, among whom were her landlord, whose name was Hughson, his wife, and another maid-servant, and a Roman Catholic, named Ury. Some other information was obtained from other informers, and numerous arrests were made, and the several strong apartments in the City Hall, called "the jails," were crowded with prisoners, amounting in number to twenty-six whites and above one hundred and sixty slaves. Numerous executions took place upon the most frivolous and unsatisfactory testimony, but jurors and magistrates were alike panic stricken and wild with terror. Among the sufferers were Hughson, his wife, and the maid-servant, as also the Romanist Ury, who was capitally accused, not only as a conspirator, but for officiating as a priest, upon an old law of the colony, heretofore mentioned as having been passed at the instance of Governor Bellamont, to drive the French missionaries from among the Indians. "The whole summer was spent in the prosecutions; every new trial led to further accusations; a coincidence of slight circumstances was magnified by the general terror into violent presumptions; tales collected without doors, min-

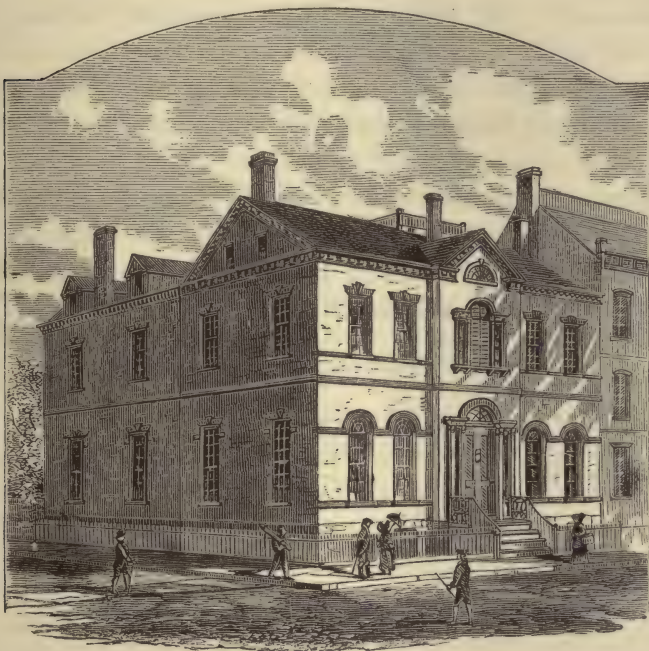
* Quoted by Dunlap, who has given a good collection of facts respecting this remarkable plot, though not rendered into a well-digested narrative. See chap. xxi of his *History*.

gling with the proofs given at the bar, poisoned the minds of the jurors, and this sanguinary spirit of the day suffered no check until Mary, the capital informer, bewildered by frequent examinations and suggestions, began to touch characters which malice itself dare not suspect." Then, as in the case of the Popish plot and the prosecutions for witchcraft in Salem, the magistrates and jurors began to pause. But not until many had been sent to their final account by the spirit of fanaticism which had bereft men of their reason as innocent of the charges laid against them as the convicting courts and jurors themselves. Thirteen negroes were burned at the stake, eighteen were hanged, and seventy transported.*

The year 1742, if for no other reason, is memorable in the annals of the city from the fact that in that year was built the house now standing on the site of No. 1
1742. Broadway, and known as the "Washington Hotel," and the oldest house in the city. Previous to this year (1742) the site was occupied by an old tavern kept by a Mrs. Kocks, built the century previous by her husband, Pieter Kocks, an officer in the Dutch service and an active leader in the Indian war of 1693. The late Mr. David T. Valentine—to whom New York is indebted more than

* Daniel Horsmanden, the third Justice of the Supreme Court, published the history of this strange affair in a ponderous quarto. He was concerned in the administration of the judicial proceedings, however, and wrote his 'history' before the delusion had passed away. Chief-Justice De Lancey presided at least at some of the trials, and he, too, though an able and clear-minded man, was carried away by the delusion. James De Lancey was the son of Stephen De Lancey, a French Huguenot gentleman from Caen, in Normandy, who fled from persecution in France. Settling in New York in 1686, he married a daughter of M. Van Cortlandt, and was thus connected with one of the most opulent families in the province. He was also an active member of the House of Assembly during the administration of Governor Hunter. His son James was sent to Cambridge University (England), for his education, and bred to the profession of the law. On being elevated to the bench, such were his talents and application, he became a very profound lawyer.—*Smith*.

to any other man for the preservation of its local history, and for which she can never be sufficiently grateful—usually remarkably accurate, states that the building No. 1 Broadway was built by Archibald Kennedy (afterward Earl of Cassilis), then Collector of the Port of New York. This, however, is an error. It was built by Sir Peter, afterward Admiral, Warren,* K. C. B.—whose name is so identified with the naval glory of England—during his



NO. 1 BROADWAY FIFTY YEARS AGO.

residence in New York city. Neither pains nor expense were spared to make it one of the finest mansions in this country. The plans were all sent out from Lisbon—the exterior and interior being similar in every respect to that of the British ambassador's residing at the Portuguese cap-

* After whom *Warren Street* is named.

ital. The house was fifty-six feet on Broadway, and when erected the rear of the lot was bounded by the North River. Greenwich Street was not then opened or built—the North River washing the shore. One room of this edifice deserves particular notice, being the banqueting-room, twenty-six by forty, and used on all great occasions. After the British forces captured New York, in the war of the American Revolution, as the most prominent house, it was the headquarters of the distinguished British commanders. Sir William Howe, Sir Henry Clinton, and Sir Guy Carlton, afterward Lord Dorchester, all in succession occupied this house; and it is a memorable fact that the celebrated Major André, then Adjutant-General of the British forces, and aid to Sir Henry Clinton, resided in this house, being in the family of Sir Henry, and departed from its portals never to return, when he went up the North River and arranged his treasonable project with the traitor Arnold at West Point.*

* This building is also known to historians as the "Kennedy House."

CHAPTER IV.

THE administration of Lieutenant-Governor Clarke was ended in the autumn of 1743, by the arrival of Admiral George Clinton, uncle of the Earl of Lincoln, and a younger son of the late Earl, who had been ^{1743.} appointed to the government of New York through the interest of his friends, to afford him an opportunity of mending his fortunes. Mr. Clarke, who, in the commencement of his administration, had succeeded in conciliating the leaders of both political parties, had contrived before the close of his career to lose the confidence of both, so that his retirement from the Government was regarded with universal satisfaction.* Especially had he incurred

* George Clarke, Esq., who, in various official stations, was for almost half a century connected with the colonial government of New York, was an Englishman by birth. "His uncle, Mr. Blaithwait, procured the secretaryship of the colony for him early in the reign of Queen Anne. He had genius, but no other than a common writing-school education; nor did he add to his stock by reading, for he was more intent upon improving his fortune than his mind. He was sensible, artful, active, cautious; had a perfect command of his temper, and was in his address specious and civil. Nor was any man better acquainted with the colony and its affairs." He successively held the offices of Secretary, Clerk of the Council, Councilor, and Lieutenant-Governor; and from his official position he had every opportunity of enriching himself by obtaining grants and patents of land, which, from his knowledge of the colony, he was enabled to choose in the most advantageous locations. He was a courtier, and was careful never to differ with the governors of the colony; although during Cosby's stormy career he usually kept himself quiet at his country villa upon the edge of Hempstead plains. "His lady was a Hyde, a woman of fine accomplishments,

the resentment of the Chief-Justice, De Lancey; who, strangely enough, though usually a staunch supporter of the prerogatives of the Crown, had now become, to some extent, a favorite of the General Assembly. The new Governor had spent most of his life in the navy; and, according to the earliest English historian of New York, "preferring ease and good cheer to the restless activity of ambition, there wanted nothing to engage the interest of his powerful patrons in his favor more than to humor a simple-hearted man, who had no ill-nature, nor sought anything more than a genteel frugality and common civility while he was mending those fortunes, until his friends at court could recall him to some indolent and more lucrative station."

Mr. Clinton arrived in New York on the 22d of September, and was received with demonstrations of universal satisfaction by the people. Finding that the General Assembly stood adjourned to meet in a few days, and ascertaining that the people would be pleased with an opportunity of holding a new election, the Assembly was dissolved on the 27th, and writs for the return of another Assembly issued the same day. The elections were conducted without political acrimony, and all the old members, with but seven exceptions, were returned.

and a distant relation of that branch of the Clarendon family. She died in New York. Mr. Clarke returned to England in 1745, with acquisitions estimated at one hundred thousand pounds. He purchased an estate in Cheshire, where he died about the year 1761. George Clarke, his grandson and the heir to his estates, after a residence in America of about thirty-five years, died at Otsego about the year 1835. His eldest son, George Hyde Clarke, with his young wife, was lost in the ship *Albion*, wrecked on the coast of Ireland in the summer of 1820, on his passage from New York to England. His second son then returned to England and entered into possession of the fortune of his father's estates situated in that country. By the vast increase in price of his American lands, Mr. Clarke's estates in this country became of princely value before his death. They are inherited by his youngest son, George Clarke, Esq., who at present resides in the noble mansion erected by his father a few years before his decease, upon the margin of Otsego Lake."

The session opened on the 8th of November. Meantime, the Governor had fallen into the hands of De Lancey, who doubtless had the molding of his excellency's speech. Its tone was conciliatory, although the sore subject of a permanent revenue was opened afresh. But this was done in gentle terms, the Governor asking for a grant "in as ample a manner, and for a time as long, as had been given under any of his predecessors." The Assembly was informed that, owing to the critical state of affairs in Europe, and the doubtful attitude in which Great Britain and France stood toward each other, a large supply of military stores for the defense of the colony had been received from the parent government; and the Governor hoped the Assembly would show their thankfulness by making an adequate provision for the purchase of others. The usual recommendations in regard to the Indian intercourse of the colony were renewed, and an appropriation was asked for rebuilding the barracks and public offices, together with the house of the Governor, which had been destroyed by fire. The latter recommendation was insisted on as being necessary for the comfort of the Governor's family.

"An humble address" was voted by the council in reply, drawn up by De Lancey. The appointment of the new Governor was received "as an additional evidence of his majesty's affection for his people, and his zeal for the liberty of mankind, lately most evidently demonstrated in his exposing his sacred person to the greatest dangers in defense of the liberty of Europe." In all other respects the answer was an echo of the speech. The address of the House was more than an echo; it was couched in language of excessive flattery to the new Governor, and of fawning adulation toward the sovereign, who was designated "the darling of his own people, and the glorious preserver of the liberties of Europe." There was, how-

ever, a disposition on all sides to be pleased. The Assembly responded to the demanded appropriations, voting the Governor fifteen hundred pounds for his salary, one hundred pounds for house-rent, four hundred pounds for fuel and candles, one hundred and fifty pounds to enable him to visit the Indians, and eight hundred pounds for the purchase of presents to be distributed amongst them. Other appropriations were made upon a scale of corresponding liberality; and the Governor was so well pleased with the good temper of the Assembly, that he signed every bill presented for his approbation without a murmur of disapprobation, not even excepting the supply-bill, which, notwithstanding his demand to the contrary, in the opening speech, was limited to the year.

But, notwithstanding these reciprocal manifestations of good feeling, and notwithstanding, also, the amiable traits of the Governor's natural disposition, it will be seen, in the progress of events, that the bluff characteristics of the sailor were not always to be concealed; and his administration, in process of time, became as tempestuous as the element upon which he was certainly more at home than upon the land.

Advices of the intended invasion of his majesty's dominions, in behalf of a "Popish Pretender," were communicated to the General Assembly of New York

1744. by Governor Clinton, in April, 1744. In connection with this anticipated act of hostility, which would of course extend to the contiguous colonies of the two countries, efficient measures were urged for placing the country in a posture of defense. The temper of the colony, in regard to this movement of France, may be inferred from the immediate action of the Assembly. In the council, Chief-Justice De Lancey, in moving an address of thanks for the speech, offered also a resolution expressive of the abhorrence of that body of the designs of France in favor

of the Pretender, and declaring that the civil and religious rights of his majesty's subjects depended on the Protestant succession. The House was invited to join in the address, which request, though a very unusual procedure, was readily acquiesced in, and the address was prepared by a joint committee of the two houses. From all this it was evident that a war was very near at hand, and that the frontiers of the colony might again, very soon, be subjected to the ravages of a foe than whose tender mercies nothing could be more cruel.

In 1746, the small-pox drove the Assembly from the city to Greenwich; but soon appearing there also, produced a panic that for several days entirely arrested the course of business. The Assembly ^{1746.} prayed for a recess from the 9th of March to the 12th of April, and also for leave to adjourn their sittings to some other place. Jamaica and Brooklyn were suggested; but in the opinion of the Governor the demands of the public service forbade so long an interregnum, and he therefore directed their adjournment for a week, to meet in the borough of Westchester. They convened there accordingly; but the inconvenience of the locality was such that the members begged permission to adjourn even back to the infected city again, rather than remain where they were. In the end the Governor directed them to transfer their sittings to Brooklyn, at which place the transaction of business was resumed on the 20th of March, when an address to the Governor was ordered to be prepared in answer to that of the council, respecting the rejection of the before-mentioned revenue bill.

Before the introduction of the bill, the Assembly had inquired of the Governor whether he had any objection to an emission of paper money to meet the exigencies of the country; to which question the proper answer was given by Mr. Clinton, that "when the bill came to him

he would declare his opinion." The bill was therefore introduced and passed by the Assembly; but the council, disapproving of certain of its provisions, requested a conference. The Assembly, however, declared that, inasmuch as it was a money bill, they would consent to no such course upon the subject. The council thereupon summarily rejected the bill, and sent up an address to the Governor, written by the Chief-Justice, De Lancey, setting forth the reasons by which its course had been governed. One of the objections to the bill, according to this representation, was found in the fact, "that the money proposed to be raised by the bill was not granted to his majesty, or to be issued by warrants in council, as it ought to have been, and as has usually been done." This objection involved the whole question of the royal prerogative—nothing more. On the subject of the right claimed by the Assembly of exclusive power over the details of money bills, the address asserted "the equal rights of the council to exercise their judgments upon these bills." Various other objections of detail were suggested; but the two points specified above were the only grounds of principle upon which the council relied in justification of its course. Yet the unreasonableness of the assumption of the House, that the council should not be allowed even to point out and rectify the defects of any thing which they chose to call a money bill, was argued at considerable length.

There was yet another cause of irritation on the part of the House. So early as the year 1709, the General Assembly had found it necessary, in providing ways and means for the public service—especially in the prosecution of the several wars in which the colony had been involved by the Parent Government—to issue a paper currency, called bills of credit. The operation had been repeated, from time to time, in emergent cases—some-

times with the approbation of the Crown, and sometimes not—until these paper issues had become a part of the policy of the colony. Others of the colonies, laboring under the same necessities, had resorted to the same measures of finance; but to which the Crown, jealous of its prerogative in all matters of currency, had uniformly been opposed. For many years, therefore, antecedent to this period, the royal governors had arrived in the colony clothed with instructions against allowing further emissions of bills of credit—instructions, however, which the stern law of necessity had seldom allowed them to enforce. Still, the Crown, keenly alive to every step of independent action on the part of the colonies, was persisting in its war against a colonial currency even of paper; and a bill was now before Parliament, upon the subject, which gave great alarm to the people. Professedly, its design was merely for preventing these bills of credit from being made a legal tender; but it was discovered that the bill was to have a far more extensive operation—"obliging and enjoining the legislatures of every colony to pay strict obedience to all such orders and instructions as might from time to time be transmitted to them, or any of them, by his majesty or his successors, or by or under his or their authority." Such an act, it was justly held, "would establish an absolute power in the Crown, in all the British plantations, that would be inconsistent with the liberties and privileges inherent in an *English* man, while he is in a *British* dominion.

Incensed at this stubbornness on the part of his little Parliament, the sailor-Governor determined, in the Assembly, which met on the 12th of October, 1748, to re-assert the prerogative in the strongest terms by bringing the subject of a permanent supply to a direct issue; choosing, as Mr. Bancroft has remarked, NEW YORK "as the opening scene in the final contest that led

1748.

to independence." Accordingly, on the 14th he sent down his message to the House, in which he demanded a permanent support for five years. The message stated that on coming to the administration of the Government, he had been disposed to do all he could, consistently with his duty to the king, for the care and satisfaction of the people. Hence, reposing confidence in the advice then given him, he had given his assent to various acts of the Assembly, the tendency of which, as experience had taught him, was to weaken the authority of his majesty's Government. Still, as the country was very soon afterward involved in war, he had forborne to take that attitude in the premises which duty to his sovereign seemed to require. But with the return of peace, he deemed it to be his indispensable duty to put a stop to such innovations. Prominent among these was the practice which had been growing up of making only *an annual* provision for the payment of the officers of the Government. He also alluded to the modern practice of naming the officers for whose benefit the appropriations were made in the act, thus interfering with the prerogative in the appointing honor. He admonished the Assembly that he should give his assent to no acts of that character for the future; and demanded an appropriation for the payment of the Governor's secretaries, judges, and other salaried officers, for the term of five years, according to the practice that had prevailed during the administration of his four immediate predecessors—namely, Governors Hunter, Burnet, Montgomery, and Cosby. The inconvenience of these annual grants of salaries and allowances was adverted to, and objections further urged against the recent method of intermixing matters of an entirely different nature with the provisions of the salary-bills, and tacking new grants for other purposes to the Governor's own support.

The Assembly, in its reply, justly regarding the re-

quest for a permanent supply as a direct attempt to render the Crown independent of the people, with great indignation refused to grant it. As to the more recent practice of naming the officers provided for in the salary-bills, it not only justified it, but intimated that if this course had been adopted at an earlier day, his excellency would not have been able to remove the third Justice of the Supreme Court "without any color of misconduct" on his part—who was "a gentleman of learning and experience in the law."* The result can readily be seen. After continual bickerings for several weeks, Mr. Clinton, in great wrath, prorogued the Assembly.

Thus the parties separated, and thus again commenced that great struggle between the Republican and the Monarchical principle which, in the onward progress of the former, was destined at a day not even then far distant to work such mighty results in the Western Hemisphere.

Although, from a very early date in the history of this protracted controversy, it became inexcusably personal, yet it is not difficult to perceive that it was in reality one of principle. On the one hand, the infant Hercules, though still in his cradle, was becoming impatient of restraint. The yoke of colonial servitude chafed the necks, if not of the people, at least of their representatives. The royal Governor was not slow to perceive what kind of leaven was fermenting the body politic; and hence he became perhaps overjealous in asserting and defending the prerogatives of his master. Doubtless, in the progress of the quarrel, there were faults on both sides. Of an irascible and overbearing temperament, and accustomed in his profession to command rather than to persuade, he was ill-qualified to exercise a limited or

* Alluding to the removal, the year before, of Justice Horsmanden. This act was again imputed to the influence of "a person of a mean and despicable character"—meaning, as it was well understood, Dr. Colden.

concurrent power with a popular Assembly equally jealous of its own privileges and of the liberties of the people—watching with sleepless vigilance for every opportunity to circumscribe the influence of the Crown, and ready at every moment to resist the encroachments of arbitrary power. Still, however patriotic the motives, under the promptings of De Lancey, their opposition to Mr. Clinton became factious; and it is not difficult even for a republican to believe that he was treated, not only with harshness, but with great injustice, especially in regard to his measures, and his personal exertions for the public defense and the prosecution of the Indian war.

At length, worn out in health and spirits by his struggle against a powerful opposition, Clinton, in 1753, 1753. sent in his resignation to the Home Government, and Sir Danvers Osborne was appointed in his stead.

The character of Mr. Clinton has not, I think, been fairly drawn. Those upon whose opinions his character rests were persons living at the same day, and who, influenced by party strife, were not in a position to judge impartially. He was an uncouth and unlettered admiral, who had been, through the Newcastle interest, appointed to the chair of Governor. He was evidently unsuited to his position; and his former profession, in which he had always been accustomed to command, ill fitted him to brave the rebuffs and the opposition of party faction. His manner, too, was not such as to win friends. Having to depend entirely upon the advice of those around him, he was often the dupe of those better versed in the arts of diplomacy than himself. But I look in vain for that love of ease, to the neglect of his official duties, of which he is accused by his enemies. On the contrary, although he relied too much on the advice of others for his own good, yet it was caused more by a consciousness of a lack of education than by a desire to shirk action. In the care

of the Indians he was indefatigable, as appears by his large correspondence with Colonel (afterward Sir William) Johnson and the officers of the different frontier posts. He labored incessantly with his Assembly to make them realize the condition of the colony; and had they met his views half-way, or even manifested a tithe of his energy, the Province of New York would not have presented such an inviting field for the encroachments of the French. He is accused of amassing by unfair means a large fortune while Governor, yet he freely advanced out of his private purse large sums for the exigencies of the Indian affairs, and many times saved the Six Nations from defection, and the province from the horrors of a predatory warfare, when it was impossible to rouse the Assembly to a sense of danger. Indeed, I think it may safely be said that, had it not been for the untiring efforts of Mr. Clinton and Colonel Johnson, the Six Nations would have been completely won over by the French, and the fire-brand and tomahawk carried down to the very gates of New York.

Meanwhile, several public edifices had been erected, and various improvements had taken place in the city. In 1747, the Presbyterian church in Wall Street, which had been erected by Hunter, was rebuilt. "In the course of the next two years, Beekman and the contiguous streets were regulated. Ferry Street was ceded to the city; Beekman, Dey, and Thames Streets were paved; Pearl Street was dug down near Peck Slip, and graded from Franklin Square to Chatham Street; and John Street was paved and regulated.* In 1751, a Moravian Chapel was built

* Another *important* event occurred about this time, which should not be omitted by one who attempts to give a history of the city—inasmuch as it gives us the origin of the yearly appropriation made by the Common Council for the *City Manual*—viz., that in 1747 the Common Council appropriated *four pounds* for the publication of fifty copies of *An Essay on the Duties of Vestrymen!*

in Fulton Street; the following year, the first Merchants' Exchange was erected at the foot of Broad Street; and St. George's Chapel was built by Trinity Church on the corner of Cliff and Beekman, and was consecrated on the 1st of July by the Rev. Mr. Barclay, a former missionary among the Mohawks, but now the rector of Trinity Church." This building remained in good preservation, well known as one of the few original landmarks, until 1868, when it shared the fate of other structures of a similar character, and was torn down to make room for another altar to the god Mammon! This was, next to the Post-office, the oldest church-edifice in the city, and its quaint old chandeliers, and aisles flagged with gray stone, continued for many years relics of the days of yore. Washington, it is said, was a frequent attendant of this church during his residence in this city in the early part of the Revolutionary War. In speaking of the history of this edifice, a writer in the *New York World*, of March 17th, 1868, recalls the following interesting facts:

"One hundred and twenty years ago, New York city had not attained its majority, and Broadway was but a cow-path above Canal Street. The Right Honorable George Clinton, 'Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief in and over the Province of New York and the Territories thereon, Depending in America, Vice-Admiral of the Same, and Vice-Admiral of the Red Squadron of His Majesty's Fleet,' as that most doughty and right honorable personage was wont to sign himself in proclamations to the fat burghers of New York, sat in the chair now filled by Reuben E. Fenton. In that day, New York city was a nest for privateers, which sailed hence to destroy French and Spanish commerce. According as their destination might be, these vessels, with a fair quantity of rum, molasses, and sea-provisions, would be piloted to the Hook, and there take on board an India, Mediterranean, or other pilot, to carry them to their destination. Small negro boys and Jamaica men in parcels were sold at auction where now the Custom-house rears its lofty pillars. Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria and Queen of Bohemia and Hungary, wielded the scepter of the Cæsars; George the Second, *Fidei Defensor*, twiddled his thumbs in Windsor Park and played bowls with his Hanoverian mistresses; and wheat was six shillings a bushel; flour, eighteen shillings a hundred; beef, forty shillings a barrel; West-India rum, three and eight pence a gallon; salt, three shillings a bushel; and single-refined sugar, one and 'tuppence' a pound in New York city. Manus Carroll had been hung at the old powder-house, which still stands on an eminence at the upper end of the Central Park, for a cruel

and most 'un-Christian'-like murder which he had committed two years before in Albany, then a thriving town. Counterfeiters were at that time amenable to the death-penalty; and the Barnum of that day exhibited wax-figures in Dock Street, and the editor of the *New York Weekly Post Boy* was in the habit of receiving presents of baskets of Bermuda potatoes from the masters of vessels bound into the goodly port of New York. One day the editor received a potato weighing seven pounds from the master of the *Good Delight*, from Plumb Island, in the far-off 'Bermoothes,' and, out of sheer joy at the prodigy, he went and made himself drunk on 'arrack-punch,' the most aristocratic tippie of our forefathers' days. The city and county of New York had at that early day a population of twelve thousand, two thousand of which number were negroes.

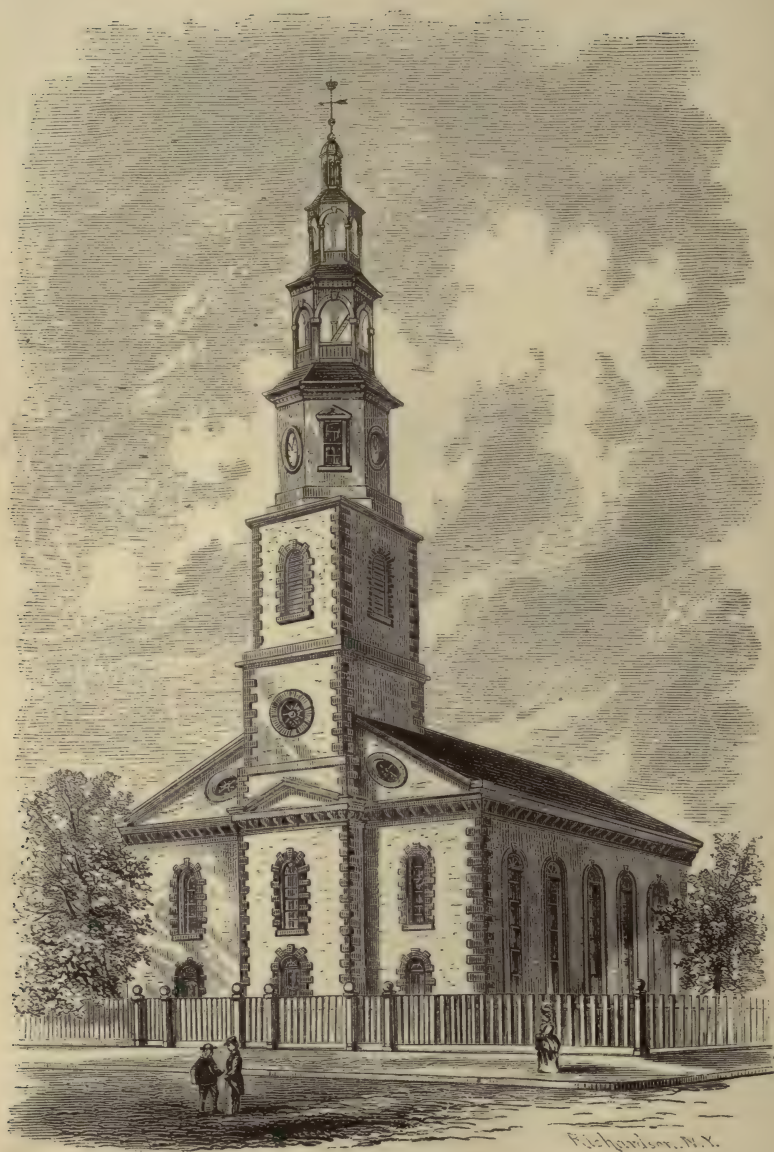
"On the 15th of April, 1748, a number of gentlemen met in the vestry of King's Chapel, or Trinity Church, then situated where the present church stands in the Broadway, but, at the time referred to, overhanging the banks of the Hudson, whose limits have since been pushed back a quarter of a mile by the contractors and dust-collectors; and these gentlemen being of the opinion, after a deliberate consultation, that it was necessary to have a chapel of ease connected with Trinity, it was then and there ordained that the Church-wardens, Colonel Moore, Mr. Watts, Mr. Livingston, Mr. Chambers, Mr. Horsmanden, Mr. Reade, and Mr. Lodge, be appointed a committee to select a place for the erection 'of ye' Chapel of St. George's. Another meeting was held on the 4th of July, 1748. Colonel Robinson, one of the committee, reported that he had agreed with a Mr. Clarkson for a number of lots, for which that person had asked the sum of £500, to be paid in a year; and several persons in Montgomerie Ward had stated to him that the lots of Colonel Beekman, fronting Beekman and Van Cliff Streets, would be more commodious for building the said chapel, and proposed that if the vestry would agree to the building of the chapel on Colonel Beekman's property, the inhabitants of Montgomerie Ward would raise money among themselves to purchase the ground, and that if Mr. Clarkson insisted on the performance of the agreement with him for his lots, they would take a conveyance for them, and pay the purchase-money; which was agreed to after many hot words; for these respectable vestrymen, in a manner like all vestrymen from time immemorial, had tempers of their own, and no doubt they were exercised at the fact that the doughty Robinson had taken upon himself to make an agreement to purchase lots for £500, a very large sum in those days, when the gold-board had not been established, while, on the other hand, the inhabitants of Montgomerie Ward, which was afterward called the 'Swamp' in the memory of man, were, without whip or spur, eager for the honor and glory of the future, to furnish the lots and build upon them a church. Well, the vestrymen went home and drank more arrack-punch, sweetened with muscovado sugar, and punished 'oelykoeks,' greasy with oil and other substances, and then returned to the bosoms of their respective families. Donations poured in to the committee, and the first subscription, of £100, was made by Sir Peter Warren, who desired, if not inconsistent with the rules of the church, that they would reserve a pew for himself and family in perpetuity. The Archbishop of Canterbury contributed ten pounds. The installation services were held on the 1st day of July, A. D. 1752; but there being no bishop in the country at the time, it was consecrated agreeably to the ancient usages of the church. The Rev. Henry Barclay, D. D., at this time, was the rector, and Rev. Samuel Auchmuty, D. D., assistant minister of Trinity Church. Being finished

in the finest style of architecture of the period, and having a handsome and lofty steeple, this edifice was justly deemed a great ornament to the city. It first stood alone, there being but few other houses in its vicinity. Shortly subsequent, however, the streets were graded and built upon, and now the immense warehouses of enterprising merchants and handsome private residences surround it on every side. When first constructed, the interior arrangement of St. George's differed considerably from the present, the chancel at that time being contained in the circular recess at the rear of the church, and the altar standing back against the rear-wall in full view of the middle aisle. There was also some difference in the arrangement of the desk, pulpit, and clerk's desk. An interesting relation is told concerning the material of which this part of the church-furniture was made, and it may be thus condensed: In one of the voyages made by a sea-captain, whose vessel was unfortunately wrecked, he sustained, among other injuries, the loss of the vessel's masts. This disaster occurring on a coast where no other wood than mahogany could be procured, the captain was obliged to remedy the loss by replacing the old masts with masts made of mahogany. This ship, thus repaired, returned to this port about the time St. George's was building, when more suitable masts were substituted, and those made of mahogany were donated to the church. The pulpit, desk, and chancel-rails were removed some years afterward, and it may be interesting to state that that they can now be seen answering a like capacity in Christ Church, in the little town of Manhasset, on Long Island.

"There is an incident connected with the beautiful font of this church which will also bear repetition. Originally intended for a Catholic church in South America, it was shipped on a French vessel to be carried to its destination; but whilst on the voyage it was captured by the English during the old French war and brought to this city. This font is made of white marble, and is a masterly piece of workmanship. In 1814, when St. George's was burned, this font was supposed to have been destroyed, but it was found about thirty years ago in a remote part of the church, where it had been removed during the conflagration. It was somewhat damaged, but not enough, however, to prevent its further use; and after being cleaned and repaired it was replaced in front of the chancel, where it now stands, an interesting feature of the time-honored building.

"One of the melancholy events associated with this old church was the sudden death of the Rev. John Ogilvie. On the 18th of November, 1774, whilst delivering one of the lectures he was in the habit of holding on Friday evenings, he was struck with apoplexy. He had given out his text: 'To show that the Lord is upright: he is my rock, and there is no unrighteousness in him.'—Psalm, xcii, 15: and after repeating a sentence or two he sank into the reading-desk, and was deprived of speech. He suffered thus for eight days, when he was relieved by death. It was in this chapel, in July, 1787, that the Right Rev. Samuel Provost, the first bishop of the diocese of New York, held his first ordination, at which time the late Right Rev. Richard C. Moore, D. D., Bishop of Virginia, and the Rev. Joseph G. I. Bend, of Baltimore, were made deacons. In the year 1811, arrangements were made for a separation between the congregation of St. George's and the corporation of Trinity Church, after which the former became duly organized as a separate parish, known as St. George's Church.

"The following persons composed the first vestry: Church-wardens—



Richmond, N.Y.

ST. GEORGE'S CHAPEL

Government, and desired to have the opinion of the board upon the probabilities of its success. It was universally agreed by the members present that the Assembly never would submit to this demand, and that a permanent support could not be enforced. Turning to Mr. Smith, who had hitherto remained silent, he requested his opinion, which being to the same effect as that just expressed, Sir Danvers Osborne sighed, and, leaning against the window, with his face partially concealed, exclaimed, in great mental distress, "Then, what am I sent here for?" That same evening he was so unwell that a physician was summoned, with whom he conversed for a little time, and then retired to his chamber, where he spent the most of the night in arranging his private affairs. In the morning he was found suspended from the top of the garden-fence, dead.*

Sir Danvers Osborne had lost a wife, to whom he was passionately attached, shortly before coming to New York. This acting upon a mind morbidly sensitive, had thrown him into a melancholy bordering upon insanity. He came to the Government charged with instructions much more stringent in their tone than those given to his predecessor; and, knowing the difficulty which Mr. Clinton experienced during his administration, he saw before him only a succession of storms and tempests. Almost the first words of the city corporation in their address to him in the Town-hall—"that they would not brook any infringement of their liberties, civil and religious"—convinced Sir Danvers Osborne of the utter impossibility of the task assigned to him. All these causes working upon a morbid state of mind—wishing to carry out his instructions on the one hand, yet seeing its utter hopelessness on

* Manuscript affidavits of Philip Crosby and John Milligan before the council. Sworn to October 12th, 1753, and now preserved in the Secretary-of-State's Office, Albany, N. Y.

the other—produced a temporary insanity, in which state he committed the rash act. Party rage, it is true, threw out suspicions of unfair play; and the council even thought it worth while to appoint a committee to investigate more fully the circumstances of his death; but these suspicions, it was made clearly evident, were entirely without foundation.

Immediately on the death of Governor Osborne, Mr. De Lancey, by virtue of his commission as Lieutenant-Governor, assumed the reins of government. The rôle which he was henceforth to play, though difficult, was acted with his usual shrewdness and address. He had now to convince the ministry that he was zealous in the promotion of the interests of the Crown; while, at the same time, if he would retain his own popularity, he must show the Assembly that he was true to his former principles, and by no means required a compliance with the instructions, which, on the part of his majesty, he should present to them. "As his majesty's representative, he was obliged to urge their compliance with seeming sincerity and warmth; but as James De Lancey, their old friend and best adviser, it was his real sentiment that they never ought to submit." The change in the administration, however, was productive of one good result—that of infusing into the Assembly a desire to take active measures for the defense of the province, now threatened with a desolating Indian war. Before the close of the session, an elaborate complaint to the Crown and a representation to the Board of Trade against Mr. Clinton were drawn up, and forwarded, through Mr. De Lancey, to the Home Government. The Assembly was then prorogued to the first Tuesday of the following March—the Lieutenant-Governor tenderly remarking, before they parted, that they "must be sensible they had not acted with his majesty's royal instructions."

In the General Assembly, which met on the 15th of October, 1754, was first manifested the want of that harmony which had hitherto been so flattering to Mr.

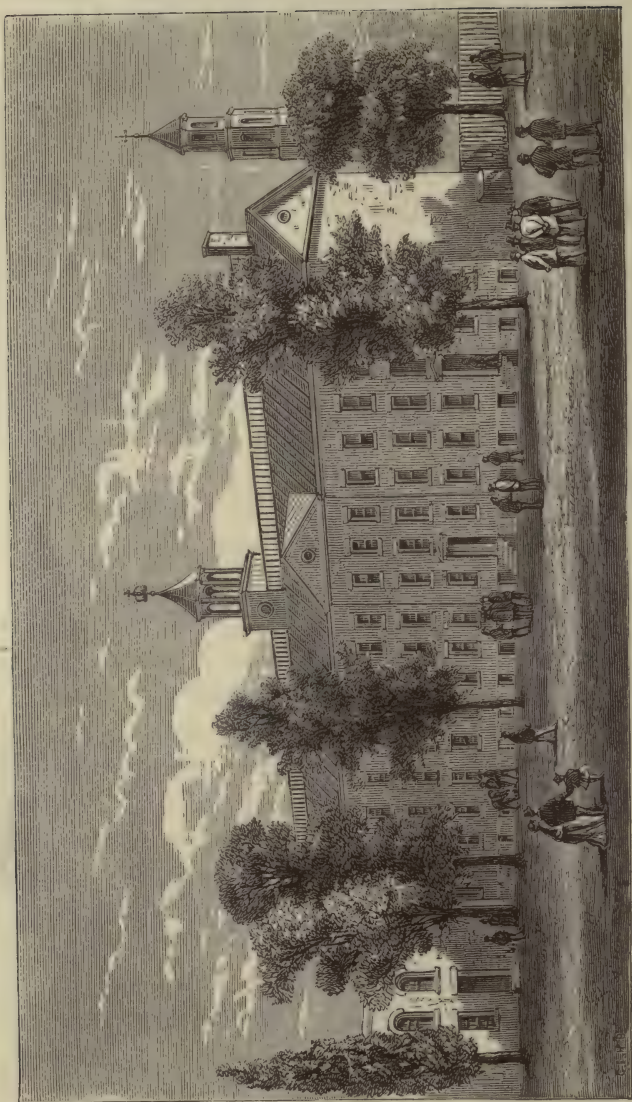
1754. De Lancey's administration. The reluctance of the Lieutenant-Governor at the congress to accede to the plan of union first awakened suspicion in the public mind that his sympathies were on the side of the Crown, and that the affection which he professed for the people was only a cover to his own ambition. There were also a few of Mr. Clinton's friends left, around whom were gathered a small opposition; and the partiality which Mr. De Lancey had shown to his partisans since coming into power disgusted others and added to the discontent which was now quite general. To this was added another source of dissatisfaction—viz., the course he had taken in the founding of the college. To understand this latter point more clearly, it is necessary to glance at the origin of the controversy which was now raging fiercely, and which had already divided the Assembly into two parties.

The province of New York at this period was divided in its religious views into two sects—the Episcopalian and the Presbyterian—the former being led by James De Lancey and the latter by William Livingston. The Presbyterians, though outnumbering ten to one the Episcopalians, had not fairly recovered from the oppression of the early Governors, Fletcher and Cornbury; and they would probably have remained quiet had not the Episcopalians, with great lack of judgment, stirred up anew the embers of controversy.

The people of New York, awakened to the importance of stimulating education, raised, by successive lotteries, the sum of three thousand four hundred and forty-three pounds for the purpose of founding a college; and, in the fall of 1751, passed an act for placing the money thus raised in the hands of ten trustees. Of these, seven were

Episcopalians, two belonged to the Dutch Church, and the tenth was William Livingston, an English Presbyterian. This manifest inequality in favor of the Church of England at once raised a well-founded alarm in the minds of the other sects, who very justly perceived in this an attempt to make the college entirely sectarian, by which only those in the Episcopal Church could participate in its benefits. Nor were they left long in suspense, for it soon became well understood that the majority of the trustees were to have the college under their control, and were intending shortly to petition the Lieutenant-Governor for a charter, in which it was to be expressly stipulated that no person out of the communion of the English Church should be eligible to the office of president. Far-seeing men uttered gloomy forebodings; and a belief soon diffused itself through the minds of intelligent dissenters that this was only the foreshadowing of an attempt to introduce into the colony an established church.

This idea was to a majority of the colonists repugnant in the extreme. The union of Church and State, with its tithes and taxes, was, like the "skeleton in armor," ever present to their imaginations, stimulating them to the utmost resistance. Mr. Livingston, therefore, partially with the view of exposing the evils of a college founded upon such sectarian principles, established a paper called the *Independent Reflector*. The articles which successively appeared from his pen on this subject were able and pungent. Under his lash the leaders of the church party winced; and, in their agony, charged him with the design of breaking up the plan of any college whatever, and dreaded lest he should obtain a charter "for constituting a college on a basis the most catholic, generous, and free." These attacks of the church party were returned with redoubled violence, and the controversy had now risen to fever-heat.



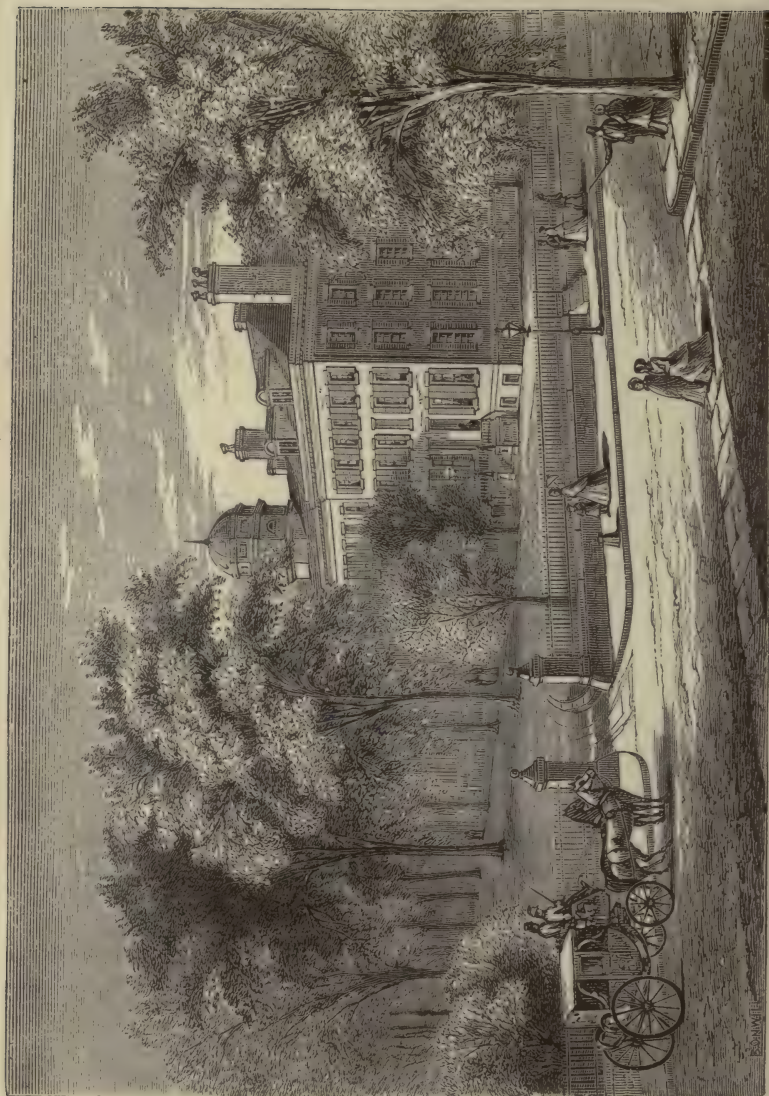
OLD KING'S COLLEGE.

But the efforts of Mr. Livingston and other able writers to prevent the incorporation of King's (Columbia) College under these principles were fruitless; and Mr. De Lancey accordingly granted the charter. The Rev. Samuel Johnson, from Stratford, a worthy man, was called to the president's chair, and Mr. Livingston was appointed one of the governors, in the hope of silencing his opposition.

The granting of this charter was so displeasing to the majority of the people, that the Lieutenant-Governor thought it advisable, in order to win back their former confidence, to urge at the present session the passage of several popular acts. Among them was one for supplying the garrison at Albany and the fortifications along the frontiers, and another for the discharge of the claims of the public creditors, especially the one of Colonel (afterward Sir William) Johnson.

The granting of a charter to the new college, however, had not utterly crushed out opposition to its obnoxious principles. The House still had the disposal of the money which had been raised; and the sectarians having a majority, the trustees were ordered to report their transactions by virtue of the act under which they had been appointed. The latter, accordingly, on the 1st of November handed in two separate reports, William Livingston reading one, and James Livingston and Mr. Nichol the other. After the two reports had been considered, the House unanimously resolved "that it would not consent to any disposition of the moneys raised by lottery for erecting a college within this colony in any other manner than by an act of the Legislature hereafter passed for that purpose." Permission at the same time was given Mr. Robert Livingston to bring in a bill for incorporating a college, which he introduced that same afternoon.

The introduction of this bill astonished both Houses. It was vain to suppose that the council would give its

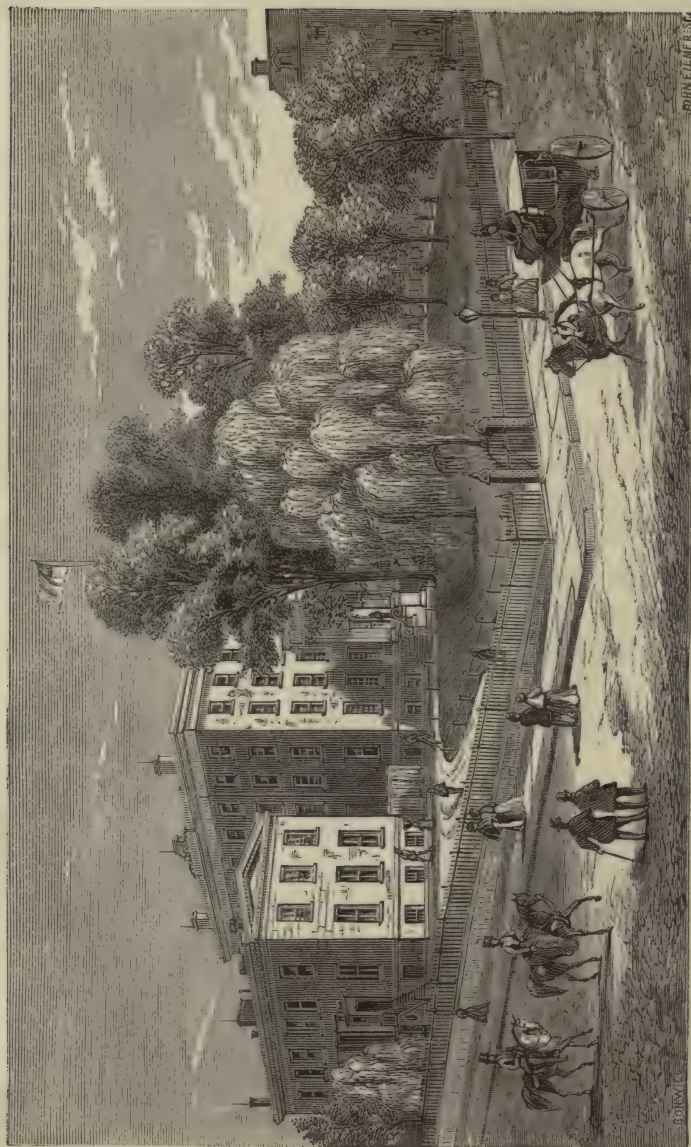


COLUMBIA COLLEGE, 1840.

assent to an act so distasteful to its religious prejudices; nor was the Lieutenant-Governor likely to directly contradict the letters-patent which, on behalf of the Crown, he himself had granted; while the Assembly, composed chiefly of dissenters, dared not reject it. In this predicament, a motion was made by Mr. Walton—prefaced with the remark “that the subject was of the utmost consequence to the people they represented, with the respect both to their civil and religious liberties”—that the consideration of the bill be deferred until the next session, by which time the sentiments of their constituents could be obtained. This motion was gladly seized upon as the only mode which presented an honorable retreat from the position they had so hastily assumed, and was therefore immediately carried.

Thus, with the close of the year, practically terminated the college controversy, which, considered in itself, was not, perhaps, of much importance; but which should not be omitted by the historian, who would show the progress which the citizens of New York were making toward that civil and religious freedom which they afterward attained.

Sir Charles Hardy, the person whom the ministry had appointed to succeed Sir Danvers Osborne, arrived in New York in 1755. He was, like Clinton, an unlettered British admiral, and he had not landed long before it was apparent that, like him, also, he had not sufficient executive talent to govern without a leader. He therefore soon resigned himself into the hands of De Lancey, who thus again became Governor. Sir Charles Hardy, however, soon became tired of his inactive life; and having, like a sensible man, asked and received permission to resign the government and return to his former profession, he hoisted his flag as Rear-Admiral of the Blue; and leaving his government in the hands of the



COLUMBIA COLLEGE, 1872.

Lieutenant-Governor, De Lancey, he sailed on the 2d of July, 1757, to take command of an expedition against Lewisburg.

The year before his departure, however, was signalized by an outrage upon the citizens of New York, which was long treasured up, and undoubtedly had its full weight in the catalogue of grievances which a few years later was to precipitate the colony into revolution. At this time the colonists were engaged in a bloody war with the Indians and French; and Lord Loudon, who had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Army in America, arrived in New York in December, 1756, with twenty-four hundred men. His first act after landing was to insist that his officers should have free quarters upon the city. This, it will be remembered, was in direct opposition to the charter of liberties, framed by the first Assembly under Governor Dongan; and the citizens, who saw in this an attempt to burden them with a standing army, became excited, and warmly pleaded their rights as Englishmen. But Loudon was not to be moved. Six men were billeted upon the brother of the Lieutenant-Governor—Oliver De Lancey. The latter threatened, if they were not removed, to leave the country. "I shall be glad of it," replied his lordship, at the same time quartering half-a-dozen more upon him, "for then the troops will have the whole house."* The Corporation insisted that free quarters were against the common law and the petition of rights. "God damn

* Sir: Am just now informed that 2,400 men are arrived in New York. My Lord Loudon set a billeting them and sent only six to his old acquaintance, Mr. Ol. De Lancey; he zounzed, and blood-and-zounzed at the soldiers. This was told my lord; he sent Mr. Ol. half-a-dozen more. He sent my lord word if matters were to go so he would leave the country. My lord sent him word he would be glad of it; then the troops would have the whole house. I really thought this so extraordinary, I must communicate it to you."—*MS. Letter in the author's possession. Wm. Corry to Sir Wm. Johnson, Jan. 15th, 1757.*

my blood!" exclaimed Loudon to Mayor Cruger, who presented the opinion of the Corporation, "if you do not billet my officers upon free quarters this day, I'll order all the troops in North America, under my command, and billet them myself upon this city!" All argument being thus at an end, a subscription was raised for the quartering of the officers; and Loudon, having rendered himself an object of detestation, went to Boston to breathe the same threats and to talk of the rigor which was to characterize the next year's campaign.

Three years after the departure of Governor Hardy, the City of New York was thrown into deep mourning by the death of its former Chief-Justice and present Lieutenant-Governor, James De Lancey. On the 30th
1760. of July, 1760, he died very suddenly from an attack of asthma, a malady to which he had for many years been subject. The day previous to his decease, he had visited Staten Island, and dined with Governor Morris, General Prevost, and several other distinguished men of the day. Late in the evening he crossed the bay, seemingly laboring under great depression of spirits, and drove to his country-seat in the suburbs.* The next morning he was found by one of his little grandchildren † sitting in his library in the last agonies of death.

By his violent political enemies Mr. De Lancey has been represented as a most unprincipled demagogue, while by his satellites he has been lauded to the skies as a disinterested citizen and patriot. Neither of these views is correct; and the truth, as is generally the case, lies be-

* On the east side of the Bowery, a little above Grand Street.

† The little child that discovered him was the *grandfather* of the late Bishop De Lancey, of New York. Miss Booth, in her generally accurate and valuable work, states that James De Lancey was the *great-grandfather* of the late bishop. This, however, is a mistake. He was his *grandfather*.

tween the two extremes. Mr. De Lancey, undoubtedly, was very ambitious and fond of notoriety; and his love of power and the emoluments of office often led him into the commission of acts from which otherwise he would have shrunk. While he has been praised for his "broad and popular principles," and for his "political skill in successfully preserving to the Assembly the right of annual appropriations," yet he assumed this position more from a determination to displease Clinton, that he himself might rule, than from any love for the people. His course in 1754, in relation to the college charter, alienated his warmest friends; and although he subsequently bitterly repented of giving his sanction to the act of incorporation, yet it was more on account of his loss of popularity than from any feeling of liberality. He was, however, possessed of many amiable and noble qualities and private virtues; his disposition was social and genial, and he was withal a good classical scholar and a profound lawyer. His conduct upon the bench was generally irreproachable; and his decisions, in those cases in which the feelings of the political partisan did not enter, were characterized by fairness and discrimination. His death, occurring at this time, was a great loss to the province; for, numerous as were his faults, he was a man of unquestioned ability. During his long administration he had made himself thoroughly conversant with Indian relations; and since the departure of Clinton had heartily co-operated with Sir William Johnson, the Indian superintendent, in all his efforts in that department. By his death the political complexion of the province underwent a material change; and Dr. Colden, by virtue of being president of the council, took the charge of the Government until the wishes of the ministry were known.

Scarcely had the gloom resulting from the death of Mr. De Lancey been dispelled, when the city was again

thrown into excitement—this time, however, from a pleasurable cause. In the October that succeeded the Lieutenant-Governor's death, General Amherst, covered with laurels on account of his conquest of Canada, visited New York. So overjoyed were the citizens at the successful termination of the protracted struggle, that it seemed as if they could not do too much for him, whom they regarded in the light of their preserver from the tomahawk and scalping-knife. Accordingly, upon the arrival of Amherst, a public dinner was given to him, the freedom of the city presented in a gold box, salutes fired, and the whole city illuminated. Nor, as is too frequently the case with ovations, were these honors undeserved by their recipient, who was as modest as he was brave.

Meanwhile, the work of improving the city rapidly advanced. In the spring of 1761, new streets were opened and paved, among which was Partition Street, now Fulton.

1761. At the same time the first theater was opened in Beekman Street, under the patronage of the Lieutenant-Governor, although the project was strenuously opposed by the Assembly as tending to vitiate and lower the standard of public morals. "During this year; also, the old plan of lighting the streets by lanterns suspended from the windows was definitely abandoned; and public lamps and lamp-posts were erected in the principal streets, and lighted at the public expense." Laws were also passed regulating the prices of provisions, some of which the same author gives as affording an idea of the prices at that time. Beef was sold at four pence half-penny per pound; pork, five pence half-penny; veal, six pence; butter, fifteen pence; milk, six coppers per quart; and a loaf of bread, of a pound and twelve ounces, four coppers.

In June, 1764, a light-house was erected on Sandy

Hook and lighted for the first time. Two ferries were also established the same year; one between Paulus Hook (Jersey City) and New York, and another between Staten Island and Bergen. At the same time the mail between New York and Philadelphia was changed from once a fortnight to twice a week, the distance between the two cities being made in three days. 1764.

At an early period in New York the mails, now of such vital importance, were a very insignificant affair.



SANDY HOOK, FROM THE LIGHT-HOUSES.

Even since the American Revolution a saddle-bag boy on horseback, without any protection, carried the mail three times a week between New York and Philadelphia. People wondered at seeing the bags next placed upon a sulky; and were lost in amazement when a four-horse stage be-

came necessary for the increasing load and bulk. Now, a large car, several times a day, is found insufficient for the amount of mail matter that passes between those two cities; and instead of there being, as formerly, only a few straggling letters, two hundred and fifty thousand postage-stamps are, on an average, daily canceled, and that is a representation of the number of *domestic* letters delivered at the post-office every twenty-four hours.* Then the post went and returned by way of "Blazing Star," Staten Island. In process of time, several new routes were opened to Philadelphia. One crossed the bay to Staten Island in a *perogue*, commonly called a *periagua*, a little open boat with lee-boards, and steered by one man. Reaching the island, the traveler proceeded to the ferry at "Arthur Rolls'" Sound, crossed in a scow to New Jersey, and shortly reached the "Blazing Star," near Woodbridge. Journeying slowly to the Raritan River, New Brunswick was reached by a scow, and in the same manner Trenton, on the Delaware, until, by the third or fourth day, the "City of Brotherly Love" made its appearance. Another route advertised a commodious "stage-boat" to start with goods and passengers from the City Hall Slip (Coenties) twice a week, for Perth Amboy ferry, and thence by stage-wagon to Cranberry and Burlington, from which point a stage-boat continued the line to Philadelphia; this trip generally required three days. This was long before the days of steam-boats. These "stage-boats" were small sloops, sailed by a single man and boy, or two men; and passing "outside," as it is still called, by the Narrows and through the "Lower Bay," these small passage-vessels, at times, were driven out to sea, thus oftentimes caus-

* One comparative statement more. The City of New York is divided into twelve postal stations, each one having its distinct officer and clerks. Station A, situated in the heart of New York, does a larger business than the city of Buffalo, New Haven, Hartford, Hudson, or Troy.

ing vexatious delays. In very stormy weather, the "inside route," through the Kills, was chosen. The most common way to Philadelphia, however, was to cross the North River in a sail-boat, and then the Passaic and Hackensack by scows, reaching the "Quaker City" by stages in about three days. But these passages had their perils. The "Blazing Star Inn" (sign of a comet) lay four or five miles from the Staten Island ferry; and Baron De Kalb, then a colonel, crossing over here in January, 1768, was the only one of nine passengers not frozen so as to lose life or limb. The open scow sank on a sand-bank and left the whole party exposed all night. When rescued, he alone refused to be warmed by the fire, but placing his feet and legs in cold water, went to bed and arose uninjured. One of his comrades died on the scow before succor arrived.

In 1756, the first stage started between New York and Philadelphia—three days through. In 1765, a second stage was advertised for Philadelphia—a covered Jersey wagon—at two pence a mile. The next 1765. year another line was begun, called the "Flying Machine," with good wagons, seats on springs, time two days, and fare two pence a mile, or twenty shillings through. John Mersereau, at the "Blazing Star," "notifies that persons may go from New York to Philadelphia and back in five days, remaining in Philadelphia two nights and one day; fare, twenty shillings through. There will be two wagons and two drivers, and four sets of horses. The passengers will lodge at Paulus Hook Ferry the night before, to start thence the next morning early." *

* In this connection it may be mentioned that, during the year 1756, the first British packet-boats commenced sailing from New York to Falmouth, each letter carried "to pay four-penny weight of silver." It is also worth noticing here that the earliest voyage to China from New York was made during the year 1785, in the ship *Empress*, Captain Greene. The same year Captain Dean performed this identical voyage in an Albany sloop—a feat at that day more remarkable than the sailing of the little "Red, White, and Blue" across the Atlantic a short time ago.

During the year 1785, the first stages began their trips between New York and Albany, with four horses, at four pence a mile, on the east side of the North River, under a special act of the Legislature, for ten years. Ten years afterward this line was extended as far as Whitestone, just beyond old Fort Schuyler (Utica).*

What a contrast between that day and our own! *Then* news from England five months old was fresh and racy. *Now* we must have it in two hours, and then grumble at the length of time taken by the Atlantic cable to convey the intelligence. *Then* news seven days old from New York to Boston was swift enough for an express. *Now*, if we cannot obtain the news from Washington in less than the same number of minutes, we become almost frantic, and talk of starting new telegraph companies.

* On the opposite page will be found a *fac-simile* of an advertisement, cut out of an old newspaper kindly given me by the Hon. Theodore Faxton, of Utica, N. Y. Mr. Faxton is the son-in-law of "Jason Parker."

PARKER'S

Mail Stage,

From Whitestown to Canajoharrie.



THE Mail leaves Whitestown every Monday and Thursday, at two o'clock P. M. and proceeds to Old Fort Schuyler the same evening; next morning starts at four o'clock, and arrives at Canajoharrie in the evening; exchanges passengers with the Albany and Cooperstown stages, and the next day returns to Old Fort Schuyler.

Fare for passengers, Two Dollars; way passengers, Four Pence per mile; 14lb. baggage gratis; 150wt. rated the same as a passenger.

Seats may be had by applying at the Post-Office, Whitestown, at the house of the subscriber, Old Fort Schuyler, or at Captain Reef's, Canajoharrie.

JASON PARKER.

August, 1795.

CHAPTER VI.

It will be recollected that, on the death of Mr. De Lancey, the Government had devolved on Dr. Cadwalader Colden, as president of the council, until the wishes of the ministry could be ascertained. Shortly after his first speech to the Assembly on the 22d of October, 1760, news arrived of the death of George the Second and the accession of his grandson; and as it was the unanimous opinion of the provincial council that the demise of the King dissolved the Assembly, writs were issued for a new

1761. one, returnable upon the 3d of March, 1761. Meanwhile, various were the conjectures respecting the name of the future governor. At one time rumor gave the gubernatorial chair to General Gage; again the public were confident that Thomas Pownal would be the fortunate man. Some few suggested Colden, and others General Monckton. All surmises were at length set at rest. Pownal received the Governorship of Jamaica, Gage remained at Montreal, and Colden, having been appointed Lieutenant-Governor, announced to the Assembly that his majesty had been pleased "to distinguish the services of Major-General Monckton by constituting him his Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province." The new Governor, however, did not long occupy the gubernatorial chair, for, preferring the excitement of arms to the cares and troubles of office, he, like Governor

Hardy, requested to be allowed to resume his old profession. Accordingly, having produced his commission to the council and taken the oaths of office, he sailed from New York on the last day of November, 1761, leaving the government in the hands of Doctor Colden.

The administration of Doctor Colden was at first marked by no event of special moment, and the intercourse between himself and his Assembly, if we except the slight opposition against the theater in Beekman Street, was of the most amiable character. But this calm was to be of short duration; for, shortly after receiving his commission of Lieutenant-Governor, he was instrumental in an act which set not only the Assembly, but the whole province, in a blaze. As by the death of Mr. De Lancey the seat of Chief-Justice had become vacant, a general wish was expressed by the community that the vacancy should at once be filled. The three remaining judges, Horsmanden, Chambers, and Jones, having doubts as to their ability to issue processes under their old commissions since the death of the King, likewise urged the Lieutenant-Governor to appoint a successor without delay. Colden, however, was more concerned for his own and his family's advancement than for the welfare of the colony. In the same letter in which he announced to the Lords of Trade the death of De Lancey, he recommended his eldest son for the seat at the council-board, made vacant at the Lieutenant-Governor's death; and in the same fawning and grasping spirit he now desired the Earl of Halifax, the Colonial Secretary of State, to nominate a Chief-Justice. The result was, not only the nomination, but the actual appointment of Benjamin Pratt, a Boston lawyer, to the seat, not, as had been usual before the death of his late majesty, "during good behaviour," but "at the pleasure of the King."

The appointment in this manner, and at this time,

was peculiarly unfortunate. The sister colony of Massachusetts was now writhing under the "writs of assistance," which the British ministry had so recklessly determined to force upon the colonies. These "writs" had been requested by the custom-house officers to enable them the better to enforce the revenue. They were in effect search-warrants, and whoever held them might with impunity break open a citizen's house and violate the sanctity of his dwelling. The inhabitants were justly incensed at this exercise of arbitrary power, and the more so, as they saw no disposition on the part of those in authority to resist this infringement upon their liberties. Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts, scrupled not to become the tool of the Earl of Egremont, Pitt's successor, and boldly declared himself in favor of adopting the odious plan of the Crown for increasing the revenue. Hutchinson, the Chief-Justice of the province, was equally subservient to the royal authority. An opportunity, however, soon came in which the temper of the people found vent. A petition having been presented to the Superior Court by the officers of the customs, that "writs of assistance" might ensue, the question was argued at length in February (1761) before the Chief-Justice and his four associate justices. Jeremiah Gridley, on behalf of the Crown, argued for the legality of the writ, on the ground that as the writ was allowed to the revenue-officers in England, to refuse the same powers to the colonial officers would be to deny that "the Parliament of Great Britain is the sovereign legislature of the British empire."

The fearless and impulsive James Otis, who had resigned his office as Advocate-General, that, untrammelled, he might argue this case against the Crown, appeared for the people of Boston. "These writs," he exclaimed, "are the worst instruments of arbitrary power, the most

destructive of English liberty and the fundamental principles of law." With impassioned eloquence, he showed to the court the nature of these writs. "In the first place," he said, "the writ is universal, being directed to all and singular justices, sheriffs, constables, and all other officers and subjects, so that, in short, it is directed to every subject in the King's dominions. Every one with this writ may be a tyrant; if this commission be legal, a tyrant in a legal manner. Also may control, imprison, or murder any one within the realm. In the next place, it is perpetual. A man is accountable to no person for his doings. * * * In the third place, a person with this writ, in the daytime may enter all houses, shops, &c., at will, and command all to assist him. Now, one of the most essential branches of English liberty is the freedom of one's house. A man's house is his castle, and whilst he is quiet he is as well guarded as a prince in his castle. This writ, if it should be declared legal, would totally annihilate this privilege. Custom-house officers may enter our houses when they please. We are commanded to permit their entry. Their menial servants may enter, may break locks, bars, and everything in their way, and whether they break through malice or revenge, no man, no court may inquire. Bare suspicion without oath is sufficient; and," continued he, "I am determined to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life, to the sacred calls of my country in opposition to a kind of power which cost one King of England his head and another his throne; and to my dying day I will oppose, with all the power and faculties that God has given me, all such instruments of slavery on the one hand and villainy on the other!"

At the next term of the court, the writ of assistance was granted, but such was the feeling of the people that the custom-house officers, although having the writs in

their pockets, dared not in a single instance carry them into execution. But although the arguments of Otis failed to procure a decision in favor of the people, yet they did not die within the walls of the court-house. Caught up by his hearers, they were borne, as if on the wind, throughout the length and breadth of the land. "I do say in the most solemn manner," writes Mr. Adams, "that Mr. Otis's oration against writs of assistance breathed into this nation the breath of life."

With these stirring appeals of James Otis ringing in their ears, it may readily be supposed that the people of New York were in no mood for this further encroachment upon their liberties. "To make the King's will," said they, "the term of office, is to make the bench of judges the instrument of the royal prerogative." Chambers, Horsmanden, and Jones refused to act longer unless they could hold their commissions during good behavior. Champions at once arose to do battle for the people. Conspicuous among these were William Livingston, John Morin Scott, and William Smith, all prominent lawyers and vigorous thinkers and writers; and they protested through the public prints against this attempt to
1761.

render the judiciary dependent upon the Crown. Nor were their efforts entirely fruitless, for in the answer of the Assembly on the 17th of December to the request of Dr. Colden that the usual salary of three hundred pounds to the Chief-Justice should be increased, it was resolved "that as the salaries allowed for the judges of the Supreme Court have been and still appear to be sufficient to engage gentlemen of the first figure, both as to capacity and fortune, in the colony, to accept of these offices, it would be highly improper to augment the salary of Chief-Justice on this occasion;" nor would they allow even the usual salary, unless the commissions of the Chief-Justice and the other judges were granted during good

behavior. To this Colden refused to accede; and Chief-Justice Pratt, having served several terms without a salary, was finally reimbursed out of his majesty's quit-rents of the province.

Thus were the people of New York following in the wake of their Puritan neighbors. Colden himself, as if he had some glimmerings of the future, began to doubt the result. "For some years past," he wrote to the Board of Trade, "three popular lawyers, educated in Connecticut, who have strongly imbibed the independent principles of that country, calumniate the administration in every exercise of the prerogative, and get the applause of the mass by propagating the doctrine that all authority is derived from the people."

It was in the fall of 1763 that George Grenville and Lord North first devised the plan of raising a revenue by the sale of stamps to the colonists. Grenville, however, hesitated long before pressing this measure; 1763. and it was not until the 22d of March, of this year, that the Stamp Act passed, and received the signature of the King. The act declared that thenceforth no legal instrument should possess any validity in the colonies unless it was stamped by the Government.* Long before the passage of the act, the rumor that such a project was even meditated by the ministry produced a universal outburst of indignation. If Parliament wished to raise any sum, said the colonists, let them employ the usual method of writing circular letters to the provinces, requesting supplies according to the ability of each. When thus applied to heretofore, the King had never found them remiss, but, on the contrary—as their loyal obedience to these requisitions during the last war had fully shown—they had

* "By this act, a ream of bail bonds *stamped* was £100; a ream of common printed ones before, was £15; a ream of *stamped* policies of insurance was £190; of common ones, without stamps, £20."—*Bradford, Mass.*, i, 12.

always responded with alacrity. Taxation, however, without representation in Parliament was tyranny to which they would not submit. These views were advocated with great power by James Otis in a series of pamphlets; and the public prints teemed with similar discussions, all of which were read with care and reflection. The Assemblies of Virginia and New York especially, by their protests, took firm ground against the passage of the act; but the petition of the former body was not received in England until it was too late, while that of the latter was so intemperate in its expressions against the newly-assumed pretensions of the Parliament that the agent, Mr. Charles, was unable to find any member of that body bold enough to present it.

It may, therefore, readily be seen, that if the mere intimation that such an odious measure was in contemplation, produced so much solicitude, the passage of the act itself was not calculated to allay the growing apprehensions of the people. But it was no sudden ebullition of indignation that first manifested itself. Indeed, so amazed were the colonists at the presumption of Parliament that when the news was first received their feelings were too deep for utterance. Hutchinson, the Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, mistaking this for submission, hastened to write to the ministry that "his countrymen were waiting, not to consider if they must submit to a stamp-duty, but to know when its operation was to commence." He knew not that this calm was but the stillness which preceded the tornado that was to sweep with such desolating fury throughout the land! He was shortly undeceived. Mutterings began to be heard in every province, which, in New England and New York, soon grew into acts of violence. On the 14th of August, Andrew Oliver, the brother-in-law of the Chief-Justice, who had received the appointment of stamp-distributer for Massachusetts,

was, together with Lord Bute, suspended in effigy from a tree in one of the streets of Boston. In reply to the command of the Chief-Justice to take down those figures, the sheriff gave a flat refusal; and the council of the province likewise declined to interfere. That same night, the mob, taking the images down, carried them to the newly-erected Stamp-office, which they immediately razed. Oliver's dwelling was next assailed, the windows and furniture demolished, and the effigies burned on Fort Hill. The next day, Oliver resigned; but he was obliged, the same evening, to make a public recantation at a bonfire which the populace had kindled. But, having once given vent to their long pent-up exasperation, they did not stop here. Urged on by a popular preacher, Jonathan Mayhew by name, who had taken for his text the previous day, "I would they were even cut off which trouble you," they destroyed, on the 26th, the records and files of the Court of Admiralty, and, breaking into the house of Hallowell, the Comptroller of Customs, demolished the furniture, and freely drank of the choice wines in the cellar. To their just anger were now added the fumes of liquor; and proceeding forthwith to the residence of Hutchinson, they tore the paintings from the walls, destroyed the plate, and scattered his large and valuable library of books and manuscripts to the winds; nor did they depart until the interior of the building, even to the partition-walls, was completely demolished. Happily, Hutchinson and his innocent family, having received timely notice of their danger, had escaped before the arrival of the rioters—otherwise, the crime of murder might have been added to these violent and disgraceful proceedings.

In Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, the popular indignation showed itself in similar demonstrations, though not of so violent a character. The effect, however, in those provinces was the same; each of the

stamp-distributers being forced to resign to save himself from odium, if not from death.

Meantime, the Assembly of Massachusetts resolved, on the 6th of June, that "it was highly expedient there should be a meeting, as soon as might be, of committees from the Houses of Representatives or Burgesses in the several colonies, to consult on the present circumstances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they were and must be reduced, and to consider of a general congress—to be held at New York the first Tuesday of October." To this invitation the colonies heartily responded, and in the convention, held at the time and place designated, they were all represented, except New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. The three latter, however, although prevented by their Governors, by continued adjournments, from sending delegates, signified by letters their willingness to acquiesce in whatever measures the convention might adopt; so, also, wrote New Hampshire. Lieutenant-Governor Colden, who had from the beginning pronounced the convention unconstitutional and unlawful, likewise endeavored, by successive adjournments, to prevent the Assembly of New York from electing delegates. But an Assembly that had driven Clinton from his chair, and had successfully fought through so many years against a permanent support, was not to be thus easily foiled; and a committee appointed by
1764. them in October, 1764, to correspond with their sister colonies upon recent acts of Parliament in relation to trade, now took their seats in the Congress as the representatives of the people of New York.

Timothy Ruggles, who had been sent by Bernard, the Governor of Massachusetts, to thwart the patriotic efforts of his colleagues, was chosen president of the Congress, and John Cotton, clerk. No time was lost. Committees were immediately appointed to draft petitions to Parliament.

having for their burden the Stamp Act; and, after a harmonious session of fourteen days, the convention dissolved, having adopted a declaration of rights, a petition to the King, and a memorial to both Houses of Parliament—the latter being drawn by James Otis.

As before remarked, the people of New York were among the most bitter opponents of the Stamp Act. While the riots were going on in Boston, the act itself was reprinted, and hawked about the streets of New York city, as “The folly of England, and ruin of America.” Secret organizations styling themselves the “Sons of Liberty” met to discuss plans of resistance. Warned by the example of his brother appointees in the neighboring colonies, McEvers, the stamp-distributer, resigned. General Gage, at the solicitation of Colden, ordered down, in July, from Crown Point, a company of the Sixtieth regiment, for the defense of Fort George, the guns of which were remounted, new ordnance ordered, and the magazine replenished with a bountiful supply of ammunition. On the arrival of the first cargo of stamps in the harbor, toward the end of October, placards were posted up in the streets and at the Merchants’ Coffee-house, of which the following is a copy :

“PRO PATRIA.

“The first man that either distributes or makes use of stamp paper, let him take care of his house, person, and effects.

“VOX POPULI.

“WE DARE.”

Terrified at signs he could not misunderstand, the Lieutenant-Governor had the stamps conveyed, for greater security, to the fort, and in great trepidation summoned the members of his privy council for their advice. But notwithstanding he sent repeated messages, and notwithstanding, also, that seven members were in the city, only three (Horsmanden, Smith, and Reid) responded to his

call, and they declined giving any advice unless there was a fuller Board. In this state of affairs, nothing was left to Colden but to shut himself up in the fort and await the result. He was not long in suspense.

On the 1st of November, the day appointed for the Stamp Act to go into operation, the popular indignation, which had been so long smoldering, burst forth. Early in the evening, the Sons of Liberty, numbering several thousand, appeared before the fort and demanded the stamps. On being refused, they proceeded to the open fields—a portion of which is now the Park—and, having erected a gibbet, they hanged the Lieutenant-Governor in effigy, and suspended by his side a figure, holding in his hand a boot, representing Lord Bute.* The images, after hanging some little time, were taken down and carried, together with the scaffold, in a torch-light procession to the gates of the fort. Having in vain knocked on the gates for admission, the mob broke into Colden's carriage-house, brought forth the family-coach, placed inside of it the two effigies, and, having again paraded them around the city, returned to within one hundred yards of the fort-gate, and hanged the figures upon a second gallows erected for that purpose. A bonfire was then made of part of the wooden fence, which, at that time, surrounded the Bowling Green; and the effigies, together with the Lieutenant-Governor's coach, a single-horse chair, two sleighs, and several light vehicles, were cast into the flames and

* Colden, it is true, in a letter under date of November 5th to Secretary Conway, says that the image suspended by the side of his effigy was intended to represent the devil, in which Bancroft follows him. In a manuscript letter, however, now before me, written by Alexander Colden, his son, to Sir William Johnson, a month after, and when the facts, therefore, could be better ascertained, the excitement having partially subsided, the writer says that the second image was designed for *Lord Bute*. The *boot* has now significance as a *rebus* of Lord Bute which before it had not. "His Lordship's [John Stewart, Earl of Bute] established type with the mob was a jack-boot, a wretched pun on his Christian name and title."—*Macaulay's Essay on the Earl of Chatham*.

entirely consumed. While the flames were lighting up the black muzzles of the guns of the fort, another party, having spiked the cannon on the Battery, proceeded to the house of Major James, an artillery officer, who had made himself especially obnoxious by his having aided in putting the fort in a suitable posture for defense, and, having burned everything of value, returned in triumph, bringing with them the colors of the Royal Artillery Regiment.

When McEvers resigned, Colden had sneered; but even he was now compelled to give way. The day after the riot, he caused a large placard to be posted up, signed by Goldsbrov Banyar, the deputy-secretary of the council, stating that he should have nothing more to do with the stamps, but would leave them with Sir Henry Moore, Bart., who was then on his way from England to assume the government. This declaration, however, did not satisfy the Sons of Liberty. Through their leader, Isaac Sears, they insisted that the stamped paper should be immediately delivered into their hands, threatening, in case of a refusal, to storm the fort where it was deposited. The Common Council, alarmed at the uncontrollable fury of the mob, and fearing an effusion of blood, added, likewise, their solicitation that the stamps might be deposited in the City Hall. In answer to this latter request, the cause of the dispute was delivered up, after considerable negotiation, to the corporation — the Board giving a pledge to make good all the stamps that might be lost.

But if the spirit of the mob could not be subdued, it might at least be guided. On the 6th of November, a meeting of the more conservative citizens was called, and Sears, with four others,* was authorized to correspond with several colonies upon the new and alarming feature

* These were John Lamb, Gershom Mott, William Wiley, and Thomas Robinson.

of the prerogative of Parliament. The committee thus appointed entered into their work with zeal, the fruits of which soon became apparent. A resolution, emanating from New York and adopted by the other colonies, directed the English merchants to ship no more goods to America, and declared that no more goods coming from England should be sold on commission in the colonies after the first day of January, 1766. Nor did the patriotism of the people end here. The wearing of cloth of British manufacture was dispensed with, coarse home-spun garments taking its place. Marriages were no longer performed by licenses, upon which the Stamp Act had now laid duty, but were solemnized by being proclaimed in church. Everywhere resistance to kingly oppression was the watch-word.

The new Governor, Sir Henry Moore, Bart., who had been appointed, in June, to succeed Major-General Monckton, arrived in New York the beginning of November,

1765. 1765, after a tedious passage of ten weeks. When

he first landed, he was disposed to assume a haughty tone in relation to the Stamp Act. The Corporation offered him the freedom of the city in a gold box; but he refused to accept it, unless upon stamped paper. The custom-house cleared vessels, but the men-of-war ran out their guns and refused to allow them to leave the harbor, unless they produced a certificate from the Governor that no stamps were to be had. This the latter declined to give, and the vessels remained at the wharves. The spectacle, however, of Colden quaking with fear in the fort, and the judicious advice of his council, soon convinced him of the folly of any attempt to carry the act into execution; and, before his first meeting with the Assembly, he openly announced that he had suspended his power to execute the Stamp Act. To still further appease the people, he dismantled the fort, very much to the

disgust of the Lieutenant-Governor, who, not having been consulted, retired in chagrin to his country-seat at Flushing.

Owing to the successive adjournments by Colden, the General Assembly met, for the first time this year, on the 13th of November. Only fourteen members, however, answering to their names, the speaker announced the appointment of Sir Henry Moore to the government, and adjourned the Assembly to the 19th.

The severest test, perhaps, of public opinion at this time, is to be found in the Governor's opening address, which was brief and general, and contained not the slightest allusion to the existing troubles. The answer of the House was equally guarded; each party seeming to be averse to broach a topic that was so unpleasant to the other. But if the Assembly were unwilling to allude in their address to that which was now upon every mind, they showed no indisposition to handle it among themselves. Among their first resolutions was one, not only approving the action of the committee in meeting with the Congress in October, but tendering them, also, their warmest thanks for the part which they had taken in the deliberations of that body. In connection with this resolution, they further resolved, *nemine contradicente*, "that for obtaining relief from the operation and execution of the Act of Parliament called the Stamp Act, humble petitions be presented to his Majesty, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons, as nearly similar to those drawn up by the late Congress as the particular circumstances of the colony will admit of." A committee was therefore appointed to draw up the three petitions, which, signed by William Nicholl, the speaker, were forwarded, in the name of the House, to Charles and John Sargeant, the colony's agents in London.

But the action of the Assembly did not keep pace with

the public requirements; at least so thought the Sons of Liberty. On the 26th, a sealed letter was handed by an unknown person to Mr. Lott, clerk of the House, directed "TO MR. LOTT, MERCH'T. IN NEW YORK," and ran as follows:

"On receiving you are to read the in closed in the open Assembly of this Province New York as you are clerk and whare of fail not on your perrel.

(Signed)

"FREEDOM."

The inclosed letter was directed "*To the General Assembly of the Province of New York*," and was in the following words:

"Gentlemen of the House of Representatives, you are to Consider what is to be Done first Drawing of as much money from the Lieut. Governor's Salary as will Repare the fort & on Spike the Guns on the Battery & the nex a Repeal of the Gunning Act & then there will be a good Militia but not before & also as you are asetting you may Consider of the Building Act as it is to take place nex yeare which it Cannot for there is no supply of Some Sort of materials Required this Law is not Ground on Reasons but there is a great many Reasons to the Contrary so Gentlemen we desire you will Do what lays in your power for the Good of the public but if you take this ill be not so Conceited as to Say or think that other People know nothing about Government you have made their laws and say they are Right but they are Rong and take a way Lebery. Oppressions of your make Gentlemen make us Sons of Liberty think you are not for the Public Liberty this is the General Opinion of the People for this part of Your Conduct.

"1765

"by order

"sign'd, one & all.

"Nov'r 26

"FREEDOM."

Both of these letters—which, by the way, bear on their face unmistakable evidence of their being designedly written in this illiterate manner, probably for the greater disguise*—were laid before the House by the clerk, who dared not refuse. But the Assembly were not disposed to have any such gratuitous advice; nor was their patriotism yet attuned to the same accord with that of the writer. However much, moreover, they might be disposed, themselves, to criticise the unpopular Colden, they did not choose to be instructed by the ironical suggestion in rela-

* The entire absence of punctuation in the same letter, with the correct abbreviations of *Sign'd* and *Nov'r*, and the correct spelling of the more difficult words, show clearly the marks of design.

tion to the Lieutenant-Governor's salary and the spiked guns. They therefore resolved that the said letters were rebellious, scandalous, and seditious; that they were designed to inflame the minds of the good people of the colony against their representatives; and that an address should be presented to the Governor requesting him to offer a reward of fifty pounds for their author or authors, that they might be brought to "condign punishment;" pledging themselves, at the same time, to provide the means of defraying the above reward.

On the 3d of December, the Governor, by Mr. Banyar, sent down a message to the House, in which the latter was informed that by the Mutiny Act, passed during the last session of Parliament, the expense of furnishing the King's troops in America with quarters and other necessities, was to be defrayed by the several colonies. In consequence thereof, the Commander-in-Chief had demanded that provision be made for the troops, whether quartered within or marching through the province; and it was now requested to make provision accordingly.

This request was at this time exceedingly inopportune. It involved a question which, in Lord Loudon's time—when the country was engaged in a disastrous war, and when, therefore, there was a seeming necessity for such provision—had been productive of ill feeling, and almost of riots. It may readily be seen, therefore, that when no such necessity existed, and when the public mind was in such an excited state, the Assembly were in no mood to comply. The message was accordingly referred to a committee of the whole House, of which Robert R. Livingston was the chairman. On the 19th, they reported against it, on the following grounds: that when his majesty's forces were quartered in barracks belonging to the King, they were always furnished with necessities without any expense to the counties in which they were quartered;

and that if any expense were necessary for quartering troops on their march, and supplying them with what was required by the act, the House would consider thereof after the expense was incurred. Sir Henry Moore was too prudent a man to press the matter further; and having satisfied his duty to the Crown by the formal demand for quarters, he allowed the matter to drop for the present.

The Sons of Liberty were still in the ascendant. The last week in November, two hundred of them crossed over to Flushing, and compelled the Maryland stamp-distributor, who had fled thither for safety, to sign a resignation of his office. In December, ten boxes of stamps were seized on their arrival in port, and consumed in a bonfire. "We are in a shocking situation at present," wrote Alexander Colden to Sir William Johnson, with whom the former was on terms of intimacy, "and God knows how it will end. Its not safe for a person to speak, for there is no knowing friend from foe."

Opposition to the Stamp Act still continued. In January, 1766, a committee from the Sons of Liberty waited upon six persons in Albany, and requested them to take an oath that they would not accept the office of stamp-distributor. All but Henry Van Schaack, the Albany postmaster, having complied, the mob went to the latter's house, a little below the city, broke the windows, furniture, and the piazza, and taking his pleasure-sleigh into town, consumed it in a bonfire. Alarmed at these demonstrations, Van Schaack took the required oath, and the mob dispersed.

In New York city, the committee (Isaac Sears, chairman) were still active. Having ascertained by their secret agents in Philadelphia that a merchant, Lewis Pintard, had sent to that city a Mediterranean pass and a bond on stamped paper, they waited upon the merchant, and also upon the naval officer who had given the pass,

on the 12th of January; and, compelling them to appear on the common, forced them to swear, before a crowd of eight thousand people, that the passes which they had signed and delivered were not stamped, to their knowledge. Not satisfied, however, with this declaration, the committee conducted them to the Coffee-house, before which a bonfire had been kindled, and obliged Pintard to commit the passes to the flames with his own hands. On the following day, Governor Moore, who, being of a timid and amiable nature, had a dread of becoming unpopular, sent for one of the committee, and said, in the course of the conversation, that he hoped the "gentlemen, his associates," did not suspect him of being cognizant of the Mediterranean passes. Upon being informed that they did not, the Governor further stated that he had solicited this interview to assure the Sons of Liberty that, not only was he ignorant of that transaction, but that he would have nothing to do with any stamps whatever.

Alarmed at the rapid growth of republican principles in America, the seeds of which had been sown by its own folly, Parliament, on the 18th of March, repealed the obnoxious act. The British Legislature, however, yielded not with a good grace. "The colonists," wrote Sir William Baker to Sir William Johnson, "must not think that these lenient methods were brought about by the inducements of their violence."* Fearing, therefore, that their action would be misconstrued, Parliament hastened, almost simultaneously with the repeal of the Stamp Act, to pass a bill declaring the absolute right of the King and Parliament

* "I hope the last session of Parliament has conciliated the North Americans to their mother country; but at the same time it must be expected from them obedience to the laws of this government. The colonists must not think these lenient methods made use of by that administration were brought about by the inducement of their violence; but was really the effect of conviction that the rash act past the two preceding sessions was unwarrantable and oppressive."—*M. S.*; *Sir William Baker to Johnson, Nov 7th, 1766.*

"to bind the colonies and people of America, subjects of the Crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever."

In the first delirium of delight at the repeal, the news of which was communicated to the colonists by their agents, on the 16th of May, the tendency of the Declaratory Act was not heeded. In New York city, especially, the populace seemed wild with joy. Bells were rung, a royal salute of twenty-one guns fired, and the city illuminated. On the 4th of June, the King's birthday, the Governor had an ox roasted whole, a hogshead of rum and twenty-five barrels of beer opened, and the people invited to join in the feast. On the same day, a mast was erected, inscribed "To his most Gracious Majesty, George the Third, Mr. Pitt, and Liberty." But the enthusiasm of the people did not end here. On the 23d of June, a meeting was held, at which a petition was signed by a majority of the citizens, requesting the Assembly to erect a statue of William Pitt, as a mark of their appreciation of his services in repealing the Stamp Act. That body entered fully into the feelings of the people; and, besides complying with the wishes of their constituents, in relation to Pitt, they made provision for an equestrian statue to his majesty George the Third; and also voted their thanks and a piece of plate to John Sargeant, "for his services as special agent," during the Stamp Act controversy.

The opening speech of Governor Moore to the Assembly, on the 12th of June, began by adverting to the general satisfaction diffused among the people by the repeal of the Stamp Act. It was the impression made on the minds of the people by this act of his majesty's favor that had induced the Governor, so early, to call the Legislature, in order to give them the earliest opportunity of making those acknowledgments of duty and submission which, on such an occasion, his excellency thought must

arise in the bosom of every individual. It then spoke of the impositions upon the credulity of the people by the misrepresentations of artful and designing men. "Let it be your concern," it continued, "to undeceive the deluded, and, by your example, bring back to a sense of their duty those who have been misled, that nothing which can carry with it the least resemblance of former heat and prejudice may be suffered to prevail, and the minds of those who are too easily agitated be again disposed to a cheerful obedience to the laws, and to sentiments of respectful gratitude to the mother country." Their attention was next directed to the care of those unfortunate persons who had suffered from the "licentiousness of the populace for their deference to the British Legislature," and they were requested to make full and ample compensation for the goods and effects of the sufferers that had been destroyed. This latter suggestion was owing to circular letters from the minister to the provincial governors, requesting the colonial Assemblies to show their "respectful gratitude for the forbearance of Parliament," by indemnifying those who had suffered injury in attempting to execute the late act. In connection with the opening speech, petitions were handed in by Lieutenant-Governor Colden and Major James, praying the Assembly to make good their losses by the recent riots. These petitions were thereupon referred to a committee of the whole House, who reported favorably upon the claims of Major James, but passed over in silence those of the Lieutenant-Governor—very much to the chagrin of the latter, who forthwith wrote a letter to Conway, begging him to lay his case before the King, that his losses might be recompensed by a pension.

The Governor now ventured again to request of the Assembly its compliance with the demands of the Ministry in relation to the quartering of troops, a large body of whom was shortly expected from England. But although

the House had joined with the council in an humble address to the King, thanking him for the repeal of the Stamp Act, and although, moreover, it was perfectly willing to vote statues to his majesty and William Pitt, it was no more disposed to comply with this demand, now that Parliament had yielded to its wishes, than it was at the previous session, when the Stamp Act was in full force. The House accordingly voted a series of resolutions similar in tone to those passed November, 1765, and postponed further discussion on the subject until the troops had arrived. A second message, however, from Sir Henry Moore, induced it to alter its determination so far as to state that the appropriations of 1762 were at his disposal, and might be applied toward providing barracks, firewood, and candles, for two battalions and one company of artillery, for one year. Beyond this, however, it would not go; and the Governor, while he was obliged to be content with this decision, wrote at the same time to the Lords of Trade, that its partial compliance was more the result of compulsion than of gratitude for recent favors; and that, in his opinion, every act of Parliament, unless backed by a sufficient power to enforce it, would meet with the same fate.

Meanwhile, troubles had arisen in Dutchess county, which, although in no way connected with the issues between the colonies and the mother country, at first threatened serious consequences. In the beginning of 1766, the Stockbridge Indians, feeling aggrieved by the intrusions, as they claimed, of some of the people of Dutchess upon their lands, broke into the houses of the alleged trespassers, and turned their families out of doors. As is generally the case on such occasions, several of the vagabond class of whites, very ready for a fray, joined the rioters, and committed acts of violence throughout the

country. The excitement now extended into Albany County; and the mob, now grown to formidable dimensions, threatened to attack New York city, and, indeed, actually began their march thither. In this exigency, General Gage (at that time commander-in-chief of his majesty's troops in America) ordered up, to meet the insurgents, the Twenty-eighth regiment, which had just arrived from England. The appearance of the troops soon brought the rioters to reason; and having succeeded—though not without bloodshed—in restoring order, they returned to New York with the chief ringleaders of the rebellion.

“In 1766, the Methodist denomination was first organized in the city by Philip Embury and others; and in 1767, the first church of this sect was erected upon 1766. the site of the present one in John, near Nassau 1767. Street, and, like it, christened Wesley Chapel. In the same year, also, the first medical school was established, which eventually became the New-York Hospital. Several new streets were opened about the same time—among others, Cliff Street and Park Place. For the better prevention of fires, an ordinance was passed directing that all the roofs in the city should be covered with slate or tiles. For some years, however, tiles alone were used, the first building roofed with slate being, it is said, the City Hotel, in Broadway, erected about 1794.”

The joyous feelings which had followed the repeal of the Stamp Act were not of long continuance. Hardly had the first gratulations of victory passed and sober reflection taken their place, when the Declaratory Act, in all its ominous proportions, loomed up, overshadowing the public mind with gloomy forebodings. The persistent attempt, moreover, to force the province into a compliance with the Mutiny Act—an act which, to thinking men, seemed

intended to provide the nucleus of a standing army—alarmed all classes; and secret leagues were at once formed in most of the colonies, the object of which was to further union of counsel in resisting oppression. The partial compliance of the Assembly with the requisition of the Governor for quarters had been exceedingly distasteful to the Sons of Liberty, who, upon the arrival of the troops, made no disguise of their feelings. Mutual animosities accordingly arose between the citizens and soldiery, which soon culminated in open acts of hostility. On the 10th of August, 1766, some of the troops, exasperated at the people, to whose influence they attributed the action of the Assembly in depriving them of liquor, cut down the flag-staff, which, with so much apparent unanimity, had been dedicated to “Pitt and Liberty.” The following evening, while the citizens were preparing to re-erect the pole, they were assaulted by the soldiers with drawn bayonets, and several of them, among whom was Isaac Sears, were wounded. Governor Moore, who heartily wished the troops away, attempted, with General Gage, to restrain these outrages, and, to some extent, succeeded; but the officers, intent upon gratifying their private malice, winked at the conduct of their men, who, thus encouraged, became more violent than ever. Several dwellings of the poorer class, situated in the suburbs of the city, were broken into on the 23d of October; and, on the 3d day of November, the domestic sanctuary of an honest drayman was entered by a soldier, who, while he wounded its occupant, hesitated not to hamstring his horse, upon which he relied for his daily bread.

These licentious proceedings were not calculated to dispose the Assembly any more favorably to the attempt to quarter the obnoxious red-coats at their expense. Accordingly, when, on the 17th of November, Governor Moore laid before that body instructions from the Minister in-

forming them of the King's displeasure at their conduct, their absolute duty to obey the acts of Parliament, and of his wish that provision for the troops should be immediately made, they refused outright to make further provision, choosing to interpret the act as referring solely "to soldiers on the march." On this refusal, Governor Moore waited upon the House, and endeavored to prevail upon them to alter their determination. His efforts, however, were unavailing; and having, by the defiant attitude thus assumed, no other alternative left, he prorogued the Assembly on the 19th of December.

Already the British Cabinet regretted the repeal of the Stamp Act, and the project of taxing America was again resumed. The extravagant demonstrations of delight manifested by the colonists at the repeal had been regarded by British statesmen with ill-concealed disgust; and when, in May, 1767, the news was received that Georgia, following the example of 1767. New York, had also declined obedience to the Mutiny Act, the chagrin at having yielded became open and undisguised. Accordingly, in the same month, Townshend introduced a bill into the House of Commons, imposing a duty on all paper, glass, tea, and painters' colors, imported into the colonies. In its passage through Parliament, the bill met with scarcely any opposition; and, on the 28th of June, it received the cordial assent and signature of the King. This was shortly followed by another, "to establish Commissioners of Customs in America," and also by one "to compensate the stamp-officers who had been deprived by the people." But by far the most important in its consequences was another, which received the royal assent on the 29th, and which declared that the *functions of the Assembly of New York were henceforth annulled*—the Governor and council being forbidden to give their assent to any act passed by that body, "until the Mutiny Act

was unequivocally acknowledged and submitted to." The rebellious people of the colonies, said the authors of this act, must be brought to unqualified submission, and the supremacy of Parliament be maintained.

This latter act—by far the deadliest blow that had yet been struck at their liberties—excited the utmost consternation throughout the American provinces. It was at once seen that if Parliament could, at pleasure, disfranchise a sister colony, the same fate might, at any time, overtake the others. "This act," wrote Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, "hangs like a flaming sword over our heads, and requires, by all means, to be removed." The citizens of Boston, sympathizing deeply with the people of New York, expressed, in no measured terms, their indignation at what they styled ministerial tyranny. Tyranny it indeed was, and of the most inexcusable kind, inasmuch as it was not, as some have supposed, a tyranny into which the British Ministry were led blindly, or through ignorance of the consequences. "It is strange," says an elegant English writer, "that the British Government should not have been apprehensive of the great and increasing danger in which its colonial dominion was involved."* It is not strange. The British Government did it with open eyes, and clearly foresaw the results toward which its colonial policy was fast tending; for while, in the spring of this year, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was pushing forward his schemes of taxation, General Gage was putting Fort George, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point on a thorough war footing; and Carleton, the Lieutenant-Governor of Canada, was adding new defenses to Quebec. "These measures," wrote the latter to the Commander-in-Chief, "will link these two provinces—New York and Quebec—so strongly together as will add great security to both, and will facilitate the transfer of

* Graham.

ten or fifteen thousand men, in the beginning of a war, from one to another, as circumstances may require;" and in the same letter the writer suggests that a "place of arms" should be immediately established in New York, "for," he adds, "no pains, address, nor expense, is too great, that will give security to the King's magazines; divide the Northern and Southern colonies; and afford an opportunity of transporting our forces into any part of the continent."

The Assembly having expired by its septennial limitation on the 6th of February, 1768, writs were issued for a new election, returnable on the 22d of the following month. Owing, however, to the Governor hav- 1768.
ing no special business to lay before the House, the new Assembly was not convened until the 27th of October. The opening speech of the Governor related chiefly to the Indian trade, which his majesty had been pleased henceforward to confide to the colonies. "The advantages," said the Governor, "arising, not only from the intercourse of trade with the Indians, but from the maintenance of that tranquility among them which subsists at present, are so obvious as to require no arguments to enforce them. I shall, therefore, only recommend to you that, to avoid any future cause of dissatisfaction or jealousy being given, you will, by the most effectual laws, prevent any settlements being made beyond the line which shall be agreed on by the Indians." In its reply, on the 3d of November, the House expressed its willingness to co-operate with the Governor in any measures for the better regulation of the Indian trade; and, indeed, for the first two weeks of the session, nothing occurred to ruffle the general harmony of its proceedings. The critical posture of the province to the mother country, however, forbade that this state of quiescence should be lasting; and it was not

long before a direct issue arose between the Governor and his Assembly.

The right of Parliament to tax America was still discussed with great freedom in all the colonies, but in none with more vigor than in Massachusetts. In February, the Assembly of that province had addressed a circular letter, drafted by Samuel Adams, to her sister colonies, in which the "great evils to which the inhabitants of America were subjected from the operation of several acts of Parliament imposing taxes upon them," were set forth, and their co-operation solicited in obtaining redress. This proceeding, as may readily be imagined, gave great offense to the Ministry; and Lord Hillsborough forthwith addressed a letter upon the subject to the several colonial Governors, requesting that their Assemblies should treat the circular letter with silent contempt. But the resentment of the mother country toward Massachusetts was not satisfied. It was determined to still further disgrace her, by detaching a strong military force to occupy her capital. The rumor that such a step was meditated by the Crown caused considerable comment; and when, on the 28th of September, two British regiments, accompanied by seven men-of-war, arrived at Boston from Halifax, the indignation, not only in Massachusetts, but in those colonies that sympathized with her, became intense. In Connecticut, numerous town-meetings were held, in which it was resolved, first, "to seek the Lord, by general fasting, prayer, and humiliation, and then to call a convention of ninety-two persons, to determine what was to be done in the present difficulties and distress." In New York city, especially, the Sons of Liberty felt deeply the indignity offered to their sister colony; and, in their first ebullition of anger, indignation meetings were held, and Governor Bernard and his sheriff burned in effigy.

Such was the state of public sentiment, when, on the 14th of November, Sir Henry Moore laid before the House the Earl of Hillsborough's letter forbidding correspondence with Massachusetts, and called upon it to render a cheerful obedience to the wishes of the Secretary. This action of the Governor was met by a warm remonstrance from the Assembly; and when, a few days after, the former threatened to dissolve it, in case of its not complying, it unhesitatingly refused obedience. The bold stand thus assumed was warmly seconded by public opinion, as appears conspicuously in the newspapers and private correspondence of the day. A series of articles, which had recently appeared under the title of "Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies," had paved the way for a fearless utterance against ministerial oppression. "Let these truths," said the leaders of the people in New York, "be indelibly impressed upon our minds, that we cannot be free without being secure in our property; that we cannot be secure in our property if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away; that taxes imposed by Parliament do thus take it away; that duties, laid for the sole purpose of raising money, are taxes; and that attempts to lay such should be instantly and firmly opposed."

While, however, the Assembly was thus firm in maintaining its constitutional rights and privileges, it evinced no disposition to countenance acts of lawless violence; and, in reply to a message from the Governor on the 23d, asking its aid in bringing to punishment the ringleaders in a recent riot, it reported a series of resolutions which distinctly set forth, that, although it felt deeply the course of Parliament toward them, yet, so far from approving of any violent proceedings, it would on all occasions endeavor to support the dignity and authority of government. The riot to which allusion is here made, had occurred on the

14th of November, and had been the result of new exactions, by way of imposts, of the Parliament upon the colonies; and while the reply of the House, as intimated, strongly censured the rioters, yet it also condemned the new duties in terms equally severe. This address gave little satisfaction to the representative of the Crown; and on the last day of the year it was followed by a series of strong constitutional resolutions, among which was one declaring that it was the opinion of the committee "that the House had an undoubted right to correspond and consult with any of the neighboring colonies on any matter, subject, or thing whatever, whereby they should conceive the rights and liberties of the House to be in any way affected."

These resolutions gave high displeasure; and Sir Henry Moore, having convened the Assembly in the City

Hall on the afternoon of the 3d of January, 1769,

1769. dissolved it by a speech of evident irritation, yet of affected regret and sorrow at the occasion demanding the summary measure. Writs for a new election were immediately issued, returnable on the 14th of February. The people, however, sustained the action of their representatives, and all the former members, with the exception of six, were returned by overwhelming majorities. Such was the result of the first direct appeal of the Crown to the people on the subject of the great constitutional principles of liberty, which were now beginning to agitate the political waters to their deepest fountains.

Notwithstanding, however, the fact that most of the old members were returned, the election was hotly contested. "I hear," wrote Sir William Johnson, jocularly, to a friend in New York, "that you are likely to have a hot election, and probably there will be work for shillalahs." Nor was the writer far out in his conjecture. At no time for many years had the excitement been more

intense, and every means and device was made use of to secure votes. In New York city, especially, the contest was between the church party and the dissenters*—the former being led by the De Lanceys, and the latter by the Livingstons. "It is surprising," writes Peter Van Schaak to his brother Henry, under date of January 27th, 1769, "what trifles can be turned to the greatest advantage in elections, and be made to captivate the passions of the vulgar. A straw, a fire-brand, have severally answered this purpose in a recent instance. It was said, during the last election, that T. Smith had said that the Irish were poor beggars, and had come over here upon a bunch of straw. The whole body of Irishmen immediately joined, and appeared with straws in their hats. Mr. Kissam, who summed up the evidence for Mr. Scott in the late charge against Mr. Jauncey, happened to say that the passions of the Germans were fire-brands. A whole congregation were, in consequence of that, resolved to vote with them in their hands; but, being dissuaded, they, however, distinguished themselves by the name of the *Fire-brands*. These gentlemen have also made themselves remarkable by a song in the German language, the chorus of which is:

"Maester Cruger, De Lancey,
Maester Walton and Jauncey.'

"'Twas droll to see some of the first gentlemen in town joining in singing these songs, while they conducted the members to the Coffee-house." "I arrived here St. John's Day," writes another person, at the same time, from New York to a friend, "when there was a grand procession of the whole Masonic fraternity, and a

* And not between the lawyers and the merchants as such, as stated by Miss Booth. This writer also makes the prorogation of the Assembly, by Governor Moore, occur in 1768, a year previous. This is, however, probably a typographical error.

very excellent sermon preached by Dr. Auchmuty, at Trinity church, on the occasion. At the same time a collection was made for the city, which I think amounted to £200. Would you think it, but it is true, that the Presbyterians immediately labored to convert this charitable affair to the disadvantage of the Church of England and



THE OLD WALTON HOUSE.

the part which they take in the election ensuing? Will. Smith and W. Livingston got an old rascally sermon, called 'MASONRY, THE SURE GUIDE TO HELL,' reprinted, and distributed it with great assiduity, * * and there is this day an extraordinary Lodge held on the occasion, in order to consult means to resent the affront." The church party, having the support of the mercantile and

Masonic interests, was triumphant; and John Cruger, James De Lancey, Jacob Walton, and James Jauncey, were elected by the city.

On the 4th of April, 1769, the new Assembly met. John Cruger was immediately chosen speaker, and it was not long before another proof was afforded of the strength of the church party in the House. "The De Lancey interest," wrote Hugh Wallace, a member of the council, to Sir William Johnson, "prevails in the House greatly, and they have given the Livingston interest proof of it by dismissing P. Livingston the House as a non-resident." The Livingstons, however, were not entirely crushed, for the same writer adds: "It is said he will be returned again and again, and so become another Wilkes."

The opening speech of Governor Moore contained not the remotest reference to the difficulties which had caused the recent dissolution, but referred only to the manner in which the colony's agent in London was appointed; a mode which his excellency thought objectionable, he being of the opinion that the appointment of an agent should be made by an act of the Governor, Council, and Assembly, specially passed for that purpose, as had formerly been the case. The change in the manner of appointing the colonial agent was first introduced during the administration of Governor Clinton, in 1747, in the appointment of Robert Charles, without the former's privity or consent. Clinton complained bitterly at the time of the innovation, but without effect; it was, therefore, not likely that the Assembly, having had their own way in this matter for upward of twenty years, would now yield. Accordingly, in their reply, they utterly declined adopting the mode which his excellency had recommended. This, of course, gave great dissatisfaction to the Governor, who, on the 20th of May, prorogued the Assembly to the month of July; not, however, until

that body had voted, with a very ill grace, £1,800 for the support of his majesty's troops quartered in the colony.

The death of Sir Henry Moore, on the 11th of September, 1769, threw a gloom over the entire city. His polished manners, courteous address, and genial disposition had endeared him to many in the colony. Although forced oftentimes, as the representative of the Crown, to come in collision with the popular sentiment, yet such occasions were evidently so distasteful to him that many who were his bitter political enemies regarded him with cordial good-will. By his death, the reins of government fell, for the third time, into the hands of Doctor Colden, who, as Lieutenant-Governor, opened the fall session of the Assembly on the 22d of November.

Appearances seemed to indicate a stormy session. Massachusetts had just passed a series of spirited resolutions against the military and naval force stationed at her capital. The Assembly of Virginia, late in the spring, had been dissolved by the new Governor, Lord Botetourt, for its presumption in sending Massachusetts words of encouragement and support. The refusal, moreover, of the House of Commons, in March, to receive the representative of the New York Assembly, excited the apprehensions of those of the colonists who had hitherto been warmly attached to the Crown. "I must confess," wrote Sir William Johnson, in September, "that the aspect of affairs at home is very unpleasing, and ought to give concern to every well-wisher of his country, because, whatever reason or justice there may be in the late steps, there is a probability of their being carried further than a good man can wish for."

Contrary, however, to general expectation, during the fall and winter session, there were no collisions between the Executive and the Legislature, although the spirited resolutions of Virginia, of the preceding May, were unani-

mously concurred in. On the first day of the session, a bill was introduced for emitting one hundred and twenty thousand pounds in bills of credit, to be put out on loan, as a means of revenue. The bill was at first hailed with delight by the leaders of the popular party, who thought they discerned in it a desire, on the part of the Executive, to gratify the wish of the people. When, however, it was followed, on the 15th of December, by a motion to grant two thousand pounds for the support of his majesty's troops in the colony, which sum was to be taken out of the interest arising from the loan bill, when it should become a law, a complete revulsion of feeling took place; and they now saw only an attempt, on the part of the Lieutenant-Governor, to compel the Assembly into an unconditional submission to the Mutiny Act. Accordingly, the first sight that greeted the citizens on the morning of the 17th was a flaming placard, posted up in the most conspicuous portions of the city, addressed "TO THE BETRAYED INHABITANTS OF THE CITY AND COLONY OF NEW YORK," and signed "A SON OF LIBERTY." This placard declared that the granting of money to the troops was implicitly acknowledging the authority that had enacted the revenue acts, which had been passed for the express purpose of taking money out of the pockets of the colonists without their consent; that what made the granting of money the more grievous was, that it went to the support of troops kept, not to protect, but to enslave them; that this was the view taken of the Mutiny Act by the Assemblies of Massachusetts and South Carolina—therefore, let not the Assembly of New York tell their disgrace in Boston, nor publish it in the streets of Charleston! The Assembly, moreover, had not been attentive to the liberties of this continent, nor to the prosperity of the good people of this colony. This sacrifice of the public interest it attributed to a corrupt source which it scrupled not to affirm,

in plain words, was an infamous coalition recently entered into between the Executive and the De Lancey family for this very object. In conclusion, the placard advised all the people to assemble the following day in "the fields" (the Park), there to express their sentiments upon a point so vital to colonial liberty.

The large concourse of people gathered in "the fields" at the time appointed, clearly showed how in unison with the public feeling were the sentiments uttered in the placard of the previous day. The object of the gathering was set forth by John Lamb, one of the most prominent of the Sons of Liberty, and the question asked, whether the citizens would uphold the recent action of the Assembly. The emphatic "No" that at once arose from the vast throng was a sufficient answer to this question; and a committee of seven were immediately appointed to carry this public expression of feeling to the Legislature. But however much that body may have regretted their partial committal to the loan bill, they did not choose to be dictated to by a meeting which they considered little better than a mob. Accordingly, the consideration of the placard having been made the first order of the following day, James De Lancey moved that "the sense of the House should be taken whether the said paper was not an infamous and scandalous libel." The question being put, all the members voted in the affirmative, except Colonel Schuyler, who, when his name was called, with admirable moral courage, fearlessly answered in the negative. A series of resolutions was then passed condemning the paper as false, seditious, and infamous, and requesting the Lieutenant-Governor to offer a reward of one hundred pounds for its author or authors. Immediately after the passage of these resolutions, Mr. De Lancey laid before the House another hand bill, in which the late proceedings of that body were strongly condemned, signed "LEGION."

Resolves were at once passed, similar in tone to those just noticed, and an additional reward of fifty pounds offered for the writer of this also.

Nothing worthy of special mention occurred during the remainder of this session. John Lamb, it is true, three days after the passage of the resolutions, was arraigned before the House on suspicion of being the author of the libelous hand bill; but, nothing being proved against him, he was immediately discharged. The General Assembly having now been convened more than two months, and its members being now anxious to return to their homes, Lieutenant-Governor Colden signed several acts, among them one for appointing commissioners from the neighboring colonies, to agree upon a plan for regulating the Indian trade; and, on the 27th of January, 1770, prorogued it to the second Tuesday in March, and, from time to time afterward, to the 11th of December.

Meanwhile, the hatred between the soldiers and the Sons of Liberty daily gained strength. The former had long writhed under the undisguised disgust with which they were treated by the latter, and only waited for an opportunity to repay this scorn with interest. Hitherto they had been restrained, through motives of policy; and, now that the supplies were granted, they threw off all restraint, and resolved to insult their enemies in the most tender spot. Accordingly, on the 13th of January, a portion of the Sixteenth regiment attempted to destroy the liberty-pole, by sawing off its spars and blowing it up with gunpowder. A knot of citizens having gathered round while they were thus engaged, they desisted for the present from the attempt, and, charging upon the group with fixed bayonets, drove them into a tavern (kept by Montagne), a favorite resort of the Sons of Liberty, broke the windows, and demolished a portion of the furniture. Three days afterward, however, they

succeeded in their design ; and having, on the night of the 16th, cut the obnoxious symbol in pieces, they piled its fragments in front of Montagne's door. Incensed at this daring insult, three thousand citizens assembled early the following morning at the scene of the outrage, and adopted, among others, a resolution that all soldiers found in the streets after roll-call "should be treated as enemies of the city ;" mutually pledging themselves to see that this resolve was vigorously enforced. Early the next morning, insulting placards were found posted up in various parts of the city, ridiculing the resolutions of the previous day, and daring the citizens to carry them into execution. In the course of the day, three soldiers were discovered by Sears and others in the act of posting up more of these hand bills ; and a skirmish ensuing, the citizens, having obtained the upper hand, were conducting the offenders to the office of the Mayor, when they were met by a band of twenty additional troops. A general fight with cutlasses and clubs now followed, the military slowly retreating to Golden Hill.* At this point they were met by a party of officers, who immediately ordered their men to the barracks, and the riot was quelled. In this brush, several citizens were wounded and one killed, although the soldiers were worsted. The following day witnessed a number of frays, none of which, however, were attended with loss of life ; and on the 20th, the Mayor having issued a proclamation forbidding the soldiers to come out of the barracks unless accompanied by a non-commissioned officer, the excitement was quieted and order once more restored.† On the 5th of February another pole was

* John Street, between Cliff Street and Burling Slip.

† " We are all in confusion in this city ; the soldiers have cut and blowed up the Liberty Pole, and have caused much trouble between the inhabitants. On Friday last, between Burling Slip and Fly Market was an engagement between the inhabitants and the soldiers, when much blood was spilt ; one sailor

erected, inscribed "Liberty and Property," on ground purchased for the purpose, where it remained until cut down in 1776 by the British soldiery at that time occupying the city.

Meanwhile the Sons of Liberty were undaunted. In February, one hundred of them purchased of Colonel Morris a house for six hundred pounds—each of them contributing six pounds—in which to celebrate the repeal of the Stamp Act; and having, on the 19th of March, drank forty-five popular toasts, they proceeded to the jail, where Captain McDougall was confined for being the author of the libelous handbill of the previous December, saluted him with forty-five cheers, and quietly dispersed.

In Boston, the feeling between the citizens and soldiery was even more embittered. The news of the recent occurrences in New York was not calculated to soothe this mutual animosity; and when, on the 2d of March, an affray took place at Gray's rope-walk, between a citizen and a soldier, in which the latter was worsted, it required but a small degree of forecast to anticipate an approaching explosion. Three days afterward, on the evening of the 5th, a sentinel, who had wantonly abused a lad, was surrounded in King Street by a mob of boys, and pelted with snow-balls, made of the light snow that had just fallen. "They are killing the sentinel!" shouted a bystander to the main guard. Instantly a file of six soldiers, headed by a corporal and followed by Preston, the officer of the day, rushed to the rescue, at a double-quick

got run through the body, who since died; one man got his skull cut in the most cruel manner. On Saturday the Hall-bell rang for an alarm, when was another battle between the inhabitants and soldiers; but the soldiers met with rubbers, the chiefest part being sailors with clubs to revenge the death of their brother, which they did with courage, and made them all run to their barracks. What will be the end of this, God knows."—*Letter from "New York, Jan. 22d, 1770," in St. James Chronicle, or the British Evening Post, March 5th, 1770.*

step, with fixed bayonets. A crowd gathered round, and, the musket of a soldier being hit by a stick thrown from the throng, Preston gave the order to fire. Montgomery, the man whose musket had been hit, immediately fired; and Attucks, a mulatto, who had been quietly looking on, fell dead on the spot. Six others, thereupon, taking deliberate aim, fired in succession at the crowd, who were already beginning to disperse. Three of the citizens, including the mulatto, were instantly killed; and of eight others who were wounded, two died shortly afterward, from their injuries.

It has usually been asserted by historians, that the first blood in the war of the American Revolution was shed at Lexington; but such is not the fact. THE BATTLE OF GOLDEN HILL, on the 18th of January, 1770, was the beginning of that contest, so fearful in its commencement, so doubtful in its progress, and so splendid in its results. The storm had now been gathering for several years, and the public mind had become exceedingly feverish, not only in respect to the conduct of the parent Government, but in regard to the language and bearing of the officers of the Crown stationed in the colonies. The destruction of the liberty-pole increased the mutual exasperation; and the fight that followed was but the natural consequence. To the CITY OF NEW YORK, therefore, must ever be given the honor of *striking the first blow*. The town was thrown into commotion, the bells rang, and the news, with the exaggerations and embellishments incident to all occasions of alarm, spread through the country with the rapidity of lightning. Everywhere throughout the wide extent of the old thirteen colonies it created a strong sensation, and was received with a degree of indignant emotion which very clearly foretold that blood had only commenced flowing. The massacre in King Street, two months later, added intensity to the flame; and, although five years

intervened before the demonstration at Lexington, there were too many nervous pens and eloquent tongues in exercise to allow these feelings to subside, or the noble spirit of liberty that had been awakened to be quenched. "Such stirring orations as those of Joseph Warren were not uttered in vain; and often were the people reminded by him, or by his compatriots of kindred spirits—'The voice of your brethren's blood cries to you from the ground!' The admonition had its effect, and the resolutions of vengeance sank deeper and deeper, until the fullness of time should come!"

CHAPTER VII.

On the 18th of October, 1770, John, Earl of Dunmore, arrived in New York to occupy the gubernatorial chair, left vacant by the lamented Sir Henry Moore.

1770.

The new Governor is described, in a letter to Sir William Johnson, as "a very active man, fond of walking and riding, and a sportsman." This description affords a clue to the character of the man—easy in his disposition, and one who preferred the delights of the chase to controversies with his Legislature. There was little likelihood, however, of his being troubled with a body that had of late grown very subservient. The news, moreover, which he brought with him, of his majesty's consent to the bill authorizing the emission of a colonial currency, increased the spirit of loyalty; and when, in his opening speech on the 11th of December, he expressed his pleasure that the example of the loyal subjects of the province had been the means of restoring friendly feelings and confidence between the parent country and the colonists, the address of the Assembly, in reply, was a simple echo. During the entire

session, therefore, the wheels of government rolled smoothly; and at its close, on the 16th of February, 1771, the loan bill was passed, as was also the one for appropriating two thousand pounds for the support of the troops. The crown had seemingly triumphed; but the end was not yet.

1771.

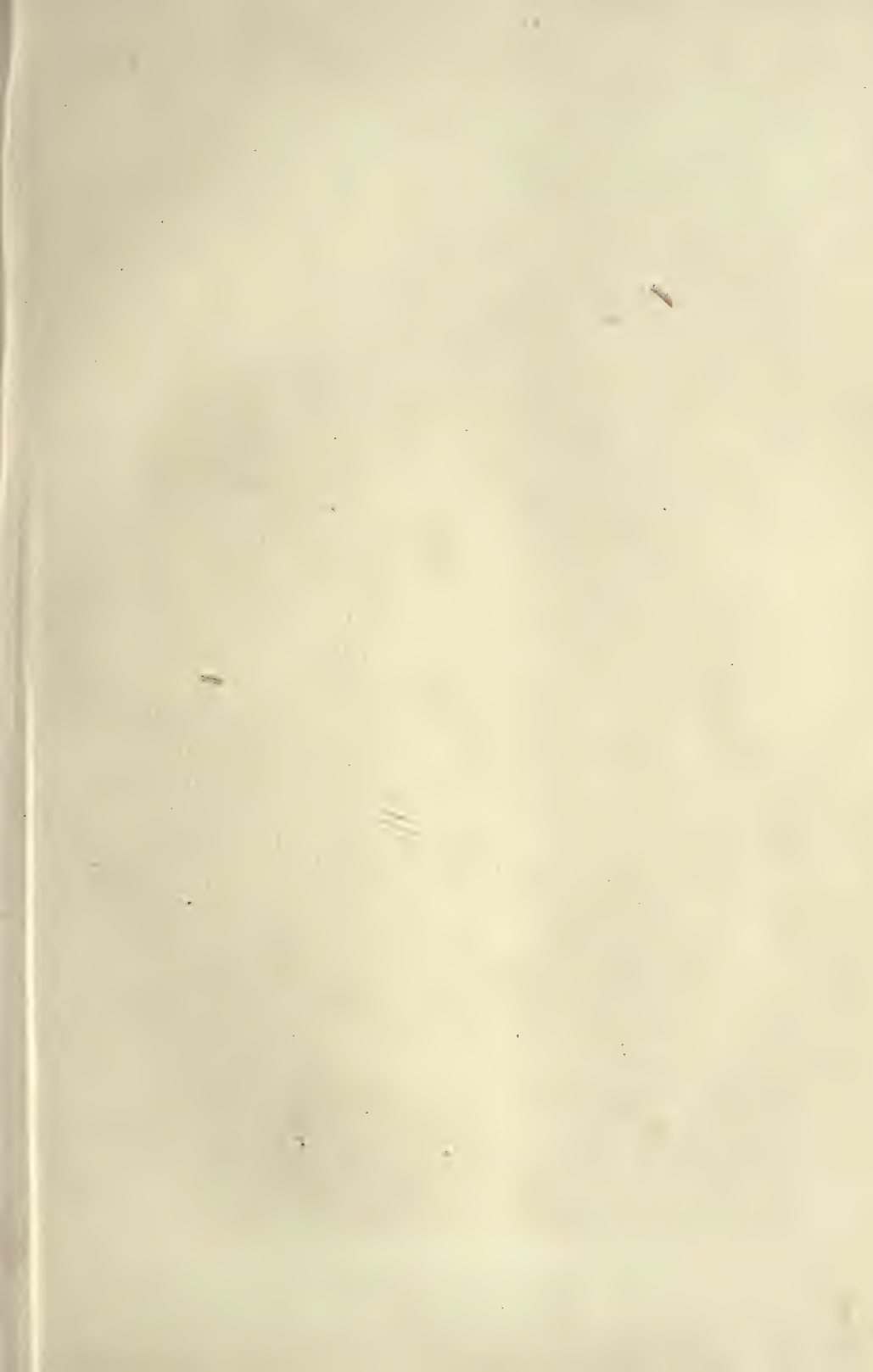
On the 8th of July, 1771, Sir William Tryon, Bart., having rendered himself odious to the people of North Carolina by his petty tyranny, arrived in New York, bearing his majesty's commission as Governor and Commander-in-Chief, in the place of Lord Dunmore, who was transferred to the government of Virginia.

The year 1771 was also marked by the founding of the New York Hospital. The first regular meeting, after its organization, was held on the 24th of July, 1771. The hospital began by the reception of lunatics, and patients who were suffering from small-pox and syphilis. Fractures and maniacs appeared together on the reports of diseases. In 1798, the governors announced that the hospital was, properly, an infirmary for the reception of such persons as require first, medical treatment; second, chirurgical management; third, for maniacs; and fourth, for lying-in women. Two hundred pounds were voted as the beginning of a library. The meetings of the governors were held for a long time at Bolton's tavern, or at the Coffee-house. Bolton's was celebrated for fifty years as a place of resort, like our modern Delmonico's, and was still better known as Sam Francis's tavern. Here Washington bade farewell to his officers, December 4th, 1783. The building is still standing on the south-east corner of Broad and Pearl Streets. The Coffee-house, sometimes called "The Merchants' Coffee-house," stood on the south-east corner of Wall and Water Streets, recently occupied by the *Journal of Commerce*. The slip near it was known as "Coffee-house Slip," at the foot of Wall Street. The meal or flour market was close by. The river then came up to Water Street. When the governors purchased the five acres on which they built in 1771 (a part of the Rutgers farm), the spot selected was upon a spur or hill, surrounded on three sides by marshes.

The water of two ponds, or "kolcks," frequently over-

flowed meadows where now is the corner of Pearl and Chatham Streets, so that ferry-boats were used. Rutgers had suffered so lamentably with fever and ague that he had some years before prayed the King for a better title to his marshes, so that he might sell them to somebody willing to make drains, because the inhabitants lost one-third of their time by sickness. Governor George Clinton complained, in 1746, to the Duke of Newcastle, that his son had an ague and fever about ten months, which had worn him to nothing. Where the Astor House stands, there was, in 1780, an encampment of negro slaves who had been enticed by Lord Dunmore from Virginia. They died in large numbers of small-pox, and were buried where Stewart's store, corner of Broadway and Reade Street, now stands. John Quincy Adams saw New York in 1785 for the first time, and found the city had then but 18,000 inhabitants. He says that while he tarried at John Jay's, that gentleman was laying the foundation of a house on Broadway, a quarter of a mile from any other dwelling. Mr. Jay lived nearly opposite the hospital. In 1780, a duel was fought behind the hospital, as the most retired spot for the purpose. The cow-pastures extended from Grand Street down to the hospital, which adjoined the Raneleagh Gardens. Beyond St. Paul's church were fields, orchards, and swamps. G. W. P. Custis, who was a member of Washington's family while the President resided in New York, spoke of St. Paul's church as quite out of town, and of playing on a fine green common where the Park Theater stood.

William A. Duer, in his reminiscences that began after the war, in 1784, speaks of having often passed on skates from the "kolck" under the bridge at Broadway and Canal Street; and, pursuing the outlet to the meadows, he would proceed over them to the north beyond Hudson Square, and to the south as far as Duane Street, then





Barclay Street, in the rear of the hospital. Our predecessors were men who had faith in the growth of New York. They knew that malaria would disappear with drainage; and so they ventured, in 1771, to build their hospital out of town, on elevated ground, having eight beds in a ward, as John Howard proved to be right, in Europe, fourteen years afterward. The lands purchased a century ago still remain unsold, and are not unlikely to yield a rental which may enable the society largely to increase its usefulness, while so responsible a trust imposes upon the governors the duty of careful inquiry into the manner of establishing the best possible hospital, for it will be in their power to afford every means of cure that science shall point out.

Three years were employed in selecting the place and choosing the proper kind of buildings for the Asylum for the Insane. "Beginning in July, 1815, various sites were chosen and abandoned. Long Island, Great Barren Island, lands on the East River and on Harlem Heights, were examined. Twenty-six reports of committees were noted in the minutes of as many meetings before the buildings were begun. Seventy-seven acres were bought. Thirty-seven of them were sold. A debt of \$137,000 was incurred, and a sinking-fund established, which finally discharged, in 1845, the entire debt, leaving the asylum, with nearly forty acres of land, free of incumbrances, as it now remains. So favorable to longevity has the locality proved, that four patients who died there had been inmates fifty-eight, fifty-three, fifty-one, and forty-four years, respectively. The pressure of the city has compelled the asylum to seek ampler space elsewhere. Created by the enlightened exertions of eminent surgeons and physicians, the New York Hospital has always honored them and their successors. The oldest names that have shed luster upon American science have been connected with our

institution. The most wonderful triumphs of surgery have been achieved within its walls and by members of its staff. The fame of Mott, Stevens, Rogers, Hosack, Post, Smith, Gordon Buck, and many others, belongs to the history of our hospital, and is our proudest possession. The old hospital will ever seek to derive its chief honor from such supporters, and to afford them the widest field for the exercise of their talents and for gathering fresh laurels."*

Connected with the history of the New York Hospital is an episode which may not be omitted, as it also forms a portion of the history of the city. It was on the 12th of April, 1788, that a riot occurred, which, although afterward facetiously called "The Doctor's Mob," yet, at the time, was no laughable matter, and, indeed, threatened to be very serious in its consequences. The public mind had a few weeks previously been thrown into great excitement by the discovery that a number of dead bodies had been stolen from the different cemeteries of the city by medical students. This circumstance had considerably agitated the public mind; "and it was further provoked," says Judge Duer, "by the reckless and wanton imprudence of some young surgeons at the hospital, who from one of the upper windows exhibited the dissected arm of a *subject* to some boys who were at play on the green below. One of them, whose curiosity was thus excited, mounted upon a ladder used for some repairs, and, as he reached the window, was told by one of the doctors *to look at his mother's arm*. It happened, unfortunately, that the boy's mother had recently died, and the horror which had now taken the place of his curiosity induced him to run to his father, who was at work as a mason at a building in Broadway (no doubt on Saturday, April 12th), with the information

* Address of Mr. James W. Beekman, delivered before the New York Historical Society on the 24th of July, 1871, on the occasion of the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the founding of the New York Hospital.

of what he had seen and heard. Upon receiving the intelligence, the father repaired to his wife's grave, and, upon opening it, found that the body had been removed. He returned forthwith to the place where he had been at work, and informed his fellow-laborers of the circumstances: their indignation and horror at the relation were nearly equal to his own. Armed with the tools of their trade, they marched in a body to the hospital, gathering recruits by the way, in number amounting to a formidable mob." On arriving at the spot, the hospital itself was surrounded by the excited crowd, who, bursting open the doors, destroyed a remarkably choice collection of specimens in the anatomical museum, which had been brought from abroad. The physicians themselves were dragged from their places of concealment, and would have been hung up on the spot, had they not been rescued and lodged in the jail for safety. This, however, although it saved the lives of the physicians, only exasperated the populace still more. Accordingly, in the afternoon of the next day, upon their demand for the surrender of the physicians into their hands having been refused, they attacked the few military that had been called out to defend the jail, broke the windows, tore down the fences, and swore to take the lives of every physician in the city. Matters at length became so serious that the citizens armed themselves, and, accompanied by the Mayor, turned out in a body to relieve the party defending the jail. Before proceeding to violent measures, however, Clinton, Hamilton, Jay, Baron Steuben, and other prominent citizens, endeavored to appease the popular fury, but in vain. Still, the Mayor hesitated to give the order to fire; and it was not until John Jay and Baron Steuben had both been severely wounded by stones (the latter, indeed, felled to the ground), that the order was given. Five rioters fell, mortally wounded, at the first fire; several were wounded, and the remainder

quickly dispersed.* The brigade under General Malcom and Colonel Bauman's artillery were out several days and nights after in detachments; but the mob did not again collect; and the peace of the city was restored.

The General Assembly, which had been prorogued to the 7th day of August, 1771, was now further prorogued

from time to time to the 7th of January, 1772,
1772.

when it again met, and, on the 8th, the session was opened for business by a speech from the new Governor, of a mild and conciliatory character. His arrival had been greeted by affectionate addresses of congratulation, to which he referred with apparent warmth. His recent cruel conduct in North Carolina was then justified as a meritorious effort to preserve the constitution and the laws; and, in seeming mockery, his late wonderful achievement in that province—of dispersing with over one thousand armed troops an unarmed and inoffensive crowd—was attributed to the special favor of a kind Providence. The necessity of passing a good militia bill was then pointed out; and the thorough repairing of the fortifications of the city, which had become greatly injured by the weather, was also recommended as worthy of immediate attention. "Influenced only," he added, with consummate flattery, "by principles that flow from an honest heart, I feel an ardent desire to co-operate with you in every measure that will best promote the honor and dignity of his majesty's Government, and advance the real felicity of a people eminently distinguished by their loyalty to the best of sovereigns, and affectionate dis-

* "A ludicrous incident, illustrative of the height of the popular fury, occurred during the riot, which was nearly attended by disastrous consequences. While the excitement was at its height, a party of the rioters chanced to pass the house of Sir John Temple, then resident British consul at New York, and, mistaking the name of 'Sir John' for 'Surgeon,' attacked it furiously, and were with difficulty restrained from leveling it to the ground."

—*Miss Booth's History of New York City.*

position to their mother country." The address sent in to the Governor by the House, on the 17th, was conceived in the same spirit that dictated the opening speech. It accorded high praise to the brief administration of the Earl of Dunmore, for its equity, impartiality, and disinterestedness; and expressed strong confidence in the wisdom which was to mark that of his lordship's immediate successor, as shown more particularly in his beneficent administration of his former government!

Indeed, it seemed as if, in this address, the last lingering embers of resistance to ministerial tyranny in the colony of New York had expired. A few stanch patriots, such as Philip Schuyler, it is true, still remained in the Assembly; but their voices were powerless to turn back the tide which now rolled in from the ocean of ministerial patronage. William Tryon, a man fully as subservient as Hutchinson, without his ability, backed by the Upper House, and rendered, moreover, independent of the colony by a recent order of the Crown, that his salary should hereafter be paid from the revenue chest, was well fitted for the purpose for which he had been transferred to the chair lately occupied by the mild, but passive and inefficient, Dunmore. Indeed, if anything was wanting to show the subserviency of the present Assembly, it was supplied by the utter indifference with which this attempt to render the Executive independent of the people was received. In former Assemblies, such an announcement would have been met with an outburst of indignation before which no Governor could have stood; but now a message from Tryon, in February, refusing to receive a salary from the people, produced not a word of comment; and the removal of this strong bulwark of their liberties was quietly acquiesced in. Far different, however, was the action of the Assemblies of Massachusetts and the other colonies, to whom the ministerial instruction in relation to salaries

also extended. In the former body, especially, the recent act of Parliament was boldly denounced; other colonial Legislatures did the same. New York was silent. True men looked on in amazement, and in anxious expectation strained their eyes for the first rays of the day-star of hope.

But while the representatives of the people were thus unmindful of their liberties, they were more attentive to the local interests of the colony. At the close of the present session, many praiseworthy acts were passed; and among them one for founding the present New York Hospital, and another for dividing Albany county into three counties, Albany, Tryon, and Charlotte.

Meanwhile, blind to their own interests, the ministry thought only of reducing their "rebellious subjects" into submission. Mortified and exasperated at the signal failure to foist the Stamp Act upon the colonists, they were ready to embrace any scheme which promised to soothe their wounded pride. An opportunity for doing this soon came. The East India Company were now suffering severely from the effect of the non-importation agreements. Unable to make their annual payments to the Government, of £1,400,000, they found themselves, in the spring of 1773, with seventeen million chests of tea on their hands, on the very verge of bankruptcy. In this state of affairs, the company, in April, petitioned Parliament for permission to export their teas to America, and other countries, free of duty. This request, however, the ministry, jealous of relinquishing in the least their right to tax the colonies, would not grant; but, by a special act of Parliament passed on the 10th of June, allowed the company to ship their tea to America, free of any export duty—thus putting it in the power of the company to sell their tea at a lower price in America than in Eng-



Engraved by J. M. Norton

Engraved by J. M. Norton

DESTRUCTION OF THE SCHOONER 'CASIE' IN THE WATERS OFF RHODE ISLAND 1772.

land. No act that the Home Government had hitherto passed, showed more plainly its utter inability to comprehend the great principle for which the colonists were contending, than this. It was clear that the ministry supposed that the motive of the colonists in resisting taxation was merely of a sordid nature. This idea was in itself sufficiently humiliating; and now, when, by making concessions to the East India Company, a direct attempt was made to buy them off by an appeal to their pockets, the indignation of the colonists was raised to the highest pitch.

The plan of union as proposed by Virginia, and which had now been adopted by all the New England colonies, rendered concert of action much easier than heretofore. Accordingly, as soon as it was known that the tea-ships were on their way to America, measures were immediately taken to prevent the landing of their cargoes. The non-importation agreements, which had of late grown lax, became again stringent; and the correspondence between the vigilant committees of the several colonies was renewed with greater activity than ever. On the 18th of October, 1773, the inhabitants of Philadelphia assembled in the State House; and, having in several spirited resolutions denied the right of Parliament to tax America, and denounced the duty on the tea, compelled the agents of the East India Company, by the mere force of public opinion, to resign. In Boston, the patriots were no less active. Town meetings were constantly held, and committees appointed to confer with committees from the neighboring towns upon the best method of "preventing the landing and sale of the teas exported from the East India Company." Unlike, however, the excitement produced by the Stamp Act, everything was now done "decently and in order." The burning of the *Gaspé* in the waters of the Narraganset, on the night of the 17th of

June, 1772, was suggestive. On the night of the 16th of December, 1773, three tea-ships, which lay moored at Griffin's Wharf, were boarded by a party of men disguised as Mohawk Indians, and their cargoes, consisting of three hundred and forty chests of tea, thrown into the waters of the bay.

Nor was New York behind her sister colonies in resisting this new feature of ministerial oppression. Two days after the meeting in Philadelphia, the Sons of Liberty held a public meeting, in which they denounced in unequivocal terms the importation of the hateful article; and declared with such effect that tea-commissioners were fully as obnoxious as stamp-distributers, that the commissioners appointed for New York forthwith resigned. Public sentiment, moreover, was not confined merely to resolves. A remark of Governor Tryon, that "the tea should be delivered to the consignees, even if it was sprinkled with blood," was not calculated to pour oil upon the troubled waters; and so soon as it was known that consignments of tea would shortly reach the city, another mass-meeting of the citizens was held at their old rendezvous—"the fields"—to devise measures for preventing the landing of the tea from a vessel which was hourly expected. Hardly had the people assembled, when Whitehead Hicks, the Mayor, hastened to the meeting, charged with a message from the Governor, to the effect that, when the vessel arrived, the tea should be publicly taken from the ship into the fort, and there kept until the advice of the council could be taken, or the King's order could be known. The moment was critical, but John Lamb—by whose influence undoubtedly the meeting had been called—at once saw through the artifice. He immediately arose and addressed the Assembly. After giving a summary of the grievances which had brought them together, he read the act of Parliament (which prescribed the payment of the



duty, if the article was landed), and then asked, "Shall the tea be landed?" A unanimous "NO!" (repeated three times) clearly showed the mind of his audience.

But this spirit of resistance to Parliamentary usurpation was not shared in by the Assembly, whose members were more subservient than ever. Notwithstanding the conduct of the Governor, they did not hesitate, in the spring session, to vote five thousand pounds toward rebuilding the Government House, which had been recently destroyed by fire; and, in response to his opening speech, in which they were informed that he had been called home to confer with the ministry in relation to the New Hampshire grants, they expressed the hope that his return to a grateful people would be speedy. Indeed, as Mr. Dunlap remarks, if the number of compliments paid him upon his departure were any test, it would seem as if he was very much beloved. Several of the loyalists residing in the city gave him a public dinner; General Haldimand, who had succeeded Gage as Commander-in-Chief, honored him with a ball; corporations and societies vied in presenting addresses; King's College created him a doctor in civil law; and the General Assembly tendered him an address, in which, after expressing their appreciation of the uprightness and integrity of his conduct, they added, in yet more fulsome eulogy, that they thought it their duty, as the representatives of a free and happy people, to pay this tribute of applause and acknowledgment to a Governor who had so eminently distinguished himself by his constant attention to their care and prosperity. The Governor, in return, thanked them for their "truly loyal and affectionate address;" and having, on the 19th of March, summoned the General Assembly to his house, he gave his assent to the acts that had been passed, and closed the session by prorogation.

Thus ended the third session of the Legislature of the

colony and the administration of Governor Tryon, without having in a single instance come into collision with his excellency, or even with the legislative council, save in the matter of a disagreement between the two bodies in respect to an amendment to the militia bill, proposed by the council, but to which the House disagreed. An attempt was made in the council, on motion of Mr. Smith, to obtain a conference, but the proposition was voted down. The amendment referred to, according to the reasons of dissent recorded by Mr. Smith, was an invasion of the royal prerogative; and, had the bill been passed in the shape insisted upon by the House, Mr. Smith maintained that it would have received the Governor's negative. According to the reasons of dissent, the rejection of the amendment of the council evinced a determination by the House to control the action of the Governor in commanding the services of the militia, while there were indications that their services would be required to quell insurrection in the New Hampshire grants. Mr. Smith set forth that a similar amendment sent to the House in 1772 had been concurred in by that body, and that no reason was perceptible justifying a change of sentiments upon the question; and he thought a friendly conference might induce the House to yield. Other reasons for his assent were given; and he referred to open surmises abroad, that the Legislature was losing its confidence in the Governor, and the loss of the bill with the provision in question might be viewed as an evidence that the Legislature had not been "sincere in the testimonials they had given and justly awarded to his excellency for an administration wise and impartial, fair and generous, and steadily conducted upon principles unbiased by party feuds, and acknowledged to be equally friendly to the rights of the Crown and the weal of the colony." But the conference was not asked, and, in fact, there was no collision.

This profound tranquility which had succeeded the election of the present General Assembly in 1770, was the more remarkable for the raging of the political elements all around New York, and from the circumstances under which the preceding Assembly had been dissolved, and the feelings attending the new election. The preceding Assembly had been dissolved for its strong declaration of those constitutional principles which had been planted in the bosoms of the colonists from their settlement, and which were striking deeper root every hour; and yet, neither under Sir Henry Moore, who had dissolved the preceding and summoned the present Legislature, nor under Lord Dunmore, nor under Governor Tryon, had a breeze moved upon the political waters, so far as the Legislature was concerned, save only by its concurrence in the Virginia resolutions of May, 1769; nor did that act of concurrence occasion any visible agitation. But it was the deep, solemn calm, which often precedes the lightning and the whirlwind!

But the storm was to break sooner than was anticipated. The utterances of James Otis and Patrick Henry had created a tide of public feeling which ordinary barriers were powerless to resist. Events followed each other in startling rapidity. On the night of the 22d of April, 1774, the Sons of Liberty, following the example of their Boston neighbors, and, like them, also disguised as Mohawks, threw over a cargo of tea, brought by the *Nancy*, into the waters of New York Bay. New York, imitating the example of her sister colonies, formed a Provincial Congress in opposition to the regular Assembly, whose members still remained lukewarm, and appointed five delegates to the Continental Congress, which had already convened in Philadelphia. Tryon, in amaze at the turn affairs had taken, sailed, as we have seen, for England, on the 7th of April, 1774, to represent to the

ministry the alarming state of things in the colonies. The Province of New York was ordered by the Continental Congress to contribute her quota of three thousand men to the general defense. The battle of Lexington had been followed by the battle of Bunker Hill; the brave Montgomery was preparing to undertake his ill-fated expedition against Quebec; and Putnam, and Heath, and Pomeroy, and a score of brave spirits, laid close siege to Boston.

Such was the condition of affairs when Washington, on the 21st of June, 1775, set out from Philadelphia for

1775. Boston, with the purpose of taking New York in his way. All disguise had now been thrown off; and it was his purpose to place that important post under the command of one of his generals upon whom he could rely. But the approach of Washington toward the city threw the Provincial Congress into a quandary. It had usurped the powers of Governor Tryon in his absence, while professing, at the same time, a semi-loyalty to the parent Government. To add, also, to its perplexity, Tryon, who had just arrived from England, was in the lower bay, and might arrive at the wharf at any moment. A middle course was therefore adopted. The militia was ordered out, and the commanding officer directed "to pay military honors to whichever of the distinguished functionaries should first arrive." As it chanced, Washington arrived first on the 25th, and was escorted into the city by a committee of the Provincial Congress, by whom he had been met at Newark. As soon as the customary military honors had been paid, Peter Van Burgh Livingston, as President of the New York Congress, advanced and delivered a congratulatory address. "Confiding in you, sir," said the speaker, "and in the worthy generals under your command, we have the most flattering hopes of success in the glorious struggle for American liberty, and the fullest assurances that whenever this important contest

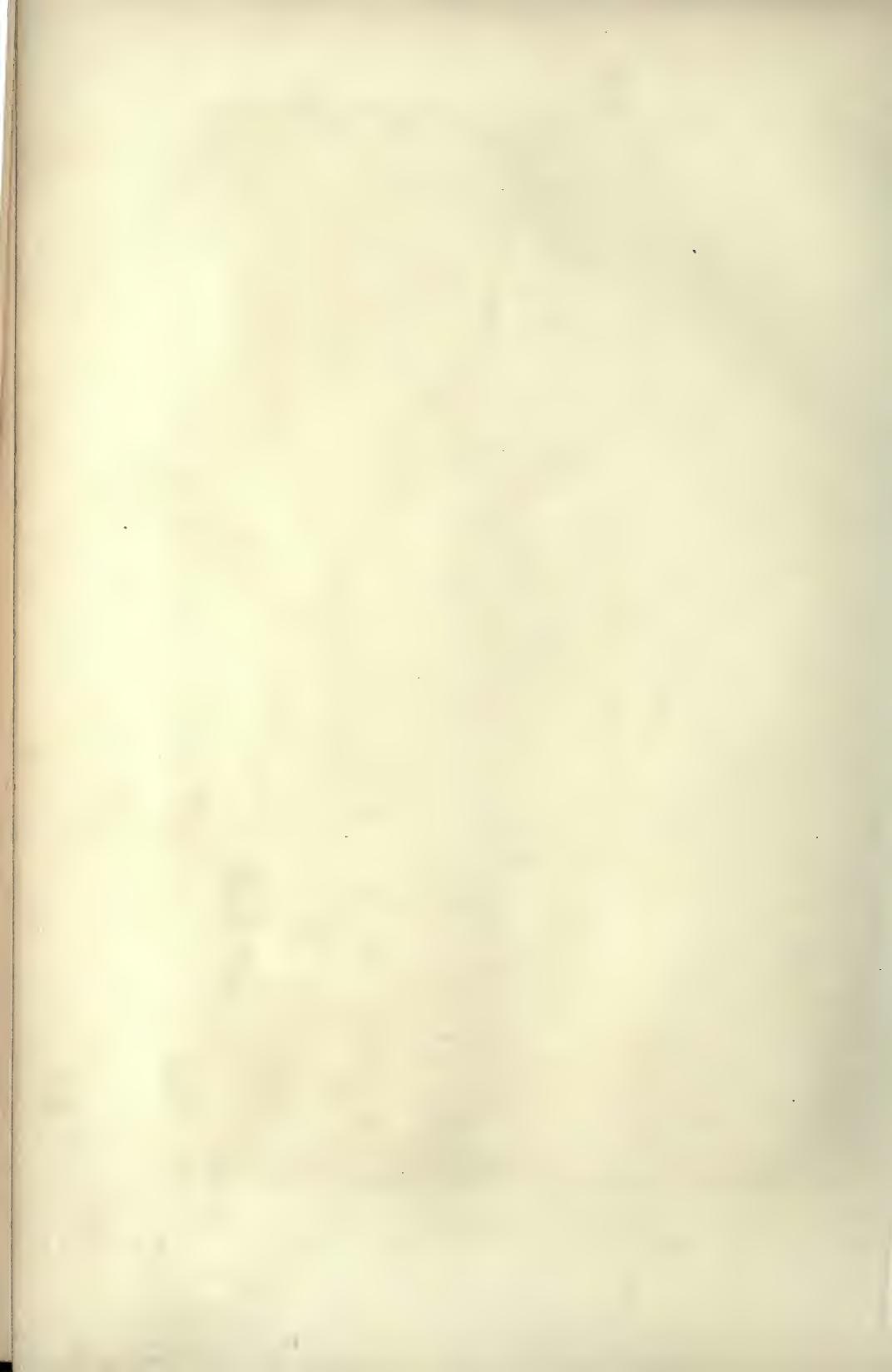


M. H. H.

J. Rogers

BATTLE AT LEXINGTON.

New York: Virtue & Yorton.





Engraved by John Godfrey.

BATTLE OF BUNKER'S HILL.

Designed by W. H. Smith, Esq.

shall be decided by that fondest wish of each American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cherfully resign the important deposit committed into your hands and resume the character of our worthiest citizen."

Hardly had these honors been paid to Washington, when, at eight o'clock of the same evening, Tryon landed, and was in turn greeted by the same militia, and, in addition, by the Mayor and Common Council, who, by their transports of loyalty, seemed anxious to neutralize, as far as possible, the reception given a few hours previous to Washington. Meanwhile, the latter, having placed the city under the command of General Schuyler, departed for Boston, leaving the citizens in great doubt as to the future steps which would be taken by Tryon.

Their suspense, however, was to be short. The Provincial Congress, regarding the guns in the battery as a standing menace to the patriot party, and wishing them for the defense of the Highlands, ordered their removal. The indomitable Lamb, at the head of his Liberty Boys, among whom was Alexander Hamilton, at once volunteered for this service; and, in the face of the guns of the *Asia*, which opened her batteries upon the party, succeeded in carrying away to a place of safety the whole of the pieces of cannon, twenty-one in number. This event at once brought things to a crisis; and the Governor, alarmed for his personal safety among an incensed populace, took refuge on board of the *Asia*.

Meanwhile, the Assembly of New York, not wishing to join in the radical action of the Provincial Congress, and yet feeling keenly the course of the parent Government, had prepared and sent to the Crown a memorial for a redress of their grievances—a fact which the ministry soon learned, and not without mortification. "We claim," the address said, in conclusion, "but a restoration of the

rights which we enjoyed by general consent before the close of the last war; we desire no more than a continuation of the ancient government, to which we are entitled by the principles of the British Constitution, and by which alone can be secured to us the rights of Englishmen." The address was presented to the House of Commons by Mr. Burke, but was never called up. Incensed at this insult to themselves, those faint hearts in the Assembly who had heretofore wavered, now boldly joined

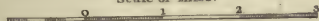
the patriots; and when, on the 10th of July, 1776,

the news was received in the city of the Declaration of Independence, the enthusiasm was well-nigh universal—almost all hastening to aid General Putnam (who had succeeded Lee in the command) in fortifying the city. The principal fortifications were as follow: A grand battery of twenty-three guns was erected directly south of the Bowling Green; McDougall's battery of four guns stood on a little eminence to the west of Trinity Church. On the East-River side were Coenties' battery, Waterbury's battery, Badlam's battery of eight guns near the Jewish burial-ground on Chatham Street, and the Independent battery on a slight elevation on the corner of the present Grand and Center Streets. "Breast-works were also erected at Peck, Beekman, Burling, and Old Slips; at the Coffee-house, the Exchange, and in Broad Street." Ditches were cut across the island from the East to the North River; and, at the same time, strong fortifications were thrown up on Governor's Island, Paulus Hook (Jersey City), Brooklyn Heights, and Long Island.

These fortifications were erected at the suggestion of the Commander-in-Chief, who, rightly anticipating, on the evacuation of Boston by General Howe, that his next point of attack would be New York, detached General Greene, with a portion of the army, to put Long Island and the harbor of New York in a posture of defense. Washington

August 27th 1776.

Scale of Miles.





followed soon afterward himself, and established his headquarters in the city. Having been joined by his brother, Lord Howe, as commander of the fleet at Halifax, General (afterward Sir William) Howe arrived with his reinforcements off Sandy Hook—the latter on the 25th of June, 1776, and the former on the 12th of the following month. General Clinton arriving at about the same time from the unsuccessful attempt against Charleston with Admiral Hotham, the combined forces of the enemy now amounted to nearly twenty-four thousand men, including the Hessians.

On the 22d of August, the British army landed upon Long Island at Gravesend. The American army, consisting of fifteen thousand men, under Sullivan, was encamped in the neighborhood of Brooklyn. The battle of Long Island, which was severely, though ineffectually, contested by the American forces under Sullivan and Lord Stirling, was fought on the 27th of August. On the 30th, the



KIP'S BAY HOUSE.

Americans effected a masterly retreat across the East River to New York. The enemy made immediate dispositions to attack the city; and a hasty evacuation was deemed advisable. The British fleet was divided into two squadrons, one of which entered the East and the other the North River. Under cover of the former, Sir Henry Clinton crossed from Long Island and landed at Kip's Bay with such celerity that the Americans fled in disorder.

Indeed, the evacuation resembled rather a flight than a retreat—all the heavy artillery, military stores, baggage, and provisions, falling into the hands of the enemy. A large portion of the American forces, at that time, consisted of militia, the conduct of which was scandalous beyond endurance. They deserted, not only in small numbers, but in companies and squadrons, whenever they could; and their conduct, in the face of the enemy, or rather when running from the faces of the enemy, was most cowardly. So disorderly was their demeanor, and so like poltroons did they behave when flying from Sir Henry Clinton, that even Washington himself lost his patience, and was excited to a degree of hot exasperation. In writing from Harlem Heights to a friend, General Greene said that “two brigades of militia ran away from about fifty men, leaving the Commander-in-Chief on the ground, within eighty yards of the enemy, so vexed with the conduct of his troops that he sought death rather than life. His attempts to stop them were fruitless. He drew his sword and threatened to run them through, and cocked and snapped his pistols.* But all his exertions were to no purpose.” In a letter upon the subject of this infamous conduct of the militia, to the President of Congress, the Commander-in-Chief declared that, “were he called to give his opinion upon oath, he should say that militia did more injury to the service than good.”

General Greene strongly urged the destruction of the city by fire—a measure afterward so effectively adopted by Count Rostopchin, Governor of the ancient capital of Muscovy, to arrest the career of Napoleon—that the enemy might be deprived of the advantage of establishing their winter-quarters therein. His reasons for this measure were sound, and ought, doubtless, to have been

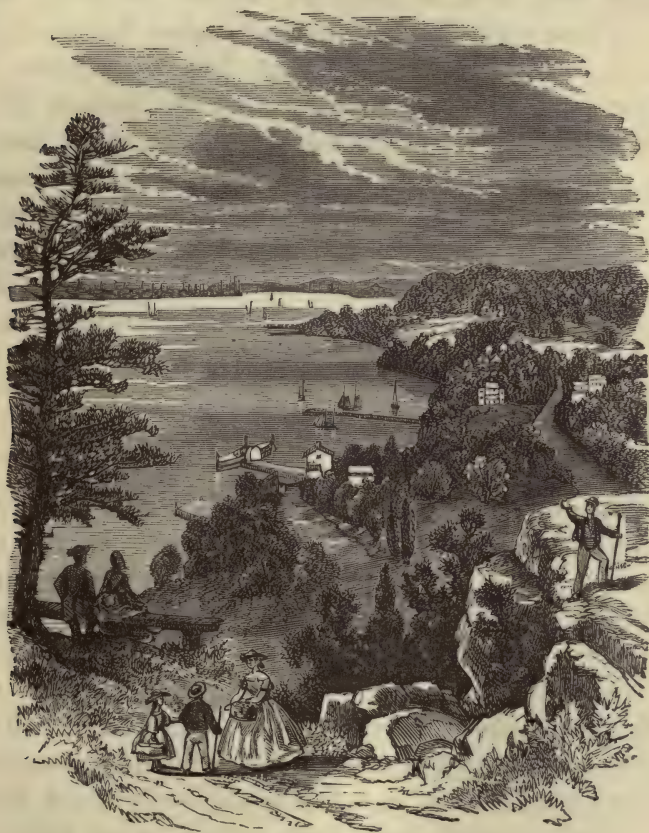
* Mr. Bancroft, it is true, discredits this statement; but, it seems to me, without sufficient reason.



GENERAL WASHINGTON

Designed by Geo. B. Rogers from the Statue by the French

adopted. Washington, also, was believed to be of the same opinion, especially as two-thirds of the property which it was proposed to destroy, belonged to undisguised loyalists. But Congress would not allow the sacrifice; and, on the 15th of September, 1776, the City of New



VIEW FROM FORT LEE.

York was in full possession of the British—General Washington having retired with the army to King's Bridge.

For several weeks, Washington occupied Harlem Heights above Manhattanville, residing meanwhile at the

house of Colonel Roger Morris (between 160th and 161st Streets); while Colonel Cadwallader, with eight hundred men, was posted along the lower lines which crossed the island. At length, on the 15th of November, an attack being made by the enemy under Lord Percy, Cadwallader held them in check on Harlem Plains for more than an hour and a half, until Washington had been able to cross the Hudson from Fort Lee, reconnoitre the position, and return in safety. But the gallant efforts of Cadwallader were of no avail; for Lord Percy, having been reinforced, ruined the position of his adversary, and, compelling him to retreat to Fort Washington (already in possession of the British), made him prisoner. The capture of Fort Washington compelled that of Fort Lee. "Washington retreated with his troops through the Jerseys, and the struggle for liberty in New York was over."

It would seem, however, as if the idea of firing the city—though given up by Washington and Greene—was still cherished by some of the residents of the city. Scarcely had the British fairly taken possession, when, on the night of the 20th of September—only six days after they had marched in—a terrific fire broke out, which was not subdued until one thousand houses, or about one-fourth of the city, were reduced to ashes.* The fire was first discovered in a low dram-shop, tenanted by abandoned men and women; but, in a few minutes afterward, flames were seen to break forth from several other buildings, lying in different directions, at the same moment. For some time previous, the weather had been dry; and at the moment, a brisk southerly wind prevailing, and the build-

* Hugh Gainé, in his *Universal Register* for 1787, states that before this fire the city contained about four thousand two hundred houses, and thirty thousand inhabitants.

ings being of wood and covered with shingles, the flames soon caught the neighboring houses and spread with inconceivable rapidity. The fire swept up Broad and Beaver Streets to Broadway, and thence onward, consuming all



VIEW ON WASHINGTON HEIGHTS.

that portion of the town lying on the North River, until the flames were stopped by the grounds of King's (Columbia) College at Mortkile Street, now Barclay. St. Paul's

Church, at one time, was in great danger. Fortunately, however, the roof was flat, with a balustrade on the eaves. Taking advantage of this circumstance, a number of citizens went into the balustrade and extinguished the flakes of fire as they fell on the roof. Trinity Church, with the Lutheran Chapel, on the opposite corner of Rector Street, was also destroyed. The Rev. Dr. Inglis was then rector of Trinity; and with this sacred edifice, his parsonage and the Charity School—two large buildings—were consumed, entailing a loss of church property to the value of twenty-five thousand pounds. The organ of Trinity, alone, cost eight hundred and fifty pounds.

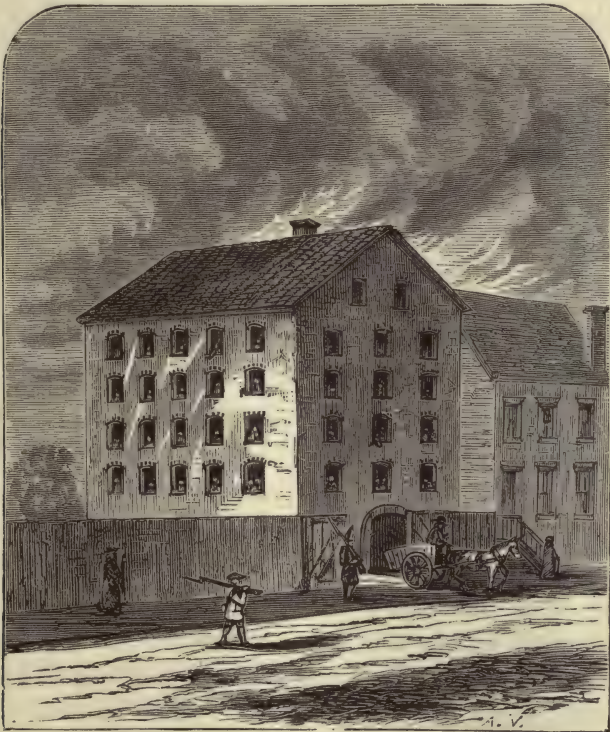
At the present day, it is difficult to say whether the fire was or was not the result of incendiarism on the part of disaffected Americans. Even reliable contemporaneous writers differ widely in their opinion on the subject, some affirming positively that the city was set on fire, and others, again, quite as positively affirming the contrary. For ourselves, we are inclined to believe that the fire was the result of a deliberate design; nor, if the newspapers and private correspondence of the day can be believed, is there much room left for doubt. According to these authorities, one man was seized in the act of setting fire to the college, who acknowledged that he had been employed for the purpose. A New-England captain, who was seized at the same time with matches in his pocket, also acknowledged the same. One White, a carpenter, was observed to cut the leather buckets which conveyed the water. "The next day, Saturday," says Steadman, in his history of the American War, "a great many cart-loads of bundles of pine-sticks dipped in brimstone were found concealed in cellars of houses to which the incendiaries had not had time to set fire." "The rebels," says the Rev. Charles Inglis, in writing on the same subject, a few days after, to the Venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel



TRINITY CHURCH.

Richardson N.Y.

in Foreign Parts, "carried off all the bells in the city, partly to convert them into cannon and partly to prevent notice being given speedily of the destruction they meditated against the city by fire, when it began. * * Several rebels secreted themselves in the houses to execute the diabolical purpose of destroying the city." Notwithstanding, however, this seeming mass of testimony, it was found impossible to obtain legal proof sufficient to fasten the act



THE OLD SUGAR-HOUSE IN LIBERTY STREET.

upon any particular individual—for all who had been caught at the time with matches, &c, had been killed on the spot by the enraged soldiery—and the result was, that several of the citizens, who had been arrested and imprisoned on the charge of being the incendiaries, were acquitted.

The history of New York city during its occupation by the British is not one that Americans can recall with pleasure. True it is that this period has invested a few of the old buildings, yet standing, with interest; but these very associations are of a saddening, melancholy nature, and only calculated to make Americans, even at the present day, blush at the remembrance of the fact that British officers—having their blood, and the same ancestry, and speaking the same tongue—could ever have been guilty of such horrid atrocities upon the persons of inoffensive captives: Of the numerous prison-pens in the city during the Revolution (among which was the old Sugar-House), only two yet stand, like charred and battered monuments of cruelty and tyranny—the North Dutch Church, on William Street, and the Middle Dutch Church (the present Post-office). In the former edifice, eight hundred prisoners were incarcerated, without fuel or bedding, during two of the coldest winters New York has ever known.* Their provisions were scanty, and of the poorest quality; and, as a natural and probably anticipated consequence, many died from cold and starvation. “We never,” says Oliver Woodruff, one of the prisoners, “drew as much provisions for three days’ allowance as a man would eat at a common meal. I was there three months during that inclement season, and never saw any fire, except what was in the lamps of the city. There was not a pane of glass in the windows, and nothing to keep out the cold, except the iron grates.”† “The allowance,” says

* During one of these winters—that of 1779-’80—the river and bay between Cortlandt Street, New Jersey, and Staten Island were frozen over for forty days. Hundreds of people crossed daily on the ice, which was so thick that artillery was also conveyed across.

† It is very true that, at times, the British themselves were often in want of food, and suffered from cold, and also that provisions were dear; still, that need not have prevented them from giving the prisoners bedclothes, and ministering to their necessities, and alleviating their condition as far as possible

Adolph Meyer, another prisoner, "was one loaf of bread, one quart of peas, half a pint of rice, and one and a half pounds of pork, for six days. Many prisoners died from want; and others were reduced to such wretchedness as to attract the attention of common prostitutes, from whom they received considerable assistance. No care was taken of the sick; and if any died they were thrown at the door of the prison, and lay there till the next day, when they were put on a cart and drawn out to the intrenchments, beyond the Jews' burial-ground, where they were interred by their fellow-prisoners, conducted thither for that purpose. The dead were thrown into a hole promiscuously, without the usual rites of sepulcher." But the state of things was even worse in the Middle Dutch Church (the present Post-office), into which three thousand prisoners were crowded. "Here," says John Pintard, an eye-witness of these scenes, "the prisoners taken on Long Island and at Fort Washington—sick, wounded, and well—were all indiscriminately huddled together by hundreds and thousands, large numbers of whom died by disease; and many were undoubtedly poisoned by their inhuman attendants for the sake of their watches and silver buckles." "The beds of the prisoners," says Dunlap, writing at the time, "were straw, intermixed with vermin. For many weeks, the dead-cart visited the prison every morning, into which from eight to twelve corpses were flung and piled up, then dumped into ditches in the outskirts of the city." The bones of the unfortunate victims of British cruelty, thus disposed of, were collected after the Revolution, and buried with proper funeral rites.*

* But none of these prison-pens were so horrible as the *Jersey* prison-ship. "This vessel was originally a British line-of-battle ship, built in 1736, and carried sixty guns. She had done good service in the war with France, and had several times served as a part of the Mediterranean squadron. In the spring of 1776, she sailed for America as one of the fleet of Commodore Hotham, and arrived at Sandy Hook in the month of August. She was subsequently

But while the American prisoners were thus languishing in prison, the British officers and their wives were passing their time in a round of gayety and frivolity. The best view, perhaps, of the interior and social life of New York at this time—now become in reality a British city—is given in the letters of Mrs. General Riedesel.* This lady was the wife of the German general who commanded the Brunswick troops at the battle of Saratoga, where he was captured with Burgoyne. After her husband was exchanged, she spent nearly two years in New York city (1779-'80), and her letters to her mother at this time are of great interest. From these letters we make the following extracts:

"Finally, late one evening, at the end of November, 1779, we reached New York, where my husband, who had gone ahead of us, had already arrived before me.

1779.

A soldier who, at the gateway, had been ordered to show us the way, conducted us to a very great and

used as a store-ship, then employed as a hospital-ship, and was finally, in the winter of 1779-'80, fitted up as a prison-ship, and anchored near the Wallabout in the East River, near what is now the Navy Yard, where she lay until the close of the war, when the day of retribution arrived, and she was broken up and sunk beneath the muddy waters of the East River to rise no more. Dismantled of her sails and stripped of her rigging, with port-holes closed, with no spar but the bowsprit, and a derrick to take in supplies, her small lone flag at the stern became the appropriate but unconscious signal of the dreadful suffering that raged within. Hundreds of captured prisoners were packed into this small vessel, where, with but one meal of coarse and filthy food *per diem*, without hammocks, or physician, or medicines, or means of cleanliness, they wretchedly perished. Thousands of emaciated skeletons were, during these perilous years, cast into the billows of the bay, or left half covered in the sandbanks and trenches. The bones of the dead lay exposed along the beach, drying and bleaching in the sun, whitening the shore until washed away by the surging tides. About twelve thousand prisoners are believed to have died on these vessels, most of whom were young men, the strength and flower of their country."

* *Letters and Journals relating to the War of the American Revolution, and the Capture of the German Troops at Saratoga, by Mrs. General Riedesel. Translated from the original German, by William L. Stone. ALBANY: J. MUNSELL. 1867.*

beautiful house, where we found everything prepared for our reception; and, better than all, a good supper. I was too much occupied in putting the children to bed, and too tired to inquire where I was, and supposed I was in a public-house. My husband, who had taken tea with General Cornwallis, came home late. The next morning, a servant came in to ask me what I desired for dinner, and how many visitors I would probably have daily at table. I replied that as my husband did not dine at home, I should not need more than three dishes for six persons, namely: myself, my children, my women-servants, and the pastor, Mylius, the chaplain of my husband's regiment, whom we retained in our family, and who gave my children instruction in everything useful. He was a man of piety, and of excellent character and good humor, and the children and we all loved him very much. I was then told that the order had been given to serve up on my table every day six large and four small dishes. Being still under the impression that I was in a tavern, I decidedly forbade this profusion, as I dreaded the bill. But I soon discovered that I was staying at the house of the Governor, General Tryon, who had forbidden them to tell me where I had been taken, through fear that I would not accept of his house.* This noble-minded man, moreover, in order

* The site of the present (1871) Bank of New York.

"On the night of December 29th, 1773, the Government House accidentally caught fire. So rapid was the progress of the flames, that in a few moments after the alarm was given a thick cloud of smoke and flame pervaded the whole building, and in less than two hours it was entirely consumed. From this dreadful conflagration, nothing in the building, except a few articles of furniture taken from one of the parlors, was saved. The manner in which the fire originated was not discovered. The deep snow which covered the roofs of the other buildings in the city contributed to their protection, and the fire department of the city showed great activity in preventing the progress of the flames. Governor Tryon was a resident of the Government House in the fort at the time of its destruction, and was a heavy loser by the event. He afterward resided in a house on the corner of Wall and William Streets, the same house having been subsequently, and until late years, occupied by the Bank of New York."—*Valentine's Manual for 1864*, page 643.

to avoid my thanks, crossed over to Long Island, where he had a provisional command. All my wishes were anticipated, and I was only in continual fear lest I should abuse so much kindness. I also received a call from General Patterson, the commandant of the city, who told me that they were still busy with the arrangement of the house, which we were to have as our own residence. Lord Cornwallis and General Clinton likewise came to see me. The former went off soon afterward upon an expedition. The latter offered me a country-seat, of which he had the disposal, where I might have my children inoculated with the small-pox, an operation which it would be dangerous to have performed in the city, as that disease was raging there violently. I accepted his offer with much satisfaction, and we made all necessary preparations to go there. I gave our cook ten guineas to purchase all kinds of provisions. But when he very soon came back and asked for more money, I learned, to my surprise, that the money I had given him would scarcely last for two days, so dear was everything, even the commonest thing. For example, one pound of meat, reckoning according to our money, cost twelve groschen; * one pound of butter, eighteen groschen; one turkey, four rix-thalers; a fowl, twenty groschen; an egg, four groschen; a quart of milk, six groschen; a bushel of potatoes, two rix-thalers; a half bushel of turnips, two florins; ten oysters, eight groschen; and six onions, one rix-thaler. But what was there left for me to do but to bear it with patience? †

* A groschen, as has been mentioned in a preceding note, is a fraction over three American cents.

† All contemporaneous accounts fully corroborate the statement of our authoress. The rich in the city at first strove to keep up their six courses, their three-side services, and their profusion of fish, flesh, and fowl; but at length their resources failed. Many articles of food could no longer be obtained, and others were so dear as to exhaust the means of the wealthiest. A turkey was cheap at four dollars. Good meat could seldom be procured, and vegetables were extravagantly dear. Fifty dollars, says an eye-witness, would not feed a

"One day a general was announced. I received him, and in the course of conversation he asked me, among other things, whether I was satisfied with my quarters. My heart was too full of thankfulness for all the kindness that had been shown me, not to give full vent to my feelings in this regard, and I at last expressed the wish to know personally my noble benefactor who had treated me with so much delicacy. He laughed, and just at that moment my husband stepped in, and said to me, "This is the man who has shown us so much kindness." I was so delighted at seeing him, that I could not find words to express my feelings. Upon seeing my emotion, the man was very much affected. I have invariably received from him the greatest proofs of his friendship.

"The country residence of General Clinton, where we went, was an hour's ride from the city. The grounds were beautiful, as was also the house; but the latter was arranged more for a summer residence, and, as we had come there in the month of December, we suffered much from the cold. Notwithstanding this, however, the inoculation was perfectly successful. Accordingly, as it was now completed, and we had nothing more to fear from the infection, we got ourselves in readiness to return to the city, and sent our cook and the rest of our servants ahead to prepare everything for our arrival, which we expected would be upon the following day. During the night, however, we had such a terrible storm that we

family for two days. Sir Henry Clinton entreated the farmers of the vicinity to bring in provisions, but in vain. Nor was he more successful in the foraging parties he sent out. At sight of the enemy, the alarm was given. The farmers of Westport and Southport, of Elizabethtown and Rahway, hastily buried their corn and oats beneath the snow, and old family furniture was carried off at midnight and hidden in the depths of the forest. The British foraging parties accordingly found the barns empty, the cattle driven off, and the farmhouses deserted. In their rage, the foragers set fire to the old homesteads and desolated whole districts, thus increasing the general misery without accomplishing the least good.

believed the whole house would be overturned. As it was, an entire balustrade actually fell down with a dreadful crash, and on getting up the next morning we saw that on account of snow having fallen during the night four or five feet on the level, and eight feet in drifts, it would be utterly impossible to venture forth without sledges. I therefore went to work to hunt up all that I could find for our dinner. An old hen that had been forgotten served us for soup, and some potatoes which the gardener gave us, with some salt meat that still remained over from our stock of provisions, made up the entire meal for more than fourteen persons, which number we then were.

“On our return to New York, I found, to my great amazement, our new dwelling fitted up throughout with mahogany furniture. I was at first frightened at the expense which this would occasion. But Captain Willoe informed me that the entire cost would be defrayed by the Governor, and that the Commandant, General Patterson, considered himself fortunate in being able to justify the confidence which I had placed in the English nation. To render this remark intelligible, I must here state that I had assured him, when he consulted me upon the arrangement of our house, that I would leave everything entirely to the English, from whom, up to the present time, I had received sincere kindness and courtesy, and who certainly would still preserve toward us that full confidence which they had shown toward us.

“They overwhelmed us with distinguished marks of courtesy and friendship, for which we had, in a great measure, to thank General Phillips, who, in New York, was very much beloved, and was so strong a friend of ours that he declared that whatever was done for us would flatter him more than as if done for himself. I had also the good fortune, during our stay, to make many friends on my own account.

“As the birthday of the Queen of England was approaching (which really comes in summer, but, as the King’s birthday also comes in that season, is celebrated in winter, to give more custom to the trades-people, as every one upon those days appears at court in gala-dress), they wished to celebrate the day with a great *fête*; and as it was the general wish—partly to please General Philips, and partly to make me forget my own suffering—to confer on me a distinguished honor, they desired me to be queen of the ball. In order to bring this about, they persuaded the wife of General Cornwallis’s adjutant—who, as an English lady of noble birth, would have had precedence over me—to remain at home, on the ground that she was near her confinement. When at length the great day arrived, all the ladies assembled at Governor Tryon’s, where they received me with all ceremony. The General introduced me to all the ladies, some of whom were envious of the honor which was shown me. But I immediately declared that I received this distinction only on account of the day, as they had conferred on me the honor of representing the Queen, and that in future I would give place to those ladies who were older than I. As there were quite a number present who were my elders, my explanation conciliated them. Their countenances, accordingly, quickly brightened up, and I was soon upon a pleasant footing with the whole company.

“At six o’clock in the afternoon I was obliged to seat myself on a carriage with Generals Tryon and Patterson, to be driven to the ball, where we were received with kettle-drums and trumpets.

“At supper, I was obliged, as I represented the Queen, to sit under a canopy, and drink the first toast. I was certainly much touched at all the marks of friendship I received, although extremely tired; still, in order to show my gratitude, I cheerfully stayed as long as possible, and

remained until two o'clock in the morning. Not only on this occasion, but during the whole of my sojourn in this place, I was loaded with kindness; and I passed the remainder of the winter very pleasantly, with the exception of suffering very much from the cold, as the commissary had not had a sufficient quantity of wood cut. To save expense, he had this work done by his negro slaves; and the winter setting in earlier than usual, and being impossible, as the river was frozen half over, to bring in wood either by boats or sledges, many of the garrison suffered for fuel. We, indeed, received an order for it; but how did that help the matter, since there was no wood to be had? We were, therefore, often obliged to borrow wood of General Tryon for Saturday and Sunday, which we would return on Monday if we received any. The cold was so intense that I frequently made the children lie in bed in order to keep them warm. Wood could not often be purchased for money; and if by chance a little was for sale, it cost ten pounds by the cord. I have myself paid one piaster (which is a crown with us) for a single stick. The poor were obliged to burn fat, in order to warm themselves and cook their meals.*

"One day I was at the house of the lady of General Cornwallis's aid-de-camp, who had been confined, and complained bitterly of this lack of wood; whereupon, she promised to send me some coals, which I could return at my own convenience. I showed so much joy at this, that a certain major, named Brown, who happened to be present, and was attached to the commissariat, and who had

* "The wealthy," writes a contemporary, "shivered for cold in their splendid apartments. In vain did Sir Henry Clinton issue proclamations to the farmers of Long Island to send in their wood. In vain did he dispatch foraging parties to cut down the forests on the large estates of the patriots William Floyd and William Smith, the patroons of Long Island. The demand for fuel could not be supplied, and the Baroness Riedesel, the caressed of all the army, suffered severely in that inclement winter."

already expressed much sympathy at our want of wood, was so much affected that he immediately left the room.

"The next day, as I was looking out of the window, I saw quite a number of wagons full of chopped trees, standing still in the street. Each wagon contained two cords of wood. I went into the room where the pastor, Mylius, sat with the children before the fire-place, in which the last stick was burning, and said to him: 'Never before have I been envious; but now, the distress and pain which these poor children suffer, make me so; for just now there has come to our very door four wagons filled with wood. How happy would I be if I only had some of it!' Scarcely had I thus spoken, when a servant brought me a message from Major Brown, stating that he had sent me these loads of wood with his compliments, and begging us to send to him whenever we should again be out of fuel. Imagine my joy, and my eagerness to thank our guardian angel. I had scarcely seen his face, as the lying-in chamber of milady had been so dark. Some days after, I was at a ball where he also was expected to be present. He had been described to me as a man with a very prominent turned-up nose. For such a person, therefore, I looked attentively; but I was obliged to look for a long time, because the excellent man kept continually out of the way, that I might have no opportunity to thank him. At last, however, I found him, and thanked him right heartily. He then told me that up that time he had known nothing of our necessity, but that when he heard my story he had not been able to go to sleep quietly the whole night, through fear that the dispositions which he had already made for our relief would not arrive sufficiently speedy. These 'dispositions' consisted in giving the order to cut down some of the trees in the great avenue* in front of the

* Probably, the present Wall Street. All the principal highways of the city were adorned at this period with luxuriant shade-trees. A celebrated traveler,

city; and when this proceeding was objected to on the ground that it would make considerable damage, he replied, that it was much better to spare a few trees than to have a family, who had served the King with so much zeal, suffer from want. He further told me that in future we must, under all circumstances, whenever anything was wanting that it belonged to the commissary to supply, apply directly to him. This acquaintance was of great advantage to us. My husband was supplied with many kinds of provisions; with Indian meal, part of which we used for bread and part for cake, and also with salted meat, which latter article, however, was entirely useless to us, as we received more than we could consume; and it often was so uneatable that I gave it away to get rid of it, especially since our servants were also supplied with the same kind of food. The major, accordingly, advised us to pursue the same plan in this regard as the other generals, viz.: to exchange our meat for boxes of tallow and candles of spermaceti (which burn better and are more beautiful than those of wax), and also for butter, which they did gladly, as they were obliged to supply the soldiers with meat. By this means, we saved considerable. We were now no longer troubled for the want of

who visited New York just previous to the arrival of Governor Tryon, thus describes the various kinds then growing in the city: "In the chief streets there are trees planted, which, in the summer, give them a fine appearance, and, during the excessive heat at that time, afford a cooling shade. I found it extremely pleasant to walk in the town, for it seemed quite like a garden. The trees which are planted for this purpose are chiefly of two kinds; the water-beech is the most numerous, and gives an agreeable shade in summer by its large and numerous leaves. The locust-tree is likewise frequent; its fine leaves and the odoriferous scent which exhales from its flowers make it very proper for being planted in the streets near the houses and in the gardens. There are likewise lime-trees and elms in these walks, but they are not, by far, so frequent as the others. One seldom meets with trees of the same sort adjoining each other, they being in general placed alternately." The last of these trees in Wall Street was cut down in 1866. A portion of its trunk (preserved as a sacred relic) is to be seen in the old English chop-house, on Thames Street, known as "Old Tom's."

wood, for they broke to pieces an old and worthless ship in order to furnish us with fuel, and from this time we received weekly two cords of fire-wood.

“Throughout the whole winter, Generals Phillips, Tryon, and Patterson were our constant friends and guests, and every week we gave a gentleman’s dinner party. This was all that we could afford to do, as everything was so terribly high in the city. At the end of the winter, General Tryon sailed for England; but, just before his departure, he sent to my house magnificent furniture, tapestry, carpets, and curtains, besides a set of silk hangings for an entire room. Never shall I forget the many marks of friendship which I have received from almost every one of this excellent nation; and it will always be to me a source of satisfaction to be able at any time to be of use to the English, as I have learned by experience how pleasant it is to receive kindness from foreigners.

“About this time our friendly relations began with our excellent friend General Clinton, who was the General-in-Chief of the English army in the Southern provinces of America. As is the case with every Englishman, it was at first very difficult for our acquaintance to ripen into intimacy. His first call upon us was one of ceremony, as he came as General-in-Chief, attended by his entire staff. As his general appearance and conversation were agreeable, I said to his friend, General Phillips, that I regretted that he had treated us with so much ceremony, and that a more friendly manner would have better accorded with our feelings. Afterward he invited us out to his country-seat to spend the summer, an invitation which was accepted. His country residence was magnificent, a most beautiful situation, orchard and meadows, and the Hudson River running directly in front of the house. Everything was placed at our disposal, including fruits of the most delicious flavor; indeed, of this latter article we had more

than we could eat. Our servants feasted on peaches even to satiety, and our horses, which roamed through the orchards, eagerly ate the fruit from the trees, disdaining that upon the ground, which every evening we had gathered up and given to the pigs to fatten them. It seems almost incredible, but nevertheless it is true, that with nothing but this fruit we fattened six pigs, the flesh of which was capital, only the fat was somewhat soft. Peach, apricot, and other fruit-trees are raised here without espaliers, and have trunks as thick as those of ordinary trees.

“Not far from us were the Hell Gates, which are dangerous breakers for those ships that pass through them up the river. We often saw ships in danger, but only one was wrecked and went to pieces during our stay at this place.

“General Clinton came often to visit us, but in hunter's dress, accompanied by only one aid-de-camp. On one of these occasions he said to us: ‘I feel confident that you look upon me more as a friend than a stranger; and as I feel the same toward you, you shall always be regarded by me as such.’ The last time he came to see us, he had with him the unfortunate—as he afterward became—Major Andre, who, the day afterward, set out upon the fatal expedition in which he was captured by the Americans and afterward hung as a spy. It was very sad that this pre-eminently excellent young man should have fallen a victim to his zeal and his kind heart, which led him to undertake such a precarious errand instead of leaving it to older and known officers, to whom properly the duty belonged, but whom, on that very account (as they would be more exposed to danger), he wished to save.

“We passed much of our time at this most agreeable place, but our contentment was broken in upon by a malignant fever that prevailed in New York, and of



CAPTURE OF ANDRÉ.

J. Rogers

which in our family alone, twenty fell ill, eight dangerously. Among these eight were my husband, and my daughter Gustava. One can imagine my grief and apprehension; day and night I did nothing but divide my nursing between my husband and daughter. The former was so ill that we often thought he would not survive the day; and Gustava had such violent paroxysms of fever that she entreated me, when she was shivering with the ague, to lay myself upon her, at which times she violently shook me, together with her bed, although she was only nine years old. It frequently happened that those sick of the fever died in these fits of shaking, and every day persons would tell me of fifty or sixty fresh burials, which certainly did not tend to raise my spirits. The heat which the sick suffered was so intense that their pulse beat one hundred and thirty-five times in a minute. All our servants were sick, and of course I was obliged to do everything. I was then nursing my little America, and had neither opportunity nor desire to lie down, except while giving her the breast. At such times I lay down upon the bed and fell asleep. At night I was often busied in making for my patients a lemonade of salts of wormwood, mixed with lemon-juice, sugar, and water; by which means, as all the sick in the house had them, I used up, in the space of two weeks, two full boxes of lemons, each box containing five hundred.

"We remained the entire summer of 1780 upon this lovely estate. Two Miss Robinsons came to share our loneliness and enliven our little company. They remained with us a fortnight previous to our return to the city, when the news of the arrival of a ship from 1780. England, bringing over the latest fashions, took them back again to the town. On our return to the city I scarcely recognized them in their odd and actually laughable garb, which a very pretty woman, just over from England, had

imposed upon them and the other New York ladies. This lady was with child, and did not wish it to be known. Accordingly, she made them think that in England they wore bodices that were parted in the middle, whereby the points stuck upward, hoops as large around as those of a hogshead, and very short cloaks tied up with ribbons, all of which they believed implicitly, and copied after.*

"Upon our return to New York we were received in the most friendly manner, and our friends vied with each other in making the winter pass most pleasantly. My husband, General Phillips, and their aids-de-camp, were finally exchanged in the autumn of 1780, but the rest of the troops captured at Saratoga remained prisoners.

"General Clinton, partly through friendship to my husband, and partly out of attachment to our present duke, wished to place General Riedesel in active service, where he could serve to advantage. He, therefore, by virtue of the power which an English general has in his own army, appointed him Lieutenant-General, and gave him the corresponding English allowance; which, on account of the dearness of everything (by reason of which we had difficulty in making both ends meet), proved very acceptable to us. At the same time he gave him a command at Long Island, which island lies opposite New York, being separated from it by only a narrow channel called

* The taste for fashionable frivolity and display seems to have been the only thing unaffected by the privations of that gloomy winter. Eugene Lawrence, in speaking of New York city at this time, in a paper read before the New York Historical Society, January 6th, 1857, says: "Meanwhile, in the midst of all this suffering and want, the city streets were filled with the fashions and the luxuries of Europe. The ladies crowded William Street, and the merchants spread out the most costly wares. French silks, captured in some unlucky vessels, sold readily at extravagant rates. Lutestrings and poplins, brocades, and the best broadcloth of England, were shown on the counters of William Street and Wall; and it is a curious circumstance, that, through all the war, William Prince, of Flushing, continued his advertisement of fruit and flowers, of magnolias and apricots, and of the finest grafts and the rarest seeds."

the East River. I was not able during the winter to be with him, as the house in which he had his quarters was not habitable for me, as it was possible to heat only a few rooms in it. My husband, accordingly, went back and forth, which he easily did all winter, as everything was quiet. The autumn before he was appointed to this post, he had a severe relapse of his old complaint, caused probably by a cold which he caught by going in sea-bathing while heated. He suddenly became perfectly stiff, and could not speak; and had it not been for friend Colonel Wurmb, who fortunately was in his room, it might, perhaps, have been all over with him. The doctor immediately opened a vein and rubbed him strongly, and God once more spared him to me; but his cramps, oppressions, headaches, and drowsiness increased. All the physicians gave it as their opinion that the climate thoroughly disagreed with him, and that he never would be any better as long as he remained in the Southern provinces of North America. Still, there was nothing else for us to do. My husband could not think of receiving permission to leave, and was, therefore, obliged to remain at his post.

“In the spring of 1781, I also settled down on Long Island, where we, although pretty lonesome, might have lived perfectly contented if we only could have been without solicitude; but, as the river was not frozen over, the Americans constantly attempted surprises in order to take prisoners. Major Maybaum was drawn out of his bed, and we knew that they aimed to do the same thing with my husband. Our house was situated close to the shore, and was perfectly isolated, so that if they had overcome the watch, they could easily have carried him away. Every one was therefore constantly on the watch. Throughout the entire night, at the slightest noise, he would wake up and place himself in readiness for an attack, and thus he lost considerable sleep. I also became

1781.

so accustomed to watching, that daylight would often surprise me, when I would lie down and catch a few hours' sleep; for it was only when my husband believed that I was wide-awake and on guard, that he would allow himself to sleep, so terrible was to him the thought that he might again be taken prisoner. We had from our house a magnificent prospect. Every evening I saw from my window the City of New York, entirely lighted up; and, as the city is built close to the shore, I saw its reflection in the water. We heard, also, the beating of the drums; and, if everything was particularly still, even the calls of the sentinels. We had our own boat, and could cross over in it to New York in a quarter of an hour."

During the Revolution, the house No. 1 Broadway—to which allusion has been made on a preceding page—was the head-quarters and general rendezvous of the British generals and other army officers.* In like manner,

* Connected with the house No. 1 Broadway, built in 1742, and now the oldest house in New York city, there is quite an amusing reminiscence. Previous to this year (1742) the site was occupied by an old tavern kept by a Mrs. Kocks, built fifty years before by her husband, Pieter Kocks, an officer in the Dutch service, and an active leader in the Indian war of 1693. Connected with this personage there is an interesting as well as amusing episode. According to Judge Daly, in *The Historical Magazine* for January, 1871, it appears that in 1654 this same Pieter Kocks, then a single man, residing in New Amsterdam, brought an action, in the Court of Burgomeisters and Schepens, against Anna Van Vorst, who is described as a maid living at Ahasimus, for a breach of promise of marriage mutually entered into between them, in confirmation of which he had made her certain gifts. It would seem, however, as the record states, that the lady had misgivings, and was not disposed to marry him. On her part, she proved, by two witnesses, that he had agreed to give her up, and had promised to give her an acquittal in writing. But the court would not excuse her; "as the promise of marriage," says the court, "was made before the Omnipotent God, it shall remain in force;" and they held that neither should marry any other person without the approval of the court; that the presents should remain with the lady until they were married, or until, by mutual consent, they were exempted from the contract; and they were equally condemned in the costs of the suit. This Anna Van Vorst is supposed to have been a daughter of the first emigrant by Vrouwtje Ides, and was the ancestor of our fellow-citizen Hon. Hooper C. Van Vorst.

Since speaking of this house on page 152, a writer in the *New York Even-*

the BEEKMAN HOUSE (the site of the present *Journal of Commerce* Building) was at the same time the head-quarters of the British naval officers. This continued to be so during the entire war, and, indeed, had been so before the Revolution. Admirals Charles Hardy (Admiral of the Blue) and John Digby (Admiral of the Red) were often here. The



THE TOMBS.

late King of England, William IV, who, as the Duke of Clarence and a midshipman, came over here with Admiral Digby, in the *St. George*, in 1782, made this house his place of resort on shore. His German tastes were shown by his taking every occasion, when off duty, to skate on the Kolck or Collect Pond (now the site of the

ing Post has given currency again to the story that it was built by Captain Kennedy. Let this question be forever set at rest. The Watts family acquired the ownership to the property of No. 1 Broadway through Sir Peter, Admiral Warren, who, as stated on page 152, built the house. Captain Archibald Kennedy, who, late in life, succeeded to the Scotch Earldom of Cassilis, married a daughter of John Watts—a niece of Sir John Johnson's wife, *née* Miss Mary Watts—and by this marriage acquired the property in question. This is all the connection that Kennedy ever had with the house in dispute.

Tombs). His companion on these occasions was Gulian Verplanck*—the grand-uncle of the late Gulian C. Verplanck—who once rescued him from drowning when he had broken through the ice and fallen into the Pond. The changes which have taken place from time to time in the lines of roads and streets, have greatly altered the aspect of the entire neighborhood. The calm and quiet life of the ancient Hollanders in this locality has given place to scenes of which they had little dreamed. Within a stone's-throw of the *Journal of Commerce* Building, Wall Street, with its fibers stretching out into every part of the civilized globe, controls the destinies of millions of human beings. Where the good Mrs. Beekman and her five daughters attended to their household duties in the old Dutch kitchen, a steam-engine now drives a printing-press. Where they sat waiting for news from "home" by ships that were months in coming, editors now sit, and receive in the afternoon the morning's news in England and Holland.†

At length a definite treaty of peace was entered into by the United States and Great Britain on the 3d of September, 1783; and on the 25th of November of the same year—just seven years, two months, and ten days
1783. from the time the British had occupied New York in triumph—Washington entered the city at noon—at the

* Afterward President of the Bank of New York, in which office he continued until his death, in 1799.

† William Beekman had a country-seat three miles from the City Hall, and a house on his plantation in the lower part of the city. His down-town house was located on the spot which is now the site of the *Journal of Commerce* building. The old road to the fort, from the ferry on the East River, then at Peck Slip, ran along the shore nearly to the foot of Wall Street, when it turned and passed the Beekman House, which was probably erected with reference to this highway. In 1712, a negro riot broke out near Hanover Square, and Adrian Beekman (a son of Gerard, who had been owner of this and other property), rushing out of his residence to help quell the insurrection, was stabbed by a negro. As a result of this riot, nineteen slaves were executed.



J. Rogers

J. M. Nevins

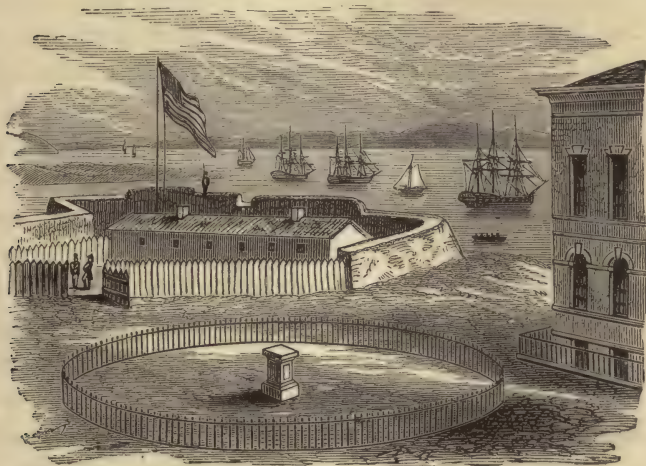
RECEIPTION OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON AT NEW YORK.

APRIL 23RD 1789

New York, Vinson, & Yorsdon.



same time that the British troops, having, as they supposed, prevented the immediate hoisting of American colors, by knocking off the cleats and greasing the flag-staff on Fort George, evacuated the city and sailed slowly down the bay. But this device availed them little. New cleats were at once nailed to the pole; and before the British disappeared in the offing they heard the thunders of American cannon, proclaiming, as the Stars and Stripes were run up, the downfall of British supremacy in America!



THE BOWLING GREEN AND FORT GEORGE IN 1783.

CHAPTER VIII.

A HISTORY of this period would be incomplete without an allusion to the newspapers published in the City of New York before and during the American Revolution.

The first newspaper published in New York city was the *New York Gazette*, established by William Bradford in October, 1725, just twenty-one years subsequent to the

1725. establishment at Boston of the first newspaper published in America—the *Newsletter*. It was printed on a half sheet of foolscap, with large and almost worn-out type. There is a large volume of these papers in the New York Society Library, in good preservation. The advertisements do not average more than three or four a week, and are mostly of runaway negroes. The ship-news was diminutive enough—now and then a ship and some half-dozen sloops arriving and leaving in the course of the week. Such was the daily paper published in this, the commercial metropolis of America, one hundred and forty-six years ago!

Eight years after the establishment of Bradford's *Gazette*, the *New York Weekly Journal* was commenced by John Peter Zenger, and was distinguished for the raciness of its advertisements.*

* One of these advertisements was as follows:

"Whereas, the wife of Peter Smith has left his bed and board, the public are cautioned against trusting her, as he will pay no debts of her contracting.

"N. B.—The best of garden-seeds sold by the same Peter Smith, at the sign of the Golden Hammer."

The third paper published in New York was called the *Evening Post*. It was commenced by Henry De Forest in 1746. It was remarkable chiefly for stupidity, looseness of syntax, and worse orthography, and died before it was able to walk alone. 1746.

In 1752, the *New York Mercury* was commenced, and, in 1763, the title was changed to the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*. This paper was established by Hugh Gainé at the sign of the Bible and Crown, Hanover Square. It was conducted with taste and ability, and became the best newspaper in the colonies. 1752. 1763.

In 1763, Gainé was arraigned by the Assembly for publishing a part of the proceedings without permission, and withal incorrectly. He was a gentleman of a kind spirit, and never had the power to withhold an apology when it was asked; he accordingly apologized, was reprimanded, and discharged.

As the storm of war drew on in 1775, the *Mercury* contained a series of patriotic papers, under the signature of the "Watch-Tower." But as the British drew near to New York, the patriotism of Gainé began to cool; and, during the whole course of the Revolutionary War, his *Mercury* afforded very accurate indications of the state of the contest. When with the *Whigs*, Hugh Gainé was a *Whig*; when with the *Royalists*, he was loyal. When the contest was doubtful, equally doubtful was the politics of Hugh Gainé. In short, he was the most perfect pattern of the genuine *non-committal*. On the arrival of the British army, he removed to Newark, but soon returned to the city, and published a paper devoted to the cause of the Crown. His course was a fruitful theme for the wags of the day; and, at the peace, a poetical petition from Gainé to the Senate of the State, setting forth his life and conduct, was got up with a good deal of humor. His paper closed with the war.

Another paper, called the *New York Gazette*, was commenced by Wayman, the former associate of Parker. In

1766. 1766, Wayman was arrested and imprisoned for a contempt of the Assembly, upon no other charge than that of two typographical errors in printing the speech of Sir Henry Moore, the Governor of the colony. One of these errors consisted in printing the word *never* for *ever*, by reason of which the meaning of the sentence was reversed. The Assembly, however, was more rigid in this case, from the suspicion entertained that this error was intentional; but such was clearly not the case.

A paper called the *New York Chronicle* was published during the years 1761-'62, and then died. The *New York Packet* was next published in 1763, but how long it lived is not known. In 1766, Holt established the *New York Journal, or General Advertiser*, which, in the course of the year, was united with *Parker's Gazette*, the *Journal* being printed as a separate paper. John Holt edited the first Whig paper published in this city; nor, as in the case of Hugh Gaine, did his patriotism come and go as danger approached or receded from the city. In 1774, Holt discarded the King's arms from the title of his
1774. paper, and substituted a serpent, cut into pieces,
1775. with the expressive motto, "*Unite or die.*" In January, 1775, the snake was united, and coiled with the tail in its mouth, forming a double ring. On the body of the snake, beginning at the head, were the following lines:

" United now, alive and free—
Firm on this basis Liberty shall stand,
And, thus supported, ever bless our land,
Till time becomes Eternity."

The designs both of 1774 and 1775 were excellent—the first by a visible illustration, showing the disjointed state of the colonies; and the second presenting an

emblem of their strength when united. Holt maintained his integrity to the last. When the British took possession of New York, he removed to Esopus (now Kingston), and revived his paper. On the burning of that village by the enemy in 1777, he removed to Poughkeepsie, and published the *Journal* there until the peace of 1783, when he returned to New York, and resumed his paper under the title of the *Independent Gazette, or the New York Journal revived*. Holt was an unflinching patriot, but did not long survive the achievement of his country's freedom. He fell a victim to the yellow fever in 1798. The paper was continued by his widow for a little while, but ultimately fell into the hands of that celebrated political gladiator, James Cheetham.

The celebrated James Rivington began his paper in 1733, under the formidable title of *Rivington's New York Gazette; or, the Connecticut, New Jersey, Hudson River, and Quebec Weekly Advertiser*. The imprint read as follows: "Printed at his *ever open* and uninfluenced press, fronting Hanover Square." It is well known that Rivington was the royal printer during the whole of the Revolutionary War; and it is amusing to trace the degrees by which his toryism manifested itself as the storm gathered over the country. The title of the paper originally contained the cut of a large ship under full sail. In 1774, the ship sailed out of sight, and the King's arms appeared in its place; and, in 1775, the words *ever open and uninfluenced* were withdrawn from the imprint. These symptoms were disliked by the patriots of the country; and, in November, 1775, a party of armed men from Connecticut entered the city on horseback, beset his habitation, broke into his printing-office, destroyed his presses, and threw his types into *pi*. They then carried them away, melted, and cast them into bullets. Rivington's paper was now effectually stopped, until the British army took possession of the city.

Rivington himself, meantime, had been to England, where he procured a new printing apparatus, and, returning, established the *New York Royal Gazette*, published by James Rivington, printer to the King's most excellent Majesty. During the remaining five years of the war, Rivington's paper was more distinguished for its lies and its disloyalty than any other journal in the colonies. It was published twice a week; and four other newspapers were published in this city at the same time, under the sanction of the British officers,—one arranged for each day, so that, in fact, they had the advantages of a daily paper. It has been said and believed that Rivington, after all, was a secret traitor to the Crown, and, in fact, the secret spy for General Washington. Be this, however, as it may, as the war drew to a close, and the prospects of the King's arms began to darken, Rivington's loyalty began to cool down; and by 1787 the King's arms had
 1787. disappeared; the ship again sailed into sight; and the title of the paper, no more the *Royal Gazette*, was simply *Rivington's New York Gazette and Universal Advertiser*. But, although he labored to play the republican, he was distrusted by the people, and his paper was relinquished in the course of that year.

From this brief sketch of the history of newspapers, from their first introduction into the city down to the period of the Revolution, an idea may be formed of the germ of the newspaper-press, which is now one of the chief glories of our country. The public press of no other country equals that of New York city and the United States, either on the score of its moral or its intellectual power, or for the exertion of that manly independence of thought and action, which ought ever to characterize the press of a free people.*

* The whole number of periodicals issued in the United States is 5,983, with 73 to be added for the Territories, 353 for the Dominion of Canada, and 29 for

What a prophet would the great wizard-novelist of Scotland have been, had the prediction which he put into the mouth of Galeotti Martivalle, the astrologer of Louis the Eleventh, in the romance of Quentin Durward, been written at the period of its date! Louis, who has justly been held as the Tiberius of France, is represented as paying a visit to the mystic workshop of the astrologer, whom his majesty discovered to be engaged in the then newly-invented art of multiplying manuscripts by the intervention of machinery,—in other words, the apparatus of printing.

the British colonies,—making a grand total of 6,438; of which 637 are daily, 118 tri-weekly, 129 semi-weekly, 4,642 weekly, 21 biweekly, 100 semi-monthly, 715 monthly, 14 bimonthly, and 62 quarterly. New York State has the largest number of publications—894 (of which 371 are published and printed in New York city), and Nevada has the smallest number issued in any State—only 15. Nevada has more daily than weekly papers, and is unique in this respect, every other State having from three to twelve times as many weeklies as dailies. Tri-weekly papers are more common in the South than semi-weeklies, while in the Northern States the facts are reversed.

New York has 89 dailies, being the largest number published in any State. Pennsylvania is second, with 61. Next comes Illinois, with 38; and California has 34, being the fourth on the list. Delaware and Florida have each one daily paper. Kansas has as many as Vermont, West Virginia, Mississippi, and Arkansas combined. Nebraska and Nevada have each more dailies than either Oregon, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Vermont, West Virginia, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Maine, or Mississippi.

Of the 73 publications issued regularly in the Territories, 13 are daily 50 weekly, 3 tri-weekly, 4 semi-weekly, 1 monthly, 1 semi-monthly, and 1 biweekly.

The papers of New York State have the largest circulation, averaging 7,411 each issue. Massachusetts is second, with 5,709 average; then comes the District of Columbia, with 4,323. As New York papers circulate everywhere, while those of California do not go very much out of the State, it is evident that the papers have a better local support than in other States of the American Union.

In the District of Columbia there is one newspaper published for every three square miles of territory. Massachusetts has one to 30 square miles, and Rhode Island one to 50. Then comes New York, with one to 57. Connecticut has one to 60, New Jersey one to 63, Texas one to 2,345, Florida one to 2,693; while in the Territories one newspaper spreads its circulation over no less than 14,465 square miles.

For the names of the publications published in New York city, the curious reader is referred to the *American Newspaper Directory*, of this city.

"Can things of such mechanical and terrestrial import," inquired the King, "interest the thoughts of one before whom Heaven has unrolled her own celestial volumes?"

"My brother," replied the astrologer, "believe me, that, in considering the consequences of this invention, I read with as certain augury, as by any combination of the heavenly bodies, the most awful and portentous changes. When I reflect with what slow and limited supplies the stream of science hath hitherto descended to us; how difficult to be obtained by those most ardent in its search; how certain to be neglected by all who love their ease; how liable to be diverted or altogether dried up by the invasions of barbarism,—can I look forward without wonder and astonishment to the lot of a succeeding generation, on whom knowledge will descend like the first and second rain,—*uninterrupted, unabated, unbounded*; fertilizing some grounds and overflowing others; changing the whole form of social life; establishing and overthrowing religions; erecting and destroying kingdoms—"

"Hold! hold, Galeotti!" cried the King; "shall these changes come in our time?"

"No, my royal brother," replied Martivalle; "this invention may be likened to a young tree which is now newly planted, but shall, in succeeding generations, bear fruit as fatal, yet as precious, as that of the Garden of Eden,—the knowledge, namely, of good and of evil."

THIRD PERIOD.

1783—1871.

From the Evacuation of New York City by the British to the present day.

CHAPTER I.

"THE city is ruined by the war, but its future greatness is unquestionable." So wrote a citizen of New York, at the close of the Revolutionary War, to a friend; and never was there a truer prophecy uttered. The trade of the city was indeed "ruined;" her treasury was empty; and her people were yet divided by domestic feuds. Still, this state of things could not last long. The position of New York among the colonies had already become too important to be ignored for any length of time; and the same causes which, at an early period, made New York the center of the colonial interest, were to continue in operation until she should become that which she now is,—the metropolis of America. The Colonial Congress of 1765, the Provincial Congress of 1776, the selection of herself as the seat of the General Government in 1788, and the inauguration of Washington in 1789, were "all hints of the empire that was to be."

1783.

On the 13th of September, 1788, the adoption of the Federal Constitution was publicly announced; and New York was chosen as the seat of the General Government. This action of the Convention was peculiarly gratifying to the citizens of New York, who at once took steps to celebrate the occasion with fitting ceremonies.*

It is well known that the festivities attendant upon such a momentous occasion should be embalmed for American generations yet unborn. The adoption of the Federal Constitution—the instrument which was to bind the almost disjointed members of the republic together, as one people—was the most important event that the citizens of New York had ever been called upon to commemorate. The period intervening between the formation of the Constitution by the Convention, and its adoption by the number of States requisite to give it validity, was one of deep anxiety to the patriots of that day, not unmingled with fears as to the final result. A violent opposition sprung up in various parts of the Confederation, which was so successfully fomented by demagogues, and by those who feared they might lose weight in the national scale, should the new Federal edifice be erected, that the friends of the Constitution, seeing nothing better than civil tumult and anarchy in the prospective, should that instrument be rejected, entertained the most lively apprehen-

* The account given in the text of the PROCESSION in honor of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, as well as the narrative of the INAUGURATION BALL, is taken from the writings of the late Colonel William L. Stone, for thirty years the editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. It is believed to comprise the only faithful historical record, political, festive, and fashionable, of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, the organization of the Government, the pageantry attending it, and the demonstrations which followed that important epoch in our national history. The particulars were collected by Colonel Stone, with much care and labor, from such printed accounts as could be found in the scattered remnants of the little dingy newspapers of that day, and, also, such facts as were yet dimly floating in the recollections of those few who were then surviving and had been actors in the scenes described.

sions upon the subject. There were, likewise, among the opponents of the proposed Constitution, some good men and real patriots, who honestly believed, that, in the event of its adoption, too much power would pass from the States to the Federal Congress and the Executive. The ablest tongues and pens in the Union were brought into action; and it was that contest which combined the united wisdom of Hamilton, Jay, and Madison, in the *Federalist*,—the ablest exposition of the Constitution that ever has been, or, perhaps, ever will be, written.

The action, however, of the respective States was slow. The proceedings of their conventions were watched with absorbing interest; and, when it was found that the voice of New York would turn the scale (the Convention being in session in Poughkeepsie), all eyes were eagerly turned toward that quarter. The chief reason of New York's reluctance to come into the Constitutional Union was the fear—in view of the rising destiny of their city and State—of making over too much of their local power to the central Government; especially their great share of revenue from imports, and their commanding position between New England and the South and West. The contest, however, was not long in doubt. Hamilton redoubled his wonderful efforts, and Livingston put the whole energies of his capacious mind in requisition, and the Federalists triumphed. The news was received in New York city with unbounded delight; the clubs celebrated the event with dinners and great festivity, and the citizens gave themselves up to the most unequivocal evidences of gratification. But private manifestations of the public feeling were held not to be worthy of the occasion, and no time was lost in concerting the necessary measures for a public commemoration of the event, upon the most extensive and splendid scale that the public means would allow. Nor has the pageantry of any American celebration since that

day—not even excepting the Atlantic Cable Celebration of 1859—excelled it in the ardor of its enthusiasm, or in the splendor of its effect. In describing the procession on this occasion, Colonel Stone says:—

“The procession was organized ‘in the fields,’ above the city; thence it moved down Broadway to Great Dock Street; thence through Hanover Square and Queen (now Pearl) Street, up to Chatham; through Chatham to Division, and thence across, through Bullock Street, to the grounds surrounding the country-seat of Nicholas Bayard, near the present junction of Broadway and Grand Street.

“A volume would scarce suffice to detail the particulars necessary to a full description of the flags and emblems, and patriotic decorations, which graced the many divisions and subdivisions of this brilliant pageant—altogether exceeding anything of a kindred character previously exhibited in the New World. After a brilliant military escort came Captain Moore, in the character and ancient costume of Christopher Columbus, preceded and followed by a band of foresters, with axes, suitably appareled. The next division consisted of a large number of farmers, among whom were Nicholas Cruger, driving a six-ox team, and the present venerable John Watts, holding a plow. All the implements of husbandry and gardening were borne in the procession, and the Baron Poelnitz attended a threshing-machine. Their horses were handsomely caparisoned, and led by boys in white uniforms. The tailors made a very brilliant display of numbers, uniforms, and decorations of various descriptions. In the procession of the bakers were boys in beautiful dresses, representing the several States, with roses in their hands. There were likewise an equal number of journeymen in appropriate uniforms, with the implements of the calling, and a loaf of bread was borne in the procession

ten feet long and three wide, on which were inscribed the names of the several States. The display of the brewers was happily conceived, and appropriate. In addition to their banners fluttering gayly in the air, they paraded cars with hogsheads and tuns, decorated with festoons of hop-vines, intertwined with handfuls of barley. Seated on the top of a tun was a living Bacchus—a beautiful boy of eight years old—dressed in flesh-colored silk, fitted snugly to the limbs, and thus disclosing all the fine symmetrical proportions of his body. In his hand he held a silver goblet, with which he quaffed the nut-brown, and on his head was a garland of hops and barley-ears. The coopers appeared in great numbers. Their emblem of the States were thirteen boys, each thirteen years of age, dressed in white, with green ribbons at their ankles, a keg under their left arms, and a bough of white oak in their right hands. Upon an immensely large car, drawn by horses appropriately adorned, the coopers were at work. They had a broken cask, representing the old confederacy, the staves of which all their skill could not keep together. In despair at the repeated *nullification* which their work experienced, they all at once betook themselves to the construction of an entirely new piece of work. Their success was complete, and a fine, tight, iron-bound keg arose from their hand, bearing the name of the New Constitution. The procession of butchers was long, and their appearance highly respectable. Upon the car in their procession was a roasted ox, of a thousand pounds, which was given as a sweet morsel to the hungry multitude at the close of the day. The car of the sons of St. Crispin was drawn by four milk-white steeds, beautifully caparisoned. The tanners, curriers, and peruke-makers followed next in order, each with various banners and significant emblems. The furriers, from the novelty of their display, attracted great attention. It was truly picturesque. Their marshal

was followed by an Indian in his native costume and armor, as though coming wild from the wilderness, laden with raw furs for the market. A procession of journey-men furriers followed, each bearing some dressed or manufactured article. These were succeeded by a horse bearing two packs of furs, and a huge bear sitting upon each. The horse was led by an Indian in a beaver blanket, and black plumes waving upon his head. In the rear came one of their principal men, dressed in a superb scarlet blanket, wearing an elegant cap and plumes, and smoking a tomahawk pipe. After these, in order, marched the stone-masons, brick-layers, painters and glaziers, cabinet and chair makers, musical-instrument makers, and the upholsterers. The decorations of the societies vied with each other in taste and variety, but that of the upholsterers excelled. The Federal chair of state was borne upon a car superbly carpeted, and above which was a rich canopy, nineteen feet high, overlaid with deep-blue satin, hung with festoons and fringes, and glittering in the sun as with 'barbaric pearl and gold'. It was sufficiently gorgeous to have filled the eye of a Persian emperor, in the height of Oriental splendor and magnificence. Twelve subdivisions of various trades succeeded in the prescribed order, after which came the most imposing part of the pageant. It was the Federal ship *Hamilton*,—a perfectly-constructed frigate of thirty-two guns, twenty-seven feet keel, and ten feet beam, with galleries and everything complete and in proportion, both hull and rigging. She was manned by thirty seamen and marines, with officers, all in uniform, and commanded by that distinguished Revolutionary veteran, Commodore Nicholson. The ship was drawn by ten horses; and, in the progress of the procession, went through every nautical preparation and movement for storms, calms, and squalls, and for the sudden shifting of winds. In passing Liberty Street, she made a signal for a

pilot, and a boat came off and put one on board. On arriving before Constable's house, Mrs. Edgar came to the window, and presented the ship with a suit of rich silk colors; the yards were instantly manned, and the sailors gave three hearty cheers. When passing Old Slip, a Spanish government-ship gave her a salute of thirteen guns, which was returned by the *Hamilton* with as much promptness as though she had actually been a ship of war upon the wide ocean. Next after the ship came the pilots and the Marine Society. To these succeeded the printers, book-binders, and stationers, led by those veterans of the type and quill, Hugh Gaine and Samuel Landon. They had a car, upon which the printers were at work; the press was plied briskly, and impressions of a patriotic ode distributed, as they were taken, among the multitude. Their banners were worthy of their proud vocation. To these succeeded twenty-one subdivisions, of as many different trades, each moving under its own banners; after which followed the learned professions and the literary societies. The lawyers were preceded by John Lawrence, Esq., supported by John Cozine and Robert Troup. The Philological Society, headed by Josiah Ogden Hoffman, Esq., the president, was the next. One of the founders of this society was Noah Webster, LL. D., the great American lexicographer, who was in the procession. The standard was borne by William Dunlap, Esq. The officers and members of the university came next, and their successors were the Chamber of Commerce and merchants, headed by John Broome, president. William Maxwell, vice-president of the Bank, followed in a chariot, and William Laight, the secretary, was mounted upon a noble steed. Physicians, strangers, and gentlemen who were members of Congress, then in session in New York, closed the civic procession; and the whole was brought up by a detachment of artillery.

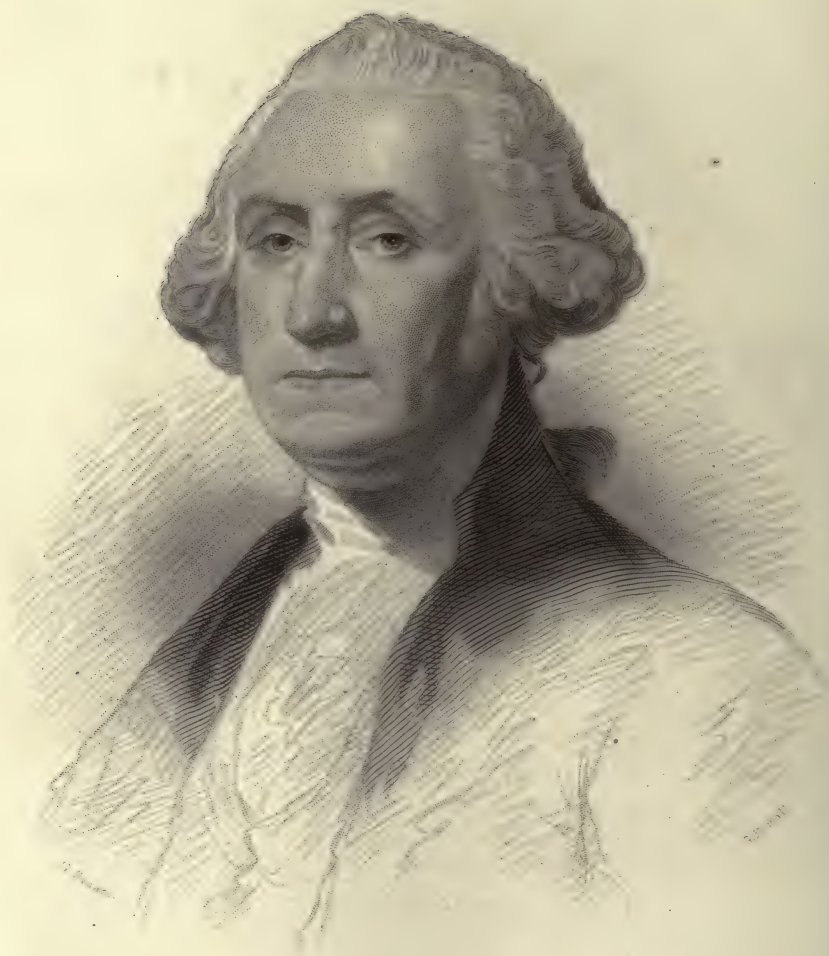
“The procession contained nearly five thousand people; and the spectacle was more solemn and imposing, and more truly splendid, than had ever before been presented to the eye of man on the American continent. It was, indeed, a pageant of indescribable interest, and, to most, of double attraction; the occasion being one in which the deepest sympathies were enlisted, and it being also the first display of pomp and circumstance which they had ever witnessed. The whole population of the city had given themselves up to the enjoyment of the occasion; and gladness, in all its fullness, was depicted in every countenance, while a noble enthusiasm swelled every bosom. The bond of union was complete, and every man felt as though his country had been rescued, in the last hour, from the most imminent peril.

“When the procession reached the country-seat of Nicholas Bayard, a noble banquet was found already spread for the whole assemblage, beneath a grand pavilion temple covering a surface of eight by six hundred feet, with plates for six thousand people. This splendid rural structure had been erected in the short space of four days, and the citizens were indebted for it to the taste and enterprise of Major L’Enfant, by whom it was designed, and under whose direction the work was executed. The two principal sides of the building consisted of three large pavilions, connected by a colonnade of about one hundred and fifty feet front, and forming two sides of an obtuse angle; the middle pavilion, rising majestically above the whole, terminated with a dome, on the top of which was Fame, with her trumpet, proclaiming a new era, and holding in her left hand the standard of the United States, and a roll of parchment on which were inscribed, in large characters, the three remarkable epochs of the War of the Revolution,—the Declaration of Independence, the Alliance with France, and the Peace of 1783. At her side

was the American eagle, with extended wings, resting on a crown of laurel gracing the top of the pedestal. Over six of the principal pillars of this colonnade, escutcheons were placed, inscribed with the ciphers of the several powers in alliance with the United States, viz.: France, Spain, Sweden, Prussia, Holland, Morocco; and over these were displayed the colors of those respective nations, which added greatly to the brilliancy of the entablature, already decorated with festoons and branches of laurels. The extremities of this angle were joined by a table forming part of a circle, and from this ten more colonnades were extended, each four hundred and forty feet in length, radiating like the rays of a circle; the whole having one common center, which was also the center of the middle pavilion, where sat the President of Congress. At the extremity of each colonnade was a pavilion, nearly similar to the three before mentioned, having their outsides terminated in a pediment crowned with escutcheons, on which were inscribed the names of the States now united. The whole of the colonnades were adorned with curtains elegantly folded, and with wreaths and festoons of laurels dispersed with beautiful and tasteful effect. The various bands of music which had enlivened the march of the procession were concentrated in the area within the angle first described, during the banquet, but so disposed as not to intercept the prospect from the seat of the president, through the whole length of the ten colonnades. The repast concluded, the procession was reorganized, and marched again into the city, and was dismissed at the Bowling Green, where the Federal ship fired a closing salute."

Thus passed the 23d of July, 1788, in the City of New York,—a day which deserves to be remembered by the patriot, the politician, and the philosopher, as that on which the people of the first city in the Western World

gave simultaneously the strongest and most enthusiastic demonstration of their attachment to the great principles of "our Federal Union," as those principles were understood by the distinguished architects who formed the civil structure. On that occasion all narrow and bigoted distinctions were lost, and absorbed in that noblest of passions,—the love of country, and the determination to secure and preserve the blessings of civil and religious liberty. ESTO PERPETUA!



*From the Original Picture in the London Museum
taken from life in 1795*

CHAPTER II.

THE winter festivities of 1788-'89, however, were succeeded by matters of a public nature, which quickened the pulse of the politician, and excited a lively degree of attention, not only in the City of New York, but throughout the borders of the young republic.

1788.

1789.

The elections under the new Constitution had been held; WASHINGTON—the man of all others “first in the hearts of his countrymen”—had been spontaneously designated by the people as their first Chief Magistrate under the new system; and the constituted authorities elect were about to assemble in New York, to give action to the new political machinery. Congress, consisting for the first time of two branches,—a Senate and House of Representatives,—was to meet on the 4th day of March, 1789; and the thoughts of all were directed with deep solicitude to the period at which their labors were to be commenced.

The day, “big with the fate of Rome,” at length arrived; but it brought not a quorum of either House; for although the men of those days cannot be safely charged with a deficiency of patriotism, yet they had no sinister or ambitious purposes to accomplish, and, therefore, did not assemble in organized bodies of partisans at the first tap of the political drum. Adjourning over from day to day, until nearly the “ides of March” had arrived, without any accession being made to their numbers, on the 11th of that month the senators present jointly addressed

a circular letter to the absentees, urging their prompt attention to assist in putting the Government into operation. The request was repeated by letter on the 18th.

The House of Representatives was similarly circumstanced. Only thirteen members appeared on the day appointed, and these were from the five States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and South Carolina,—a commonwealth which, though always proud and high-spirited, was then as anxious to come *into* the Union as she seems since to have been to break *out* of it. The members gathered in by degrees, though slowly; and the House, like the Senate, adjourned over daily, until the 1st of April, when a quorum appeared, and Frederick Augustus Muhlenburgh, of Pennsylvania, was elected Speaker. Among the most distinguished patriots then present were Roger Sherman, Fisher Ames, Richard Bland Lee, James Madison, Elias Boudinot, and Thomas Tudor Tucker.

The members of the Senate came in still more tardily; but, on the 6th of April, the arrival of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, enabled them to form a quorum and commence their labors. John Langdon was elected president of the Senate, *pro tem.*, and Samuel A. Otis, secretary. Both Houses thus being organized, they proceeded to business,—their first act being to canvass the votes returned for President and Vice-President, as prescribed in the new Constitution. At the time the election by the people was held, but ten States had placed themselves within the pale of the new Constitution. The whole number of votes cast was sixty-nine; and so entirely did the Father of his Country enjoy the affection of his children, that, without the aid of caucuses, or nominating conventions, every vote was given for GEORGE WASHINGTON. “If we look over the catalogue of the first magistrates of nations, whether they have been denominated presidents

or consuls, kings or princes, where shall we find one whose commanding talents and virtues, whose overruling good fortune, have so completely united all hearts and voices in his favor,—who enjoyed the esteem and admiration of foreign nations and his fellow-citizens with equal unanimity? Qualities so uncommon are no common blessing to the country that possesses them. But it was by these great qualities, and their benign effects, that Providence had marked out the first head of this great nation, with a hand so distinctly visible as to have been seen by all men and mistaken by none.”* By the Constitution, while it bore the unadulterated impress of the wisdom of its framers, and before it had been impaired by amendment, the candidate receiving the second highest number of votes was to be declared the Vice-President. The lot fell upon one who, during the whole combat of the Revolution, had been in the halls of legislation what his illustrious compeer had been in the field,—first in wisdom and foremost in action.†

The gratifying result having been thus ascertained agreeably to the constitutional forms, Charles Thomson, the secretary of the old Congress, was dispatched to Mount Vernon, as a commissioner, to notify the chieftain of his election. Meantime a discussion arose in both Houses, resulting in an irreconcilable difference between them, of a character at once delicate and interesting. It called forth great talent, and first awakened those feelings of democratic jealousy and distrust of titles and power, of which we have seen so much since. Not that our modern republicans are opposed, *per se*, to titles of a subordinate character, since for this species of distinction no

* Inaugural Address of the first Vice-President—the elder Adams.

† The vote stood as follows: George Washington, 69; John Adams, 34; John Jay, 9; Robert H. Harrison, 6; John Rutledge, 6; John Hancock, 4; George Clinton, 3; Samuel Huntington, 2; John Milton, 2; and one each for James Armstrong, Edward Telfair, and Benjamin Lincoln.

people on earth appear so fond, or in fact enjoy so much, or adhere to it with greater tenacity. Many of the most respectable citizens were constant listeners to the debates of which we have just been speaking; for they were not only interested in the principle involved, but loved to study the characters of those noble spirits who were now assembled to consummate the revolution which their wisdom and valor had achieved, by reducing the discordant members of the republic to order, and adjusting the details of a government, under the firm but harmonious action of which, complicated as it was, it was hoped the principles of civil and religious freedom would for ages find shelter and protection. The question at issue was upon the adoption of some respectful title by which the President of the United States should be addressed in their official intercourse with him. The first proposition in the Senate was, that the official address should be "HIS EXCELLENCY." But this was not considered as sufficiently elevated. It was at length determined by that body, that the address should be—"HIS HIGHNESS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AND THE PROTECTOR OF THEIR LIBERTIES." But the House of Representatives obstinately refused to sanction any title whatever, and declared that the constitutional address—"TO THE PRESIDENT"—was the only title which, as consistent republicans, they could sanction. Committees of conference were appointed, but to no purpose. The indomitable spirit of the House of Representatives was not to be moved. The Senate finally resolved "that it would be proper to address the President by some respectful title; but, for the sake of harmony, they would for the present act in conformity with the House of Representatives." And thus the matter has rested to this day.

Summoned by the worthy messenger of Congress to repair to the seat of government and assume the high trust which had been conferred upon him by the people,

the progress of the President-elect, from the shades of Vernon to New York, was like a triumphant procession along the whole distance. At Philadelphia he was met by Governor St. Clair, General Mifflin, and other distinguished citizens, with the most rapturous enthusiasm. A grand banquet was prepared, of which he partook; and addresses were presented to him from all classes of the people, expressive of their gratitude for his past services, their joy for his present elevation, and their confidence in his future administration. As he passed through the streets, the welkin rang with their joyous acclamations, and shouts of "Long live George Washington, the father of his people," resounded from thousands of voices. But, however flattering would have been these spontaneous marks of popular affection to ordinary mortals, the conduct of the great chief on the occasion illustrated the republican virtue of dignified humility, and showed how excellent is glory when earned by virtue. Instead of assuming the pomp of royalty, or of any personal superiority, he sought throughout to prove himself, not only the friend of the people, but one of them.

An escort attended him from the hospitable city of Penn, until he was received by the citizens of Trenton, into which place he was conducted by the civil and military authorities of New Jersey, with every patriotic demonstration of respect and joy. This place had been rendered memorable by the capture of the Hessians, and by the repulse of the British troops near the bridge over the Delaware, the night before the Battle of Trenton. Recollecting these circumstances, the ladies of that city formed and executed the design of testifying their gratitude to the chieftain for the protection of their daughters, by celebrating those actions in their pageant. For this purpose a triumphal arch was raised on the bridge, of twenty feet span, supported by thirteen pillars, each of

which was entwined with wreaths of evergreens. The arch was covered with branches of laurel, and decorated on the inside with evergreens and flowers. Suitable inscriptions were tastefully disposed, intertwined with flowers of various hues. On the center of the arch above stood a dome bearing the dates of the glorious actions referred to, inscribed in letters of gold, and enwreathed with flowers. The summit of the dome displayed a large sun-flower, which, directing to the sun, signified, in the language of Flora, "*To you alone*,"—an emblem of the unanimity of the people in his favor. Assembled beneath the arch were many ladies, surrounded by their daughters, to welcome their former deliverer and defender. As the chieftain passed beneath the arch, a choir of girls, dressed in white, and crowned with wreaths and chaplets of flowers, sung a *sonata* composed for the occasion, commencing—

"Welcome, mighty chief, once more."

Each of the white-robed misses carried a basket of flowers, which, as the concluding line was sung—

"Strew your hero's way with flowers,"—

were scattered in the path as he advanced. The pageant was simple and beautiful; and the General returned thanks for the compliment in a card which was published at the time, and in which the white-robed maidens were particularly mentioned.

Thence to Elizabethtown, the journey of the chieftain was a continued pageant, in which no means were left untried by the people to testify their attachment to the ruler of their choice. At this point, preparations had been made to receive their illustrious fellow-citizen by the authorities of New York. A splendid barge, constructed for the occasion, and elegantly decorated, had been dispatched thither to receive the beloved soldier and states-

man in a manner corresponding with his exalted character, and the dignity of the station he was about to fill. The barge was rowed by thirteen masters of vessels,—Thomas Randall, Esq., acting as cockswain, and commanded by Commodore Nicholson. A deputation from the Senate and House of Representatives, together with the Chancellor of State, the Adjutant-General, and the Recorder of the city, proceeded to Elizabethtown in the barge, which was accompanied by two others, one being occupied by the Board of the Treasury, and the other by the Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Secretary of War.

The embarkation took place on the morning of April 23d—as clear and beautiful a day as could be desired. A salvo of artillery announced the departure of the flotilla from the Jersey shore, and the spectacle, as the fleet of boats which had joined the procession emerged from the narrow pass of the Kills into the noble bay of New York, was of the most animating description. From every point, the smaller craft, of all kinds and degrees, sped their way thither to join in the fleet. All the flags and nautical decorations upon which hands could be laid for the occasion were put in requisition, and were now fluttering in the breeze, as the thousand boats danced lightly over the blue waters, and the many thousands of oars, briskly plied, flashed in the sunbeams, as with every stroke they were lifted from the foam. Every ship in the harbor was gayly dressed for the occasion, excepting the *Galveston*, a Spanish man-of-war, which lay at anchor, displaying only her own proper colors. The contrast which she presented when compared with the splendid flags and streamers floating from every other vessel in the bay, especially the government-ship, the *North Carolina*, was universally observed, and the neglect was beginning to occasion unpleasant remarks; when, as the barge of the General came abreast, in an instant, as if by magic, the Spaniard displayed every

flag and signal known among nations. This handsome compliment was accompanied by a salute of thirteen guns. Salutes were also fired from the *North Carolina* and the Battery of thirteen guns each.

Stairs for the landing of the chieftain had been prepared upon Murray's Wharf, on arriving at which a salute was fired by a detachment of artillery commanded by Captain Van Dyck. He was there received by Governor Clinton, who made a congratulatory address on the occasion; together with the principal officers of the State, and the Mayor and Corporation of the city. There was a very large assemblage of people at the dock, waiting anxiously, but not impatiently, for the moment when they could greet the arrival of the great object of their proudest hopes and affections, and gratify their desires of looking—many of them again, and many others for the first time—upon that noble form and godlike countenance. There was no crowding for rank, or struggle for places, but all were respectful and decorous in their demeanor. One old man, whose head was frosted by upward of seventy winters, standing upon the wharf, was particularly noted as laboring under deep and evident emotion. He succeeded in grasping the hand of the chieftain, and, as he passed along, audibly, but involuntarily, expressed himself as follows:—"I have beheld him when commanding the American armies; I saw him at the conclusion of peace, returning to the bosom of his family in his primeval habitation; and now I behold him returning to take the chair of the Presidentship. I have not now another wish but that he may die as he has lived, THE BELOVED OF HIS COUNTRY!"

From the landing, the chief was conducted by a numerous procession, civil and military, through Queen Street to the quarters of Governor Clinton, at Faunce's Tavern,* the large and ancient structure yet standing in

* Also known as Bolton's and Sam Francis' Tavern.

Pearl Street, on the south-east corner of Broad. The military portion of the procession consisted of Captain Stokes's dragoons, Captain Van Dyck's artillery, the German Guards of Captain Scriba, a detachment of infantry under Captains Swartwout and Steddiford, and the artillery of Colonel Bauman. Next came the Corporation, with the public officers; the President elect walked with Governor Clinton, his old companion in arms. The clergy followed in a body. The foreign ambassadors, in their carriages, came next, and the citizens promiscuously brought up the rear. The whole were under the direction of Colonel Morgan Lewis, marshal of the day, assisted by Majors Morton and Van Horne.

The day was one of unmingled joy. No former event of a civic character had more deeply arrested the public attention. The hand of labor was suspended, and the various pleasures of the city were concentrated into a single enjoyment. All ranks and professions, with one universal acclaim, joined in the loud welcome to "the Father of his Country." The city was illuminated in the evening; and many beautiful and appropriate transparencies were exhibited, creditable at once to the citizens who displayed them and to the artists by whom they were executed.

The 30th day of April, 1789, was appointed by Congress for the august ceremony of inducting the first President of our Federal Union into his exalted station. Pursuant to previous notice and concert, 1789. all the churches in the city were opened at nine o'clock on the morning of that day, and their respective congregations repaired to them, to unite in imploring the blessing of Heaven on the new government. In these enlightened days, when chaplains are voted out of legislative halls from a sensitive regard to the rights of conscience and the people's money, it may, perhaps, appear strange that such a concerted ceremony should have preceded the other

duties of the day. But the truth is, our Revolutionary forefathers were a race of men *sui generis*, and they had a way of doing things peculiar to themselves. They were in the habit of imploring the blessing of Heaven on all their important undertakings, and of returning thanks for all signal blessings ; and, at the time of the establishment of the Federal Government, the march of mind had not yet been so rapid as altogether to have left this custom in forgetfulness.

At twelve o'clock, a procession was formed under the conduct of Colonel Lewis, consisting of the same detachments of the State troops which had been detailed for the reception of the President elect on his landing. The President's house was then in Cherry Street, a few doors from Franklin Square,—which was at that period the court end of the town. The procession moved thence through Queen, Great Dock, and Broad Streets, until they arrived in front of the building called Federal Hall ; it having been determined that the ceremony of administering the oath should take place in the open space in front of the Senate Chamber, which was on the second story of the building, and in full view of the people who should assemble in Wall and Broad Streets as spectators. Stopping at the proper distance, the procession was divided into two parallel lines, facing inwardly, and the “observed of all observers” passed through with stately and solemn tread, attended by John Jay, General Knox, Chancellor Livingston, and other distinguished gentlemen. They were conducted, first to the Senate Chamber, where the President elect was introduced to both Houses, assembled in convention to receive him. Thence the illustrious individual was conducted to the gallery or terrace before mentioned, overlooking the two streets in which the multitude had assembled.

As the building under whose lofty pediment this im-

posing scene was exhibited has been so long swept from the face of the earth that few of the present generation have any distinct recollection of it, a description of it may aid our attempt to depict the sublime ceremony, which it is the principal design of the present chapter to bring before the reader. On the site of the old City Hall, which had served the provincials for a court-house, and was a mean, unsightly object, projecting awkwardly into Wall Street from the north, a noble edifice had been erected for the accommodation of Congress, on a plan and under the direction of Monsieur L'Enfant, a French architect, at that time in high repute, whose name we had occasion to mention in a preceding page. This building, like the first, projected into Wall Street, but permitted foot-passengers to continue their promenades through an arched way. Over this arcade was a balcony, the pediment projecting over, which was supported by four massive Doric pillars, dividing the open space into three parts, and forming an area similar in that respect to the divisions in Raphael's "Beautiful Gate of the Temple." After the adoption of the Constitution, this building was called Federal Hall.* Its front was upon Broad Street, which was terminated by it. Persons on the balcony would, consequently, be in full view from that street; and it was there, within a few yards of the Hall, that a few select spectators took their stand.

The volunteer companies of infantry were paraded in front of the Hall on Wall Street. A troop of horse, uniformed and equipped much after the manner of Lee's and Sheldon's dragoons (as may be seen in the picture of Jack Laughton, the hero of Cooper's "Spy," as painted by our distinguished countryman, Dunlop), were prominent figures. Of the foot-soldiers, the most conspicuous were

* In later years, succeeded by the Custom-house, which is now the United States Sub-treasury.

two companies of grenadiers, one of which was composed of the tallest youths of the city, and the other was the company of Germans, commanded by Captain Scriba, many of whom had been the slaves of the Prince of Hesse Cassel, and other petty sovereigns in the German States, but who now gloried in the liberty purchased for them, and secured to them by those whom they had been forced



OLD FEDERAL HALL.

from their own country to assist in subduing. The first were dressed in blue, with red facings and gold-laced ornaments, cocked hats with white feathers, with waistcoats and breeches, and black gaiters or spatterdashes, close-buttoned from the shoe to the knee, and covering the shoe-buckle. The second, or German company, wore blue coats, with yellow waistcoats and breeches, black gaiters, similar to those already described, and towering caps, cone-shaped,



John Adams

and faced with black bear-skin. A company in the full uniform of Scotch Highlanders, with the national music of the bagpipe, were seen among the military of the day, as also were several well-disciplined and well-equipped corps of light infantry and artillery. Colonel Lewis, the marshal, was assisted by Major Morton, acting aide-de-camp, as on the occasion of the landing one week before.

Both Houses of Congress, having left their respective chambers to witness the ceremony, now quite filled the balcony and the space behind it. Every part of the building was thronged. From the balcony the view of Broad Street was as of one mass, a silent and expectant throng; with faces upturned, they gazed upon the great object of their regard, as he came forth from the interior of the Hall, and took his place in the center of the balcony, between the two pillars which formed the boundaries of the middle compartment of the picture. He made his appearance in a plain suit of brown cloth, coat, waistcoat, and breeches, white silk stockings, and buckles of the simplest fashion in his shoes, and every article of his dress was of American manufacture.* His head was uncovered, his hair powdered and dressed in the prevailing fashion of that day, completed the costume in which his tall, fine figure was presented to view, at the moment which formed that epoch in the history of nations.

John Adams, the Vice-President, who had a few days previously been inducted into office without parade in the Senate, a short, athletic figure, in a somewhat similar garb, but with the old-fashioned Massachusetts wig, dressed and powdered, stood upon the right of the chieftain. Roger Sherman was seen in the group, a little behind, standing with Hamilton and many other sages and warriors, among

* Adams was also entirely clad in American fabrics on the occasion here described.

whom was the American artillerist, Knox, and the accomplished Baron Steuben.

Opposite to the President elect stood Chancellor Livingston, in a full suit of black, ready to administer the oath of office. Between them, the Secretary of the Senate, a small, short man, held the open Bible, upon a rich crimson cushion. The man on whom all eyes were fixed, stretched forth his hand with simplicity and dignity. The oath of office was administered. The Bible was raised, and his head bowed upon it to kiss the sacred volume. The Chancellor then proclaimed that it was done, in a full, distinct voice, and in the following words: "LONG LIVE GEORGE WASHINGTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES!" The silence of thousands was at an end,—the air was rent with acclamations, dictated by reason, and bursting from the hearts and tongues of men who felt that the happiness of themselves, their posterity, and their country was secured.

The President bowed, and, having retired to the Hall of the Representatives, where the Senate also assembled, delivered his inaugural speech. Thence, the President, accompanied by the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the members of both Houses, repaired in procession to St. Paul's Church, where Divine service was performed by Bishop Provost, the Chaplain of the Senate; and, before the adjournment of Congress, they passed a resolution requesting the President to issue his proclamation, recommending to the people of the United States to observe a day of thanksgiving and prayer, on account of the successful organization of the new Government.

Such was the spectacle; so simple, so dignified was this august ceremony! Contrast it with the impious mockery of Heaven and the degrading pageantry displayed to mislead the children of earth, which attends the coro-



nation of European potentates, and every American must feel proud, and justly proud, when he contemplates the picture it presents of the institutions and manners of his own country! "It seemed," said a young gentleman in a letter to a distant father, "to be a solemn appeal to Heaven and earth at once. Upon the subject of this great and good man," he added, "I may, perhaps, be an enthusiast; but I confess I was under an awful and religious persuasion that the gracious Ruler of the Universe was looking down at that moment with peculiar complacency upon an act which, to the American portion of His creatures, was so very important. Under this impression, when the distinguished Chancellor of New York announced, in a very feeling manner, the words 'LONG LIVE GEORGE WASHINGTON,' my sensibility was wound up to such a pitch that I could do no more than wave my hat with the rest, without the power of joining in the repeated acclamations which rent the air."

The proceedings of the day had all been marked by that gravity and solemnity befitting the importance of the occasion. It was, however, a day of unmingled rejoicing; and, after the more imposing civic and religious ceremonies were over, the popular feeling broke forth in the usual manifestations of gladness. The festivities closed by an illumination in the evening of unparalleled splendor, and by a display of fireworks under the direction of Colonel Bauman, of the artillery, which had only been equaled on this side of the Atlantic by the memorable pyrotechnical exhibition which took place at West Point during the Revolution, when our French allies were celebrating the birth of the Dauphin—the unfortunate young prince who subsequently, after his father's execution, himself fell a victim to that spirit of freedom which those French officers imbibed in this country, and which, running to riot after their return, drenched the whole surface of France in blood.

Great pains had been taken by the principal citizens and the public authorities in the preparation of appropriate transparencies. At the foot of Broadway a splendid painting was exhibited, representing the Virtues of FORTITUDE, JUSTICE, and WISDOM, intended as emblems—the first of the PRESIDENT, the second of the SENATE, and the third of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Of the propriety of the first, the world had had the fullest evidence; and the two others were well applied then, however great would be the solecism of such an appropriation of those attributes in later and more degenerate days. The Federal Hall was illuminated with great splendor, and attracted universal attention. The Theatre, then situated at the corner of Fly-Market Slip, was likewise tastefully illuminated by various patriotic and attractive paintings. The ship *North Carolina*, lying off the Battery, displayed a glorious pyramid of stars, lustrous and beautiful as the lamps of heaven.

The illuminations of private residences which attracted the greatest attention were those of the French and Spanish Ministers—the Count Moustier and Don Gardoqui. These Ministers both felt a lively interest in the rising destinies of the young republic, and lost no suitable occasion for testifying their friendship. Their houses were situated in Broadway, near the Bowling Green, and they seem to have exerted a generous rivalry in their preparations for celebrating this event. The illuminations of both were in a style of elegance and splendor alike novel, attractive, and beautiful. The doors and windows of Count Moustier displayed splendid borderings of lamps, with fancy pieces in each window of tasteful and complimentary designs. But the decorations of the Spaniard's mansion excelled. The *tout ensemble* formed a superbly brilliant front. The principal transparency represented the figures of the Graces, exceedingly well executed, among a pleasing variety of patriotic emblems, together

with shrubbery, arches, flowers, and fountains. The effect was greatly heightened by the disposition of moving pictures of persons and figures in the background, so skillfully devised and executed as to present the illusion of a living panorama in a little spot of fairy land.

But we will not dwell too long upon the incidents of this joyful evening, as other objects crowd upon our attention. The inauguration was succeeded by a round of *fêtes* of a different description, the recollection of which it is our design briefly to revive, before concluding the present chapter.

For several subsequent days the time of the President was much occupied in receiving visits, official and unofficial, of individuals, societies, and public bodies, calling to pay their respects to the first magistrate. In all instances, their reception was such as still more to endear the illustrious man in their affections; for, although inured to the camp, and in earlier life to the still rougher service of border warfare in the wilderness, no one could dispense the courtesies of the drawing-room, or the ceremonies of state, with more true dignity, blended with a just measure of affability and condescension, than Washington.

Extensive preparations had been made by the subscribers to the city dancing assemblies to pay the President the compliment of an Inauguration Ball. The honored lady of the chieftain, however, had not accompanied her august husband to New York, but was to follow in a few days. The anxiety for her arrival was, therefore, great; though, of course, proportionably less than it had been for the President elect himself. But a short time intervened before her approach to Elizabethtown was announced, accompanied by the lady of Robert Morris, of Philadelphia—then in the Federal Senate. She was met by the President at Elizabethtown Point, who proceeded thither, with Robert Morris and several other

gentlemen of distinction, in the barge already described, rowed, as before, by thirteen eminent pilots, in handsome white dresses. The passage through the bay again presented a brilliant spectacle; a salute was fired on passing the Battery; and, on her landing, she was welcomed by large crowds of citizens who had assembled to testify their joy.

The ball was truly an elegant entertainment. The old "City Assembly Rooms," in which it took place, were in a large wooden building standing upon the site of the old City Hotel.* In addition to the distinguished pair for whom it was given, it was honored by the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House, and most of the members of both branches of Congress; Governor (George) Clinton, Chancellor Livingston, Chief-Justice Yates, of New York; the Hon. John Jay, General Knox, the Commissioners of the Treasury; James Duane, Mayor of the city; the Baron Steuben, General Hamilton, the French and Spanish Ambassadors, and many other distinguished gentlemen, both Americans and foreigners. Never was a lady, either in public or private life, more popular than Mrs. Washington; and, from the moment of her arrival, the most respectful attentions had been paid to her by the principal ladies of the city, and by those likewise of celebrity from a distance. A numerous and brilliant collection of ladies consequently graced the saloon with their presence, and the decorations were such as in all respects comported with their presence and the proud occasion. Among the leading circles were the lady of his Excellency Governor Clinton, Lady Sterling, Lady Mary Watts, Lady Kitty

* The City Hotel—the Astor House of that day, and built by Ezra Weeks—stood on the west side of Broadway, on the block from Thames to Cedar Streets, and was for many years the most distinguished establishment of the kind in the country. It was the site of the "King's Arms Tavern" of a hundred years previous, which was also in its day one of the most prominent points of interest in the "fashionables" of "old New York."

Duer, La Marchioness De Brehan, Mrs. Langdon, Mrs. Dalton, Mrs. Duane (the Mayoress), Mrs. Peter Van Brook Livingston, Mrs. Livingston, of Clermont; Mrs. Chancellor Livingston, the Misses Livingston, Lady Temple, Madame de la Forest, Mrs. Montgomery, Mrs. Knox, Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Gerry, Mrs. Edgar, Mrs. McComb, Mrs. Lynch, Mrs. Houston, Mrs. Griffin, Mrs. Provost, the Misses Bayard, and many others of the most respectable families in the State and from abroad. The whole number of ladies and gentlemen at the *fête* exceeded three hundred.

There was more of etiquette in the arrangements for this complimentary ball than was thought by some to be exactly consistent with our republican institutions, and more, in fact, than was altogether agreeable to the feelings of HIM in whose honor it was observed. In connection with the managers of the assemblies, Colonel Humphries and Colonel William S. Smith were selected to adjust the ceremonies, and their arrangements were reported to have been as follows:—At the head of the room, upon a platform handsomely carpeted, and beneath a rich drapery of curtains and banners, was placed a damask-covered sofa, upon which the President and Lady Washington were to be seated. The platform was ascended by a flight of three or four steps. The costume of the gentlemen was prescribed; their hair was to be dressed in bags, with two long curls on the sides, with powder, of course, and all were to appear and dance with small swords. Each gentleman, on taking a partner to dance, was to lead her to the sofa, and make a low obeisance to the President and his lady, and repeat the ceremony of respect before taking their seats after the figure was concluded. The decorations of the assembly-room were truly splendid and very tastefully disposed.

At that time there had been no more brilliant assem-

blage of ladies in America than were collected on this occasion. Few jewels were then worn in the United States, but in other respects their dresses were rich and beautiful, according to the fashions of the day. We are not quite sure that we can describe the full dress of a lady of rank at the period under consideration so as to render it intelligible. But we will make the attempt. One favorite dress was a plain celestial blue satin gown, with a white satin petticoat. On the neck was worn a very large Italian gauze handkerchief, with border stripes of satin. The head-dress was a *pouf* of gauze, in the form of a globe, the *creneaux* or head-piece of which was composed of white satin, having a double wing, in large plaits, and trimmed with a wreath of artificial roses falling from the left at the top to the right at the bottom in front, and the reverse behind. The hair was dressed all over in detached curls, four of which, in two ranks, fell on each side of the neck, and was relieved behind by a floating *chignon*.

Another beautiful dress was a perriot, made of gray Indian taffeta, with dark stripes of the same color, having two collars, the one yellow and the other white, both trimmed with a blue silk fringe, and a reverse trimmed in the same manner. Under the perriot they wore a yellow corset or boddice, with large cross stripes of blue. Some of the ladies with this dress wore hats *à l'Espagnole* of white satin, with a band of the same material placed on the crown, like the wreath of flowers on the head-dress above-mentioned. This hat, which, with a plume, was a very popular article of dress, was relieved on the left side, having two handsome cockades, one of which was at the top and the other at the bottom. On the neck was worn a very large plain gauze handkerchief, the ends of which were hid under the boddice, after the manner represented in Trumbull's and Stuart's portraits of

Lady Washington. Round the bosom of the perriot a frill of gauze, *a la Henri IV*, was attached, cut in points around the edge.

There was still another dress which was thought to be very simple and pretty. It consisted of a perriot and petticoat, both composed of the same description of gray striped silk, and trimmed round with gauze, cut in points at the edges in the manner of *herrisons*. The herrisons were, indeed, nearly the sole trimmings used for the perriots, caracos, and petticoats of fashionable ladies, made either of ribands or Italian gauze. With this dress they wore large gauze handkerchiefs upon their necks, with four satin stripes around the border, two of which were narrow and the others broad. The head-dress was a plain gauze cap, after the form of the elders and ancients of a nunnery. The shoes were celestial blue, with rose-colored rosettes.

Such are descriptions of some of the principal costumes of the ladies who graced the inauguration ball of Washington; and, although varied in divers unimportant particulars by the several ladies, according to their respective tastes and fancies, yet, as with the peculiar fashions of all other times, there was a general correspondence of the outlines, the *tout ensemble* was the same.

The President and his lady were introduced and conducted through the saloon to the seat provided for them by Colonel Humphries—a man of fine accomplishments and manners. General Knox had just been appointed Secretary of War, and his lady had been charged with so far resembling Cæsar as to have been somewhat “ambitious.” Be that as it may, it was said in those days that she so arranged her own movements as to enter the saloon with the President and his lady, following them to their station and ascending the steps, with the evident design of obtaining an invitation from the President to a seat upon the honored sofa. Unluckily, however, the seat was

too narrow for the accommodation of three persons, and the lady of the war minister, with deep and apparent mortification, was compelled to descend to the level of those who had shown themselves to be less openly aspiring. No other incident worthy of especial note occurred during the evening, or none which attracted particular attention.

Among the gayest and most courteous of the cavaliers present was the Baron Steuben. Well educated and bred in a German court, having also mingled much in the splendid court circles of Louis XV, in Paris, where he had usually passed his winters previous to his emigration to America, the manners of this gallant officer were formed upon the best model of graceful ease, affability, and dignity. He was thus, perhaps, as well qualified to teach the tactics of the drawing-room as those of the field; but, too much of the real gentleman to appear in the least degree assuming, he was a universal favorite. His dress was of rich black silk velvet, with the star of his order upon his breast, and he had ever some witty or playful remark for every person and every occasion, which was received with additional interest from his German accent and the little and often ludicrous mistakes to which he was liable from his imperfect knowledge of the English idioms.

The saltatory exercises were such as were usual in those times and on great occasions. There are a few of both sexes yet living who then mingled in the dance, but the incidents of the festive night linger in their memories like the fragments of a broken vision in times that are passed. They remember only that the exercises went on

“ With smooth step
Disclosing motion in its every charm,
To swim along and swell the mazy dance.”

presenting to the eye, as in Milton's beautiful description,

“ Mazes intricate,
Eccentric, interwolved, yet regular
Then most, when most irregular they seem.”

The illustrious chieftain himself did not hesitate to countenance the elegant amusement by participation, as the heroes and statesmen of antiquity, the demi-gods of the Greeks and Romans, had done before him. Mrs. Peter Van Brook Livingston and Mrs. Hamilton were successively honored by the chieftain's hand in a cotillion. He afterward danced a minuet with Miss Van Zandt, subsequently the lady of William Maxwell, Esq., vice-president of the bank. There was dignity and grace in every movement of this incomparable man. But in the minuet, which is held to be the perfection of all dancing, he appeared to more than his wonted advantage. The minuet contains in itself a compound variety of as many turnings in the serpentine, which is the line of beauty, as can well be put together in distinct quantities, and is, withal, an exceedingly fine composition of movements. It is, therefore, the best of all descriptions of dancing to display the graces of person and attitude, and never did the majestic form of Washington appear to greater advantage than on the present occasion of elegant trifling. There was, moreover, youth and beauty in the countenance, grace in the step, and heaven in the eye of his fair partner.

Shortly after the brilliant spectacle which we have thus attempted but imperfectly to describe, the President was complimented by another similar *fête*, which he also honored by his presence, given by the French minister. The pageant was one of uncommon elegance, both as it respected the character of the company and the plan of the entertainment. As a compliment to the alliance of the United States and France, there were two sets of cotillion dances in complete uniforms. The uniform of France was worn by one set, and that of the United States—the Revolutionary blue and buff—by the other. The ladies were dressed in white, with ribands, bouquets, and garlands of flowers, answering to the uniforms of the gentlemen. But it would be

alike wearisome and unnecessary to enter into further particulars

The levees of President Washington were far more select and courtly than are those of the Presidents of later days. They were numerously attended by all that was fashionable, elegant, and refined in society; but there were no places for the intrusion of the rabble in crowds, or for the more coarse and boisterous partisan, the vulgar electioneerer, or the impudent place-hunter, with boots, and frock-coats, or roundabouts, or with patched knees and holes at both elbows.

Proud of her husband's exalted fame, and jealous of the honors due, not only to his own lofty character, but to the dignified station to which a grateful country had called him, Mrs. Washington was careful in her drawing-rooms to exact those courtesies to which she knew he was entitled, as well on account of personal merit as of official consideration. Fortunately, moreover, democratic rudeness had not then so far gained the ascendancy as to banish good manners, and the charms of social intercourse were heightened by a reasonable attention in the best circles to those forms and usages which indicate the well-bred assemblage, and fling around it an air of elegance and grace which the envious only affect to decry, and the innately vulgar only ridicule and contemn. None, therefore, were admitted to the levees but those who had either a right by official station to be there, or were entitled to the privilege by established merit and character, and full dress was required of all.*

* Some show, if not of state, at least of respect for the high officer they were to visit, was exacted down to the close of Mr. Madison's administration. Mr. Monroe required less formality and attention to dress, and the second President Adams less still. But respect and reverence for the office still kept the multitude, who had no business there, from the President's drawing-rooms until the year 1829, when—but *tempora mutantur!*

Mrs. Washington was a pleasing and agreeable, rather than a splendid woman. Her figure was not commanding, but her manners were easy, conciliatory, and attractive. Her domestic arrangements were always concerted under her own eye, and everything within her household moved forward with the regularity of machinery. No daughter of Eve ever worshipped her lord with more sincere and affectionate veneration; and none had ever cause to render greater or more deserved homage. When absent, he was ever in her thoughts, and her mild eyes kindled at his presence. She was well educated, and possessed strong native sense, guided by all necessary prudence and discretion. She rarely conversed upon political subjects, and when the most expert diplomatists would attempt to draw her out, she had the faculty of turning the course of conversation with equal dexterity and politeness. At all the President's entertainments, whether at the table or in the drawing-room, notwithstanding the regard to etiquette heretofore adverted to, there was, nevertheless, so much kindness of feeling displayed, and such an unaffected degree of genuine hospitality, that golden opinions were won alike from the foreign and domestic visitors.

In those days late hours were not necessary to fashion; and many of our fair metropolitan readers, who are in the habit of dressing at ten to enter a distant drawing-room at eleven, will doubtless be surprised to learn that Mrs. Washington's levees closed always at nine! This was a rule which that distinguished lady established on the occasion of holding her first levee, on the evening of January 1st, 1790. The President's residence was in the Franklin House, at the head of Cherry Street. "The day," says a letter* of John Pintard, Esq.—who was then in the hey-day of youth and life, mingling with the fashionable world—"was uncommonly mild and pleasant.

* To Colonel Morris, of the *New York Mirror*.

It was about full moon, and the air so bland and serene, that the ladies attended in their light summer shades. Introduced by the aids and gentlemen in waiting, after being seated, tea, coffee, plain and plum cake were handed round. Familiar and friendly conversation ensued, and kind inquiries, on the part of Mrs. Washington, after the families of the exiles, with whom she had been acquainted



WASHINGTON'S RESIDENCE IN 1790, AS IT APPEARED IN 1850.

during the Revolutionary War, and who always received marked attention from General Washington. Mrs. Washington stood by the side of the General in receiving the respects of the visitors. * * * * Amid the social chit-chat of the company, the Hall clock struck *nine*. Mrs. Washington thereupon rose with dignity, and, looking around the circle with a complacent smile, observed: 'The





General always retires at nine, and I usually precede him.' At this hint the ladies instantly rose, adjusted their dresses, made their salutations and retired."

General Washington had, on that day, been waited upon by the principal gentlemen of the city, according to the ancient New York custom of social and convivial visiting on that day. "After being severally introduced, and paying the usual compliments of the season," says Mr. Pintard, "the citizens mutually interchanged their kind greetings, and withdrew, highly gratified by the friendly notice of the President, to most of whom he was personally a stranger." In the course of the evening, while speaking of the occurrences of the day, Mrs. Washington remarked: "Of all the incidents of the day, none so pleased the General," by which title she always designated him, "as the friendly greetings of the gentlemen who visited him at noon." To the inquiry of the President, whether it was casual or customary, he was answered that it was an annual custom, derived from our Dutch forefathers, which had always been commemorated. After a short pause, he uttered these remarkable words: "*The highly-favored situation of New York will, in the process of years, attract numerous emigrants, who will gradually change its ancient customs and manners; but let whatever changes take place,* NEVER FORGET THE CORDIAL, CHEERFUL OBSERVANCE OF NEW-YEAR'S DAY."

CHAPTER III.

IN the year 1792, the construction of the TONTINE BUILDING was begun by an association of merchants, organized in 1790, and incorporated in 1794, under the name of the "Tontine Association." Its object was to provide a business center for the mercantile community. The original building fronted what was then known as Coffee-house Slip—now the corner of Wall and Water Streets. The merchants had long felt the need of some place where they could assemble and discuss the probable results of trade and the various questions of the time, and, during their leisure, indulge in a cup of prime old coffee, without walking to their distant homes in State Street, Bowling Green, and the lower part of Greenwich Street. Among the merchants who pushed forward the enterprise were John Broome, John Watts, Gulian Verplanck, John Delafield, and William Laight. In the vicinity of Broad and Pearl Streets was the old Merchants' Coffee-house; and in front of that, on December 1st, 1791, the sheriff of New York, Marinus Willett, sold under a writ of *venditioni exponas*, the dwelling and lot of land then "in the tenure and occupation of Anthony Bleecker, formerly held by Francis Lucas, and known as No. 22 Wall Street, reserving the right of way, 'if they have any right to it,' through an alley adjoining one side of the said property, and leading from the adjoining farm and garden of Francis Clark."

The property was purchased by the five merchants already mentioned, for the sum of £2,510, and held by them under the provisions of the Tontine Association, as its first board of directors.

On the 31st of January, 1792, the same gentlemen bought of Dr. Charles Arding and Abigail his wife, "all that certain corner house and land bounded south-easterly by Water Street, south-westerly by Wall Street, north-westerly and south-easterly by houses and land lately purchased by them," for the sum of £1,970, current money of the State of New York. On August 22d, 1792, Hugh Gainé, Thomas Roach, and John Keese, commissioners appointed by the Court of Common Pleas, then called the Mayor's Court, in settling the large estate of the late Mordecai Gomez, chocolate-maker, conveyed to the same board of directors, for the sum of £1,000, "all that certain messuage and lot of land situate, lying, and being in the Second Ward, formerly the East Ward, of the City of New York, bounded south-easterly in front by Water Street, north-westerly in the rear by a part of a lot of land lately purchased by the parties to these presents of the second part, of the sheriff of the city and county of New York, under a decree of the Court of Chancery; north-easterly by a house and lot of land late the property of Joseph Royall, deceased, and south-westerly by a house and lot of land lately purchased by the said party of Dr. Charles Arding, and containing in breadth in front and rear at each end, eighteen feet four inches, and in length on each side thirty feet, English measure."

This transaction completed the purchases of land for the Tontine Coffee-house, and the massive building given in the cut on next page, with its heavy wooden cornice, railed balcony, and long stoop or piazza, with steps at each end, soon rose from the ruins of the houses of Mordecai Gomez and Dr. Arding.

There was another Tontine society called the New York Tontine Hotel and Assembly Rooms' Association, and on September 27th, 1793, Peter De Lancey and Elizabeth his wife, sold to Philip Livingston, John Watts, Thomas Buchanan, Gulian Verplanck, James Watson, Moses Rogers, James Farquhar, Richard Harrison, and Daniel Ludlow, a lot of land bounded east by Broadway, west by Temple Street, south by Thames Street, and north



TONTINE COFFEE-HOUSE AS IT APPEARED IN 1812.

by Little Queen Street, subject to such rights of survivorship as the majority of the subscribers should decide. Some years after, during a season of sharp political excitement, the Fifth Ward Tontine was started, for the purpose of making real-estate owners of enough young men to carry a majority vote in the election. The vote was cast, but the city authorities declared it illegal, and that association caused no further public notice.

On the completion of the Tontine Coffee-house, the Merchants' Exchange was removed to it from the dilapidated building in the middle of Broad Street, below Pearl, where it had been since the war.

In 1793 war was declared between France and England; and on the 9th of April, five days after the news was received at New York, Citizen Genet arrived at Charleston as the accredited Minister to the United States from the new French republic. The war placed this Government in an embarrassing position; for, bound to France by obligations of gratitude as well as by the conditions of a treaty of alliance, it was pledged also by the Federal policy to preserve a strict neutrality in European wars. Alexander Hamilton, at the head of the Federalists, insisted that the treaty had been annulled by the change in the French government; or, in any event, did not apply in case of an offensive war. Washington inclined to the latter opinion; and, while he received Genet as the Minister of the republic, proclaimed the strictest neutrality in respect to warlike operations. This greatly displeased the anti-Federalists, who cheered on the new republic, and aided Genet in fitting out privateers to cruise against the enemies of France. Genet reached New York on the 8th of August, and was welcomed by salvos of artillery and pealing bells, saluting republican France. On the 12th of June, the *Ambuscade*, which had brought Genet to America, arrived at New York, and her officers and crew were received and entertained with much enthusiasm by the anti-Federalists. The Liberty Cap was hoisted on the flag-staff of the Tontine Coffee-house, and all true patriots exhorted to protect it; tri-color cockades were worn; the "Marseillaise" was sung; and, for a time, New York wore almost the aspect of a French city.

During the year ending April 2d, 1811, the association was called to mourn the decease of Gulian Verplanck,

William Laight, and John Broome. The board of directors was reduced to John Watts and John Delafield, who, in conformity with the second section of the Constitution—that, whenever the trustees, in whom the fee-simple is vested, be reduced to less than three, then five others should be elected, and the property conveyed to them—transferred their trust to Richard Varick, Matthew Clarkson, Francis B. Winthrop, John B. Coles, and Gulian Ludlow. The old Coffee-house was then in full operation, but who can tell us of the scenes therein? Who can call back the voices of the old merchants of that day, and repeat the stories they often laughed over in the Coffee-house on “opening night?”

At length the Merchants' Exchange moved further up Wall Street, and sales of merchandise were not so frequent within the old house, but the long stoop on the Wall Street front was still used, and the advertisements of the day read, “At X o'clock, in front of the Tontine Coffee-house, will be sold ——.”

In 1826 and 1827 the Tontine Coffee-house was in the hands of John Morse, who had formerly kept the old Stage-house at the corner of Church and Crown Streets, New Haven. He turned the entire house into a tavern, and it so remained for several years. The first floor was in one room, running the full length of the house, and fronting Wall Street. At the back of the room, extending nearly its whole length, was the old-fashioned bar. Jutting out from the counter were curious arms of brass supporting the thick, round, and mast-like timber on which the heavy dealers leaned while ordering refreshments. About the room were numerous small tables, and after supper, in fair weather, around the tables could be seen many of the wealthy city men diminishing the contents of their pewter mugs, or planning, amid the curling smoke in the room, their operations for the next day. Morse was not success-

ful in the Tontine, and was finally sold out for the benefit of "whom it might concern."

In 1832, it was kept as a hotel by Lovejoy & Belcher, and was the scene of several brilliant Masonic dinners. The lodges, in annual parade, would march from the City Hotel, on Broadway, down to Broad Street; through Broad to Pearl, and through Pearl Street to Wall and the Coffee-house—which they thought a long tramp. After the banquet, the march would be resumed along Pearl to Beekman Street, up Beekman to Chatham Street, down Chatham to Broadway and the City Hotel.

In 1834, the Court of Chancery issued a decree removing the restrictions by which the Tontine Association were required to maintain the building as a Coffee-house, and it was then leased for general business purposes. In 1834, two brothers named Hudson came to New York, from Boston, and established on the first floor of the house a news-room, on the plan of that one now in Pine Street, near William. They also originated the *Express* newspaper, the early numbers of which were printed in the old Tontine.

The balcony had been removed, the interior of the building somewhat changed, but the memory of happy hours spent within its walls thrilled the hearts of the gallant bands of men who composed the old volunteer Fire Department when the bells struck off the first alarm for the great fire of 1835.

Down through the narrow streets, amid the rush and roar of the flames, the dense volumes of smoke and the crash of falling warehouses, the firemen fought for every inch of ground. Streets were obliterated by the ruins, block after block of stores and dwellings vanished in the crimson cloud that surged and rolled over them. At length the flames reached the old Tontine, and the cornice took fire. Among the bravest of the brave throughout

that fight was the daring company of Engine No. 10. As the cry went out, "There goes the old Tontine," the brakes of No. 10 began to work with great vigor, and a stalwart fireman, who held the pipe, directed the stream against the threatened building. The atmosphere, unusually cold even for December, caught the spray from the upward stream and dashed it in icy particles back on the face and clothing of the sturdy pipeman. Three times the cornice caught fire, and each time the pipe of No. 10 saved the Tontine. The plucky fireman was John Betts, formerly a clerk with Hoffman & Glass, auctioneers, afterwards with Glass & Gerard, and more recently of the firm of Gerard & Betts. He is still living, and will doubtless remember that, when he gave up the pipe at the Tontine fire, the palms of his gloves, frozen to the pipe, were left on it when he went away.

After the fire, and in 1836, the Hudson Brothers gave up the news-room, and the lessee of the building, Peter McCarty, engaged Mr. James W. Hale to continue the establishment, which was then called "Hale's News-room." Mr. Hale occupied the whole of the lower floor as the news-room; and Caldwell & Kenyon kept a restaurant in the basement. Caldwell & Kenyon afterwards sold out to Charles Ridabock, familiarly known as the "Alderman." Charles was a heavy, good-natured German, who kept the dirtiest shop and the best oysters in the city. He had been for many years an employee of George Washington Brown, at the Auction Hotel, in Pearl Street. He remained at the Tontine until just before the house was torn down.

In 1843, the Legislature changed the name to the "Tontine Building," and gave the management of its affairs into the hands of "The Committee of the Tontine Building."

The old Tontine was also the birth-place of what is

now one of the institutions of our country—its express system. It was here, in 1837, that Mr. J. W. Hale originated the package and letter express business, and started William F. Harnden for Boston, three times a week, with his little carpet-bag seldom more than half full. His only advertisement was a slate hung up in the News-room, and in a stationer's office at the corner of Nassau and Wall Streets. The first customers of the express were the visitors to Hale's News-rooms.

As there were no lines of mail steamers then running, foreign correspondence was always sent by packet-ships and other sailing vessels, the letter-bags for which were kept at Hale's, as were also those of the steamers *Sirius* and *Great Western*, after they commenced running to New York.

In 1855, the *New York Journal of Commerce*, speaking of the Tontine Coffee-house, said:

"There are few, however, whose age links them to the olden time, when it was the chief center of the commercial interests, who cannot recall scenes within its walls 'the like whereof we ne'er shall see again.' A public meeting convened within its roof, sent forth a decision which was almost universally respected. As a single instance of this, let us turn back for forty years, when the habit of distributing expensive scarfs to bearers and others at ordinary funerals was so prevalent, that many poor families were sorely pinched to provide this necessary mark of respect for a departed relative. Some benevolent individuals, seeing the evil influence of such a fashion, called a meeting at the Coffee-house, when nearly two hundred of those whose weight of character gave force to their decisions, signed a pledge to abstain from the custom of distributing scarfs, except to the attendant ministers and physicians. This was the death-knell of the oppressive fashion. In matters of more vital moment, when great public interests were at stake, a voice has gone out from the Coffee-house, which, like a recent echo from Castle Garden, has been heard throughout the length and breadth of the land. Some of the noblest charities, too, which the world has ever witnessed, received their first contributions beneath this time-hallowed roof.

"But the history of this organization is highly instructing in another point of view. The longevity of the nominees has been remarkable, we believe, beyond any similar experiment of the kind ever witnessed. It is true that the circumstances under which their names were selected would naturally lead us to expect for them a longer average period of existence, but this average has been so far extended as to be quite extraordinary. Of the two hundred and three, whose names were handed in about sixty-one years ago, fifty-one

still survive! Of these, the youngest is about sixty-two, and the oldest eighty-three. This is about one-third greater longevity than the average of European estimates. Only three of the nominees died in 1854, or one in every eighteen, which, considering their average age, was very remarkable."

In 1855, during the month of May, the old building was demolished, and the ground leased to Mr. William H. Aspinwall, with the condition that he should pay to the Tontine Association, as rent, the sum of \$5,500 per annum, and should pay all taxes and assessments levied by the city upon the ground, and upon such buildings as should be upon it; also, that the said lease should expire and all the buildings upon the ground should revert to the association when by death the nominees should be reduced to seven. Mr. Aspinwall caused the erection of the present building soon after he obtained the lease.

The walls are of Massachusetts yellow free-stone, the keystones in the arches of the windows and doors being of the same material. On the left of the picture, on the Wall Street front, is seen the narrow alley mentioned in the title deeds, showing that the heirs of Francis Clark had the right of way in 1791.*

The death of Mr. John P. De Wint, at Fishkill, in November, 1870, severed the last link in the Tontine

* The interior is cut up into offices, a large shaft near the rear of the hallway giving room for the main staircase and the facilities for ventilation. The history of the building since 1855 has not differed so much from that of others in the vicinity as to make a detailed sketch of it necessary, but an incident of 1858 may be worth relating. The office of Messrs. W. T. Coleman & Co., the shipping merchants, was on the first floor of the new building, and the senior member of the firm was seated at his desk one afternoon, busily examining the papers of a California ship nearly ready to sail. A hack was driven up to the door. A moment after, a hearty slap on the shoulder started Mr. Coleman, and the nasal tones of a gentleman from "down East" resounded in his ear—"Saay, Squire, jest yeou give me the best room in ther heouse, will yer?"

Mr. Coleman.—"This is not a tavern, sir. It's the office of the California packets."

Stranger.—"No! Well, I hain't been to York for thirty year, but used to come pretty often then, and always stopped at the old Tontine Coffee-house."

Mr. Coleman kindly directed the stranger to the Astor House, and thither the old guest of the Tontine was hurried.

chain, the lease of the building terminated, the property reverted to the owners of the shares represented by the surviving seven nominees, and the affairs passed into the hands of Mr. Frederick De Peyster, and Mr. W. T. Horn, as attorney. The surviving nominees are Robert Benson, Jr., William Bayard, Gouverneur Kemble, Horatio Gates Stevens, Daniel Hoffman, Mrs. William P. Campbell, and Mrs. John A. King. The heirs of George Bright, who died two years after he nominated Gouverneur Kemble,



TONTINE BUILDING AT THE PRESENT DAY.

have yet to be found. The property will then be sold, and the Tontine Association, like the old Coffee-house, things of the shadowy past, will go down into the grave of memory with its epitaph, "Well done," written on it by the merchants of New York.*

On the 12th day of May, 1789, about two weeks after General Washington had taken the oath of office, as the

* This sketch of the TONTINE ASSOCIATION is taken from an article published in the *New York Journal of Commerce*, July 25th, 1871.

For the constitution of the Tontine Coffee-house, in 1796, see Appendix No I.

first Chief Magistrate of the United States, the oldest political organization in the city now in existence, and which has recently (1871) been the subject of much obloquy—the TAMMANY SOCIETY, or COLUMBIAN ORDER—was instituted.*

The year following (1790), a most interesting event in the history of this organization occurred, which, at the time, excited considerable interest among the citizens of New York. The United States had long been desirous of forming a treaty of friendship and alliance with the Creek Indians, and various unsuccessful attempts had been made to effect this object. At length, Colonel Marinus Willet went to that nation, and induced Alexander McGilvery, a half-breed, with about thirty of

* The history of the origin of this name—which is involved in much obscurity—is as follows:—ST. TAMMANY was the name of an Indian chief, who has been *popularly* canonized as a saint, and adopted as the tutelary genius of one branch of the Democratic party. TAMMANY or TAMMENUND (the name is variously written), was of the Delaware nation, and lived probably in the middle of the seventeenth century. He resided in the country which is now Delaware, until he was of age, when he moved beyond the Alleghanies, and settled on the banks of the Ohio. He became a chief sachem of his tribe, and, being always a friend of the whites, often restrained his warriors from deeds of violence. His rule was always discreet, and he endeavored to induce his followers to cultivate agriculture and the arts of peace, rather than those of war. When he became old, he called a council to have a successor appointed, after which the residue of his life was spent in retirement; and tradition relates that “young and old repaired to his wigwam to hear him discourse wisdom.” His great motto was, “Unite in peace for happiness, in war for defense.” Where and by whom he was first styled SAINT, or by what whim he was chosen to be the patron of the Democracy, does not appear.

The New York *Daily Gazette* for May 12th, 1790, contains the following list of the officers of this order:

“The Society of St. Tammany, being a national society, consists of Americans born, who fill all offices, and adopted Americans, who are eligible to the honorary posts of warrior and hunter.

“It is founded on the true principles of patriotism, and has for its motives, charity and brotherly love.

“Its officers consist of one grand sachem, twelve sachems, one treasurer, one secretary, one door-keeper; it is divided into thirteen tribes, which severally represent a State; each tribe is governed by a sachem, the honorary posts in which are one warrior and one hunter.”

the principal chiefs, to come to this city. The Tammany Society determined to receive them with great ceremony. The members, at that day, were accustomed to dress in the Indian costume, and on this occasion they wore feathers, moccasins, leggings, painted their faces, and sported huge war-clubs and burnished tomahawks. When the Creeks entered the wigwam, they were so surprised to see such a number of their own race, that they set up a whoop of joy which almost terrified the people present. On the occasion of this interview, Governor George Clinton, Chief-Justice Jay, Mr. Duane, the Mayor, Mr. Jefferson, Secretary of State, and other distinguished men were present. The Creeks were overjoyed with their reception; they performed a dance, and sang the E-tho song. Mr. Smith, the Grand Sachem of the Society, made a speech to the Indians, in which he told them that, although the hand of death was cold upon those two great chiefs, Tammany and Columbus, their spirits were walking backward and forward in the wigwam. The Sagamore presented the chiefs with the calumet, and one of them dubbed the Grand Sachem "TULIVA MICO, or Chief of the White Town." In the evening they went to the theater, attended by the Sachems and members. Before they left the city they entered into a treaty of friendship with "Washington, the Beloved Sachem of the Thirteen Fires," as they were pleased to call him.

In June, of the same year, the Society established a museum for the purpose of collecting and preserving everything relating to the history of the country. A room was granted for its use in the City Hall, and Gardiner Baker was appointed to take charge of the collection. In 1794, it was removed to a brick building standing directly in the middle of the street, at the intersection of Broad and Pearl Streets, called the Exchange. The lower part was used as a market, but the upper part, being light

and airy, was well calculated for displaying the many curiosities which now, by the indefatigable exertions of

Mr. Baker, had been collected. On the 25th of 1795.

June, 1795, the Society passed a resolution relinquishing to Gardiner Baker all their right and title to the museum. He had taken so much pains and incurred so much expense in getting it up, that he could, with good reason, make a claim upon it. It was, therefore, given up to him, upon condition that it should be forever known as the "Tammany Museum," in honor of its founders, and that each member of his family should have free access to it. This museum, after the death of Baker, was sold to Mr. W. I. Waldron, and, after passing through various hands, formed the foundation of what was afterwards called the "American" or "Scudder's Museum," in Chat-ham Street.*

In September of the same year (1795) the city was visited by that dreaded scourge, the yellow-fever, when seven hundred and thirty-two persons died from the disease. In speaking of the situation at this time, the *New York Journal*, of October 17th, says: "This city has been in a truly melancholy situation; although the accounts of the mortality have been greatly exaggerated in the country. Consternation has added greatly to the distress of the city; the poor have suffered much, but their wants have been liberally supplied from the hands of benevolent donors. Very little business has been done—a *solemn calm* has reigned through every street. We are now blessed with salubrious western gales, which are conceived to be sent in mercy, and presage to our hopes that the city will be free from the epidemic in a little time. It certainly puts on a less terrible hue—not more than one

* *History of the Tammany Society*, by R. G. Horton.

in twenty dies. Those who have died were the greatest part new residents."

In the month of December, 1796, the Fish-market was torn down for the purpose of arresting a very destructive fire. This conflagration is thus noticed in the *Minerva** for December 9th, 1796: "About one o'clock this morning, a fire broke out in one of the stores on Murray's Wharf, Coffee-house Slip. The number of buildings consumed may be from fifty to seventy—a whole block between the above slip, Front Street, and the Fish Market. The progress of the fire was finally arrested by cutting down the Fish Market."

So many fires occurring at about the same time, led many of the citizens to believe that the slaves were again conspiring to destroy the city. Great excitement was caused and much preparation made to guard against such a calamity. The same paper, of the 14th instant following, says:—" *Serious Cause of Alarm*: Citizens of New York, you are once more called upon to attend to your safety. It is no longer a doubt—it is a fact, that there is a combination of incendiaries in this city, aiming to wrap the whole of it in flames! The house of Mr. Lewis Ogden, in Pearl Street, has been twice set on fire—the evidence of malicious intent is indubitable—and he has sent his *black man*, suspected, to prison. Last night an attempt was made to set fire to Mr. Lindsay's house, in Greenwich Street—the combustibles left for the purpose are preserved as evidence of the fact. Another attempt, we learn, was made last night in Beekman Street. A bed was set on fire under a child, and his cries alarmed his family. Rouse, fellow-citizens and magistrates! your lives

* The *Minerva* (then edited by Noah Webster) a few years afterwards changed its name to the New York *Commercial Advertiser*, Zachariah Lewis assuming its editorship. In 1824 it again changed hands, Messrs. Stone and Hall becoming its proprietors.

and property are at stake. Double your night-watch, and confine your *servants*."

The Common Council, on the 15th December, passed resolutions offering five hundred dollars reward for the conviction of offenders, and recommended that good citizens in the several wards should arrange themselves into companies or classes, "to consist of such numbers as shall be necessary for the purpose of keeping such watch for the safety of the city." A citizen of that day, in writing to a friend, also says: "The yellow-fever produced not such extraordinary commotion. The present alarm, as it is contagious, may be called the *fire-fever*." The "fever," however, soon died out, as the precautions taken had the desired effect, even if there had been any actual design of conspiracy.

In the summer of 1798 the city was again visited by the yellow-fever; and so fearful was it in its effects this time that the year was known for many years afterward as the "Dreadful yellow-fever year." It came on so suddenly that many were seized with it before they were really aware of its presence. So fatal was it in August that nearly one half of the cases reported died; but, before it had run its course, the proportion diminished one third. The horror of the situation, moreover, was greatly increased by the fact that the country people, becoming naturally alarmed, would not bring their produce into the city, although every encouragement was given them. "No fees [licenses?] were demanded of the country people bringing provisions to our markets." The committee appointed to afford relief to the indigent and distressed sick, in a communication to the public, say: "We entreat our fellow-citizens of the surrounding country not to withhold from the markets the usual supplies of poultry and *small meats*, as well as other articles so essentially necessary to

both sick and well, in this city, in this distressed season.”* These appeals were, it is pleasant to know, answered by many of the citizens who had left the city; while others, living in New Jersey, Long Island, and elsewhere, sent large sums of money, as well as gifts of beef, pork, mutton, butter, cheese, flour of all kinds, poultry and vegetables by the wagon and sloop load. But, notwithstanding all that was done to alleviate it, the ravages of the fever were frightful, since 2,086 deaths were registered in a few short months—a very large proportion, considering the population of the city at this time.

Indeed, many of the slabs which still appear in the grave-yards of Trinity and St. Paul’s, in the midst of the crowded and busy street, mark the resting-places of the victims of this fell destroyer. Sad, however, is the reflection how very short a period do the memorials reared to the memory of the dead, by the hand of surviving friendship and affection, endure! A few, a very few, brief years, and the head-stone has sunk, the slab is broken, the short column, or shaft, overturned. Yet, while they *do* remain, they are often mementos of many interesting incidents or endearing recollections.

An incident of this description, connected with the pestilence of the year, now rises upon the memory; and, as its relation will wound none among the living, we will repeat it.

There is a humble free-stone now standing in Trinity Church-yard, so near the street that the bright and laughing eyes of beauty and pleasure can look upon it any day as their possessors are tripping along Broadway. It stands beneath the tree at the corner of Trinity Buildings, now 111 Broadway; and the inscription yet retains the name of Mrs. Isidore Johnson. The deceased was young

* *Daily Advertiser*, September 28th, 1798.

and beautiful, full of intelligence and vivacity when she was married, a few months before the breaking out of the fever. One Sunday afternoon, soon after the fever had commenced, and before there was much alarm, walking down Broadway, leaning upon the arm of her husband, by whom she was adored, and whom she adored in turn, in company with a friend, who was also newly married, the topic of conversation naturally turned upon the epidemic. Mrs. Johnson, whose natural buoyancy of spirits perhaps imparted, even at that moment, an appearance of light-heartedness she did not feel, was remarkably lively and cheerful. In passing the spot we have indicated, where the tree was then casting its refreshing shade upon the green sward beneath, she suddenly stopped, and, looking up into her husband's face with a sweet, though slightly pensive smile, remarked with the utmost *naïveté*, "There, husband, if I die of the yellow-fever, bury me here." On the very next Friday, she *was* buried there!

CHAPTER IV.

THE opening of the nineteenth century found New York vastly improved. As commerce and trade revived, it was found necessary to enlarge the grounds of the city, and give it a more *presentable* appearance 1800. to the many foreigners who had already begun to flock thither for trade. The city now numbered twenty-three thousand souls, exclusive of a floating population, large even for that early day. Reade and Duane Streets were laid out and opened to the public in 1794. The waste grounds around the Collect were filled in and graded; a canal, following the present Canal Street (whence the name), was cut through from the Collect to the North River, with a view of draining the Lispenard meadows; the beautiful lake was filled up and made firm ground; the grade of Broadway, from Duane to Canal Streets, was determined upon by the city authorities; the streets had received numbers; the United States Navy-yard, at Brooklyn, had been begun; the plan of the present modern city, with its parallel streets and broad avenues, had been adopted; Washington, Union, Madison, and Tompkins Squares had been laid out; the great salt meadow on the eastern side of the city had been drained, and already, in imagination, divided into building-lots; and, as the grand step in this march of improvement, New York received, in 1790, her first sidewalks, which were laid on both sides

of Broadway, from Vesey to Murray Streets. True, these sidewalks were only narrow pavements of brick, scarcely allowing two lean men to walk abreast, or one fat man alone; still they were far preferable to walking in the middle of the streets on cobble-stones, especially if a person had corns. At this time, also, Nassau and Pine Streets were what the upper part of Fifth Avenue is now. Pearl (then Queen) Street, from Hanover Square to John Street, was the abode of wealth and fashion. Wall Street, now given over to the sordid purpose of Mammon, was the gay promenade on bright afternoons, and there many a gallant's heart has been pierced by glances shot from beneath the frizzled locks of the fair sex; while the beaux, with their powdered curls before, and their neat black silk bags behind the head, their laced ruffles, and desperately square-toed shoes, were equally *comme il faut*. The City Hall stood at the foot of Nassau Street. Just below it was the elegant mansion of Mr. Gulian Verplanck, and immediately opposite, on the corner of Broad Street, was the Watch-house; while further down, at the corner of New Street, stood Becker's Tavern, then a place of great resort. In Nassau Street resided the Jays, Waddingtons, Radcliffes, Brinckerhoffs, and other prominent families. Where the Merchants' Exchange now stands were the residences of Thomas Buchanan, Mrs. White, and W. C. Leffingwell; while in Pearl Street were the fashionable dwellings of Samuel Denton, John Ellis, John J. Glover, John Mowatt, Robert Lennox, Thomas Cadle, John B. Murray, Lieutenant-Governor Broome, Andrew Ogden, Governor George Clinton, and Richard Varick. Near the location of the present City Hall was the Alms-house, with the Bridewell on one side and the prison on the other. Grenzeback's grocery stood where French's Hotel now stands. There were but three or four buildings on the block where Tammany Hall lately stood, one of which, nearly on the

present site of the *Tribune* Building, was a place of great resort for military men. The only remnants of the neighborhood at that time are the wooden shanties, with their moss-covered roofs, which now disfigure Chatham Street, opposite Center.*

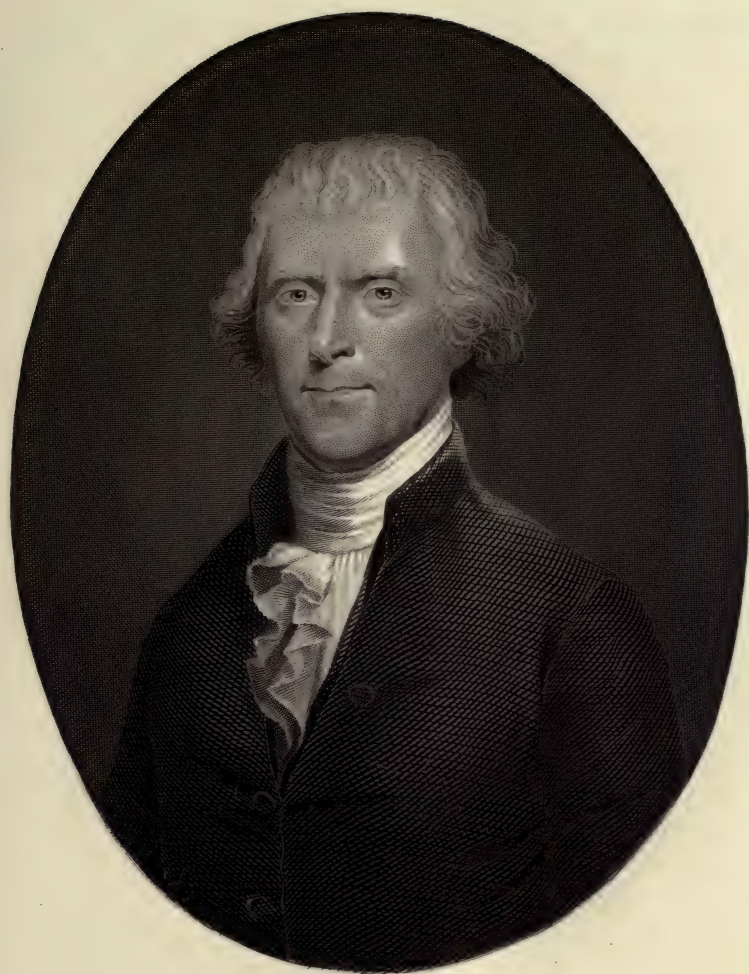
In regard to the society and social life of the city at this period, it is true that New-Englanders had even then begun a brisk emigration thither, but the Dutch inhabitants as yet greatly preponderated, while the Anglo-New-Yorkers considerably outnumbered the new citizens from the Eastern States. The simple, kind-hearted, and unostentatious manners of the Dutch had not, however, disappeared, although great inroads had been made upon them. Still, the good vrows and their daughters were to be seen occasionally, in the gray of the summer evening, sitting upon their stoops, saluting their passing acquaintances, or talking to their neighbors at the adjoining door, or even across the narrow streets, in a social and friendly manner. More frequently yet might the worthy old Knickerbocker be observed on his porch, refreshing himself in the cool of the evening with the soothing influences of his pipe—that friend of indolent meditation and genuine inactive philosophy.

The manners of the Anglo-American population were entirely different. Previous to the Revolution, the royal governors, most frequently noblemen, had kept up the pageantry of a little court in the metropolis, which was often graced by the presence of ladies and gentlemen who had received the advantages of polished and refined society abroad. The lengthened occupation of New York, as the head-quarters of the British army, moreover, had served to continue much intelligent and accomplished

* R. G. Horton's *History of the Tammany Society*.

society in the city during the contest of the Revolution, the advantages of which were by no means lost by the residents; and the effects of these associations had not been rubbed off by contact with democratic rusticity. Many American officers, likewise, with their families, of education and gentle breeding, if not of noble extraction, had returned from the wars and settled down in the city; who, in addition to the advantages of foreign travel and kindred society at home, had more recently been associated with the splendid array of officers from *La Belle France*—among whom were the veteran Count Rochambeau and the gallant Lafayette—sent hither to fight the battles of freedom, and carry back to their own country the sacred fire of liberty kindled at the American altars. These had left the impress of their gay and agreeable manners upon the more English gravity of our own; so that the “good society” of that period, in New York, deserved the appellation. Equally removed from the imputed English taciturnity on the one hand, and the apparent frivolity and loquacity of the French on the other, it was just what it ought to be—easy, graceful, and intelligent, and totally different from the puritanical precision which, at that time, prevailed to a far greater extent in New England than at present. All, therefore, was novelty to the young stranger who chanced to be in the city—as well in the manners of society in its different national classifications as in the extent and construction of the city itself; for nothing, to an unsophisticated eye, could appear more odd and grotesque than the primitive Dutch architecture of New York.

If we suppose a stranger to be on a visit to the city at this period, he probably visited the old red building called a theater, in John Street, to see the *Othello* of John Henry, and the *Desdemona* of his wife; the *Falstaff* of Harper, the *Hallams*, and *Wignell*, *Jefferson*, and others



Thomas Jefferson.

of the *corps dramatique*, who were then strutting their brief hours upon the stage. In his afternoon rambles for exercise, he frequently accompanied his friends to the garden of "Katey Mutz," at Wind-mill Hill—more recently the site of the Chatham Street Chapel—for a draught of mead; for the making of which "Aunt Katey," as she was familiarly called, was particularly celebrated. From this favorite place of resort he would, perhaps, stroll through the meadows and orchards along the Bowery road, and thence into the woods towards Corlear's Hook; which, though now a densely peopled portion of the city, was then a long walk into the country. His favorite ramble, however, when alone, was to the hickory grove of Mr. Nicholas Bayard, on the North River side, in that section of the present city lying between Canal and Charlton Streets. There was a spring of pure water here, and the shady trees rendered it a charming place for solitary meditation. Occasionally he drove out to the head of the King's Road, and on the west side to Lake's "Hermitage." near what is now the beginning of the Sixth Avenue. More frequently, however, he dropped in at the "Ranelagh Garden" to take a glass of ale or an ice of Jones, near the Hospital. Again, if provided with letters to the principal residents, he would, on a clear afternoon, walk up the new road (now Broadway) as far as the beautiful country-seat of Andrew Elliott, Esq.,* an English gentleman, who had acted as Lieutenant-Governor under the Crown during a portion of the time that the city was in British occupation. After spending an hour very agreeably with Mr. Elliott, who was on the eve of taking his final departure from this republican clime to one more congenial to his feelings, he set out, towards evening, on his return to the city—taking the grove at Bayard's spring in his way.

* Now the corner of Tenth Street and Broadway—where A. T. Stewart's iron store stands—and well known as the Sailor's Snug Harbor property.

Meeting there some of his acquaintances, they strolled together leisurely across the Lispenard meadows, and just as the sun was sinking into his golden bed, called in at the Mount Vernon Gardens, a fashionable place of retreat at the White Conduit House, then situated at some distance from the city, near what is now the corner of Leonard Street and Broadway. While seated in a rural alcove, partaking of some of the ordinary refreshments of such places, conversations of interest arose, mingled with interesting stories and lively anecdotes, which caused the friends to take no note of time, until they were startled by the bells of St. Paul's pealing out the hour of nine.

The friends separated hastily, and our visitor, threading his way slowly along the narrow and inadequately lighted streets, either returned to his lodgings at the City Hotel, or, if previously introduced, paid a visit to the Belvidere Club, at the house erected by that memorable association of good fellows, on the hill beyond the seat of Colonel Rutgers, which has been dug away within the last forty years and built over upon a dead level. The Belvidere Club was composed chiefly of foreigners, including some of the professional gentlemen and merchants of the city. They played lightly, gave excellent dinners, and did not drink to excess, or rather, to what in those days was counted excess. The house referred to as having been built by the Club, was an elegant establishment, standing upon one of the most charming sites in the suburbs of the city, overlooking the town, with its beautiful harbor, and a handsome section of Long Island. There was also the Hardenbrook Club in existence at the same period; but its associates were hard drinkers, and our visitor had no fellowship for such. Not being inclined to become a member, even if his stay in the city had not been short, he merely visited them a few times as a guest, and as a matter of curiosity.

There were, however, other enjoyments at his command of a higher order, and, being a student, much more to his taste. The bar of New York at this time presented a noble array of knowledge and talent. There were literally "giants" in those days, among whom were the elder Samuel Jones, John Jay, Robert Troup, Richard Harrison, Brockholst Livingston, William Duer, John Cozine, Josiah Ogden Hoffman, and Chief-Justice Lansing—at this time in the full meridian of their high professional career. Alexander Hamilton also, though a few years younger than those just mentioned, was fast soaring to the pinnacle of his splendid intellectual course, as also was his able and subtle rival, by whose hand he subsequently fell. It was the delight of the young student to visit the courts and witness the intellectual conflicts of these great men, where the richest treasures of deep and varied learning were disclosed, and the art of eloquence exerted to its highest perfection—where mind grappled with mind, and, disdaining the petty subtleties and technicalities of the profession, the champions stood forth in their own majesty and strength, contending like men, and yielding only after all had been done for their clients that could be achieved by the power and weight of learning and the splendor of eloquence.

These were likewise times of high political excitement. Parties under the lead of Hamilton and Burr respectively, were forming in strong friendship or violent opposition. Frequent public meetings were held, and the ablest statesmen in the city often took part in these primary assemblages. Night after night did the old Union Hotel in William Street resound with the oratory of the distinguished popular leaders of the day, and often was our visitor among the most delighted of the auditors. He was ever gratified with the antagonistic feats of mind, whether at the bar, or upon the tribune of the people—

whether exercised in close, logical, and nervous argument, or in the more showy exhibitions of popular declamation—whether imbued with wisdom, or sparkling with wit,—the brisk assault and the tart reply.

One of these exhibitions of forensic ability was witnessed in a remarkable criminal trial that took place in March of the present year. The last week of the preceding year (1799) had been signalized by the

1800. occurrence of a most mysterious murder, which at the time threw the city into great excitement, and for many days afterwards furnished the principal topic of conversation among its citizens. In itself, the incident might not be deemed of sufficient importance to allude to, were it not for the fact that the trial of the suspected murderer, as before hinted, called forth the splendid abilities of Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr.

The case to which allusion is here made was as follows: An exceedingly comely young woman, Juliana Elmore Sands by name, was taken, one Sunday afternoon, to ride, by Levi Weeks, a young man, and a nephew of Ezra Weeks, who built the City Hotel. The following Thursday the body of the girl was found at the bottom of the "Manhattan Well," just above the present line of Spring Street, between Greene and Wooster Streets, presenting every appearance of having been foully dealt with.* The young man, who had been her companion on the previous Sunday, was at once arrested and placed on trial for willful murder. Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, and Brockholst Livingston were retained for the defense; and during the trial, which lasted two days and

* Called the "Manhattan Well" from the fact that the "Manhattan Company," in searching round the city and suburbs for water, found a spring, which they caused to be dug out several feet and made into a well. In the end, however, they decided that it would not answer their purpose; and it was accordingly left curbed and covered, retaining ever afterwards the name of the "Manhattan Well."

nights, the former two exhibited, in a marked degree, the individual traits for which they were distinguished. In conversation recently with a gentleman, now (1871) ninety-four years old, he described to me the characteristics of each of those great men as they appeared upon the trial, of which he was an eye-witness. Hamilton, it seems, was more of an orator than Burr. His style was flowery, and his oratory graceful, fluent, animated, and impassioned. Burr, on the contrary, was cool and imposing in manner, collected and dispassioned in reasoning, and confined himself, in argument, to a few strong and prominent traits. Nevertheless, the latter did not always depend upon argument, but resorted occasionally to what would now be called "stage effect," to carry his point. At least this seems to be a fair inference from a circumstance that occurred during this trial. It appears that at first all the testimony pointed to the prisoner as the murderer, and the evidence of one witness, in particular, was so strong that it became plain that unless his testimony could be broken down, the case for the defense would be lost. The trial had lasted all the afternoon, and when it grew towards dusk, Burr called his clerk to him, and, in an aside, ordered a lighted candle to be brought in when he should give a signal. Burr meanwhile, continued to cross-question and harass the witness, constantly insinuating that he himself was the perpetrator of the deed, until, having succeeded in confusing him, he made the sign. The lighted candle was thereupon handed him; when, suddenly holding it full in the face of the witness, he exclaimed, in his most telling manner, "Behold the murderer!" This completed the discomfiture of the witness; and, after a charge by Chief-Justice Lansing, a verdict of acquittal was rendered by the jury.

In 1803, De Witt Clinton was appointed Mayor of the

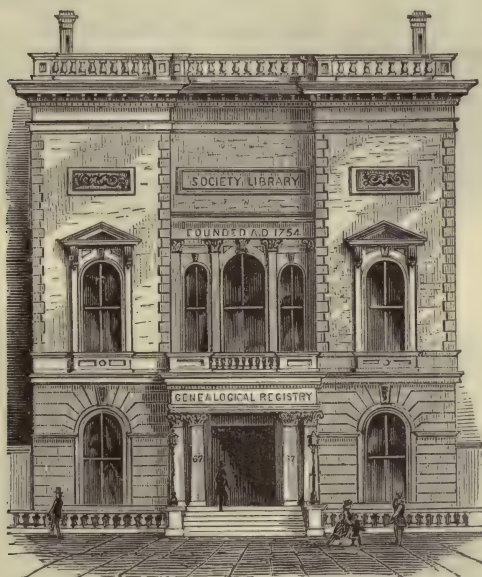
city,* which station he held until the spring of 1807, when
1803. he was succeeded, for a short time, by Colonel Marinus Willett, the venerable soldier of the Revolution, and who, nearly half a century before, had gathered imperishable laurels at Fort Stanwix.

One event, however, was to impede, for a short time, the progress which the city was making on the road to prosperity. This was the fire of 1804. About two
1804. o'clock on the morning of the 18th of December, of that year, a serious fire commenced in a grocery store on Front Street. The air was cold, and a high wind blowing, and the engines late in their appearance, the devouring element extended with unexampled rapidity, destroying many valuable stores and dwellings, with their contents. The buildings from the west side of Coffee-house Slip, on Water Street, to Gouverneur's Lane, and thence down to the East River, were swept away, and crossing Wall Street, the houses upon the east side of the slip were also burned. Among them was the old Tontine Coffee-house, so celebrated in its day, with several brick stores. Most of the buildings being of wood, their destruction caused new and fire-proof brick edifices to be built in their places. About forty stores and dwellings were consumed—fifteen on Wall Street, seventeen on Front, and eight on Water Street—the value of the property destroyed amounting to two millions of dollars. The fire was supposed to be the work of incendiaries, from anonymous letters sent to a merchant previous to the event. A reward of five hundred dollars was, accordingly, offered by the Mayor for the apprehension of the guilty parties. This same region, thirty-one years afterwards,

* The Mayor was at this time appointed to office by a Council of Appointment, consisting of a Senator chosen by the Legislature from each of the four districts of the State, with the Governor as Chairman of the Council.

was to witness the greatest conflagration which ever took place in this city.

The year 1804 was indeed a memorable date in the annals of the city. In that year the Historical Society was founded, with De Witt Clinton for its first vice-president; the New York Society Library received a fresh impetus by the appointment of Gulian C. Verplanck as



SOCIETY LIBRARY BUILDING.

one of its trustees; the present City Hall began to rise from its foundation; and the Public School Society was virtually determined upon. It was marked also by dark signs; for, besides bringing the dreadful fire, already described, it brought the death of Alexander Hamilton—killed in a duel, by Burr, on the 11th of July—and the loss of his brilliant gifts and guiding intellect. Formerly, a marble monument, erected by the St. Andrew's Society,



THE GRANGE—HAMILTON'S RESIDENCE.



RICHMOND HILL—BURR'S RESIDENCE.



TOMB OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON.



DUELING GROUND—WEEHAWKEN.

on the "Weehawken Dueling Ground," opposite Thirty-first Street, marked the exact spot of the fatal encounter; and even as late as 1869, a cedar-tree, against which Hamilton stood, while the seconds were arranging the preliminaries, was still standing. Now, however (1871), the newly-completed road-bed of the West-side Railroad has destroyed the tree, besides removing every vestige of the narrow ledge on which the principals stood.*

The year 1807 is also one yet more memorable, not only in the city's history, but in that of the United States and the globe. In that year was witnessed the successful introduction of steam navigation. "Who shall say," writes Dr. Osgood, "what steam navigation has done to emancipate mankind from drudgery, and construct society upon the basis of liberty? It is science turned liberator; and the saucy philosophy of the eighteenth century become the mighty and merciful helper of the nineteenth century. To us, individually and generally, how marvelous has been the gift! Wherever that piston-rod rises and falls, and those paddles turn, man has a giant for his porter and defender. The liberty of the nation has been organized under its protection; and the great States of the Mississippi valley and the Pacific coast are brought within one loyal affinity, and build their new liberties upon the good old pattern of our fathers. Clinton and Fulton—the one identified with the rise of steam navigation, the other with the Erie Canal—are names that belong to universal history, as having given

* The details of this duel have been so often given that we may properly omit them here. But one recent landmark of the city, connected with that event—viz., RICHMOND HILL, where Burr was residing at the time, and at the foot of which the boat was moored that conveyed him across the river to meet Hamilton on that fatal morning—has entwined around it so many interesting memories that our readers will thank us for giving a sketch of it from the scholarly pen of General Prosper M. Wetmore, who wrote it originally for *The Historical Magazine*. This sketch will be found in Appendix No. II.

America its business unity, and brought its united wealth to bear upon the industry and commerce of the world."

But, notwithstanding the place which Dr. Osgood assigns to Fulton, justice requires it to be stated that to JOHN FITCH, and not to Robert Fulton, belongs the honor of inventing the steam-boat.

Probably no person has received so much praise, and deserved it so little, as Robert Fulton. A man of no practical ingenuity—of no power of conceiving, much less of executing, an original mechanical idea—his friend Colden has succeeded in persuading the public that to him alone is due the successful navigation of our rivers by steam. The facts, however, as I gathered them from the late Bishop Potter, of Pennsylvania, who in turn received them from Chancellor Livingston himself, are as follows: Thirteen years before Fitch experimented with his steam-boat upon the Collect in New York, he had, as is well known, run a little steamer on the Delaware, between Philadelphia and Bordentown, with great success. During that period he had experimented with various kinds of propelling power—the screw, the side-wheel, and sweeps or long oars. The most primitive thing about his vessel was the boiler, which consisted simply of two potash kettles, riveted together. Mr. Livingston, who was greatly interested in the success of Fitch's experiments,* seized the opportunity, when Minister to France, to visit the workshops of Watt and Bolton, in England, where, for the first time, he saw a properly constructed steam-boiler. But how was he to introduce it into the United States, unless (which was then impossible) he went there himself? At this crisis he thought of Robert Fulton, who, originally an artist in Philadelphia, was then exhibiting a panorama in

* The Chancellor had previously expended large sums in boats and machinery for navigating the Hudson by steam, and obtained an act giving him the exclusive right to do so in 1798. This was three years before he saw Fulton.

Paris. His panorama, however, failing to pay, was attached, and he himself arrested for debt and thrown into prison. Livingston also, at this time, had in his possession the *plans, models, and drawings* of what was afterwards the *successful* steam-boat, which he had obtained from the American Consul, then residing at Havre, who, in turn, had purchased them of Fitch, when the latter, completely discouraged, and a stranger in France, utterly destitute, had given up in despair. Livingston, falling into the error so common to many, of believing that, because an artist can draw cleverly, he must necessarily succeed equally well in mechanical conception and execution, paid off Fulton's debts, and sent him over to New York with one of James Watt's boilers. Fulton, however, thoroughly incompetent and untrustworthy, failed to rise to the occasion; and when Livingston returned, a year after, he found his pet project precisely where he had left it several years before. He, therefore, at once took hold of it himself, and by his energy and perseverance, finally brought his idea to a successful issue—Fulton, whom he could not entirely shake off, acting as a kind of general superintendent. These facts, moreover, are confirmed not only by the late President William A. Duer, in his *New Yorker* (Letter 7th), but by Mr. Ransom Cook, now (1871) living at Saratoga Springs, N. Y. Mr. Cook informs me that, in the summer of 1837, he was in the city of New York, engaged upon his electro-magnetic machinery. Among his workmen were two who had been employed by Livingston and Fulton, while those gentlemen were perfecting their steam-boat. They surprised him greatly by stating that Fulton was a capital draughtsman, and that was all. They added, that he was so deficient in a knowledge of the laws of mechanics as to furnish daily mirth for the workmen, and that it was a long time before Livingston could convince him that the

“starting-bar” of an engine should be made larger at the fulcrum end than at the handle!*

On the 7th of August, 1807, the first steam-boat, the *Clermont*, constructed and finished under the nominal superintendence of Robert Fulton, encouraged by Chancellor Livingston, stood in the stream opposite Jersey City, ready at a signal to start on her way to Albany. Thousands of citizens lined both banks of the river, and filled every kind of available water-craft with the expectation of witnessing the utter failure of “Fulton’s Folly”—as they had tauntingly christened the new boat—and of having the satisfaction of saying, “I told you so.” But



THE CLERMONT.

that sentence was never to be uttered; for, at the word from the alleged inventor, the wheels began to revolve, slowly at first, then faster and faster, until “Fulton’s Folly” vanished up the river, leaving the scoffers staring after it

* In the above statement regarding the claims of Fitch and Fulton to be considered the inventors of the steam-boat, I have written what I believe to be the true facts of the case. It is far from my wish, however, to do injustice to any one, and I therefore here give a portion of a letter written to me by Mr. J. H. B. Latrobe, of Baltimore, Md. Mr. Latrobe recently read a paper before the Maryland Historical Society, designed to show that Mr. Nicholas J. Roosevelt, of New York city, was the real inventor of the present side-wheels to the steam-boat. This paper has been published, and is accessible to those wishing to pursue the question further. Mr. Latrobe writes: “It was Fulton who made the plans and superintended the work of the *Clermont*. The Chancellor was wholly incompetent. He was an inventor in a small way,—a man, rather, of ideas to be carried out by others. His inventions, or his idea, wanted the merit of practicability. I have letters on letters of his—*original letters*—which prove this beyond question. An able lawyer; a statesman, too, he was but a smatterer in the sciences that involve accuracy in the mechanic arts. This is the impression his correspondence gives me. So it would you. Fulton, a miniature painter, a panorama-man, a torpedo-man, a man of shifts through necessity, was a man of resources. There are papers in my collection that abundantly prove this. * * * With regard now to Fitch. I mention him in my monograph. There is a drawing somewhere of his boat, but he was not the first who had the idea of steam. Many had it. He practically antedated the Chancellor, and Roosevelt, and Fulton with his *vertical paddles or oars*; but you are the first that I have ever heard say that he had anything to do with *vertical wheels on the sides*, which was the success. Had it been as you state, it would have come out in the proceedings before the Legislature of New Jersey, at Trenton, on the very river where his experiments took place. The merit of Roosevelt was that he not only suggested, but described the mechanical details of construction of these *wheels*—and this to the Chancellor, too! It was not to Fitch, but to two New-Yorkers, of the old Knickerbocker stock, too, that the side-wheel boat owes its origin—Roosevelt, who suggested and described it, while working at the Chancellor’s imoracticability. * * * ”

with blank visages and open mouths. The triumph was complete—yet to Fitch, not Fulton, belongs the honor.

In the summer of 1867, I chanced to be a passenger on one of the swift and fairy-like steamers that ply in the day-time between New York and Albany.* While passing



VIEW AT CATSKILL LANDING.

Catskill, the birth-place of Thurlow Weed, the latter, who was also a passenger, was reminded of an incident of his

* In the course of the trip mentioned in the text, the distance between West Point and Newburg—ten miles—was made in twenty minutes and a half, nearly thirty miles an hour. The speed of the boat (the *Chauncey Vibbard*) on this occasion was timed by Mr. Weed, Mr. Erastus Brooks, of the *Express*, and Mr. Wilkes, of the *Spirit of the Times*. This time becomes the more remarkable when it is stated that, at the time, the steam-boat had five hundred and fifty passengers on board. The speed of Fulton's boat was about six miles an hour! The *Chauncey Vibbard* and *Thos. Powell* are at present considered the fastest boats in the United States, if not on the globe. In this connection, also, it will be interesting to give the following account of the dimensions and speed of the *Clermont*. The *Clermont* was 100 feet long, 12 feet wide, and 7 deep. The following advertisement appeared in the *Albany Gazette* on the 1st of September, 1807:—

"The *North River Steam-boat* will leave Paulus-Hook [Jersey City] on Friday, the 4th of September, at 9 in the morning, and arrive at Albany at 9 in

boyhood, connected with the first trip of the *Clermont*, which he related to the little circle gathered around him: "Sixty years ago, this very day," said Mr. Weed, "the first steam-boat passed up the Hudson from New York to Albany. The news spread like wild-fire, although there was then no telegraph, and the banks of the entire river were almost literally lined with people, to whom the first steam-boat was a much greater wonder than the *Great Eastern* to the present generation." To be on the bank, however, was not enough for Mr. Weed; so, stripping off his clothes and placing them on a rude raft improvised for the occasion, he swam out into the stream, pushing the raft before him; and from an island (now forming the main-land) he watched in actual fear and trembling, the singular, and to him weird, spectacle—

"A peaceful bark o'er the waters sped,
As the monster form drew near;
From his perilous post the helmsman fled,
And the hailing captain bade with dread
From her demon-wake to steer.

* * * * *

"From the fishermen's cabins the inmates burst,
And were moved in their panic to say,
That the ghosts of the Dutchmen had risen from dust
To smoke their great pipes with a terrible gust,
And hasten from Gotham away."*

the afternoon. Provisions, good berths, and accommodation are provided. The charge to each passenger is as follows:

	Dollars.	Hours.
To Newburg.....	3 00	14
" Poughkeepsie	4 00	17
" Esopus.....	5 00	20
" Hudson	5 50	30
" Albany.....	7 00	36

"Mr. Fulton's new steam-boat," said the same paper, on the 5th of October, "left New York on the 2d, at 10 o'clock, A. M., against a strong tide, very rough water, and a violent gale from the north. She made a headway, against the most sanguine expectations, and without being rocked by the waves."

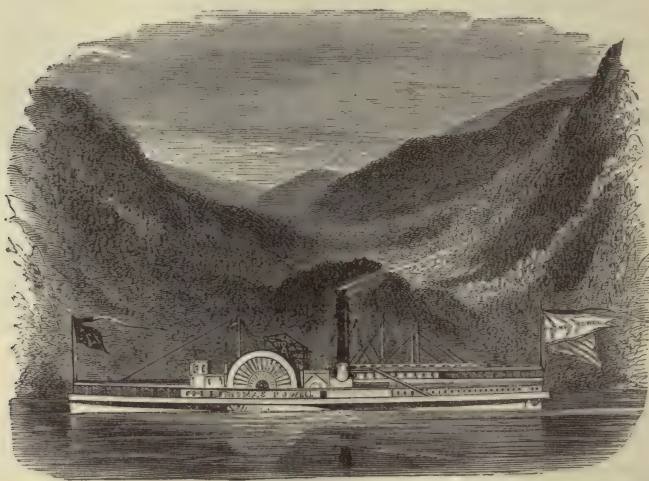
Mr. Charles Dyke, who died in 1871, at the age of eighty-five years, in this State, was the engineer of Fulton's little trial steamer, the *Clermont*, at the time she made her first trip from New York to Albany, on the 7th of August, 1807.

* *The First Steam-boat* by Mrs. Sigourney.

It was not, however, until 1811 that "Crossing the Ferry" at New York became an accomplished fact. In-

deed, the difficulties experienced in crossing the

1811. North and East Rivers before horse or steam ferries were known, will never be realized by the present generation. They may be judged of somewhat by the following extract from a letter to the writer, written by a gentleman who now (1871) is still living, at the age of eighty-eight, hale and hearty. "When a boy of fifteen," he writes, "I first visited New York city, in 1801. Then



we crossed from Brooklyn in small sail-boats—two cents ferriage. With ice in the river, it was sometimes extremely perilous. To get a gig across, of course, the wheels must be taken off, and the horse jumped. On that first visit I saw the fine farms below the present City Hall—and one farmer was just driving out the gate with a fine calf to carry down town to the butcher. My father took me to the old Fly Market, whither he carried his produce.”*

* Letter from Isaac Rushmore, of Westbury, L. I., to the writer, dated November 7th, 1871.

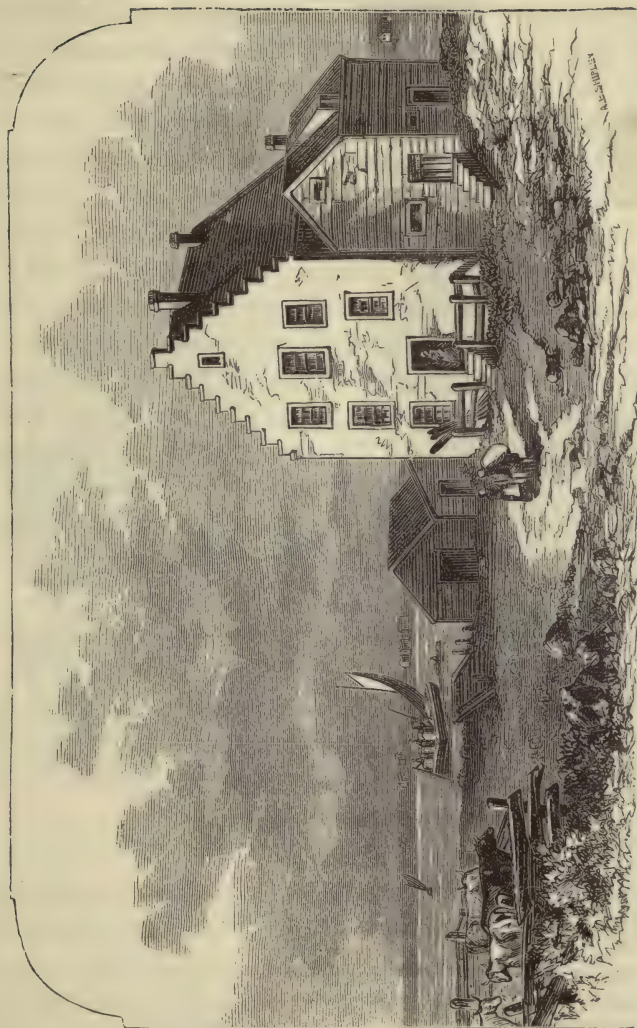
The first announcement of a steam ferry-boat appears in the *Columbian* newspaper of the 18th of September, 1811, as follows: "*Hoboken Steamboat*. — Mr. Godwin respectfully acquaints the citizens of New York and the public at large, that he has commenced running a steam-boat on the Hoboken Ferry, of large and convenient size, and capable of affording accommodation in a very extensive degree. The boat moves with uncommon speed and facility, and starts from the usual ferry stairs, at the Corporation wharf, foot of Vesey Street, New York, where passage may be taken at any hour of the day." On the 24th of the same month, the following editorial appears in the same paper: "Steam-boats are rapidly getting into the 'full tide of successful experiment' in this country. Last week one of Colonel Stevens' ferry-boats, employed by Mr. Godwin, of Hoboken, was started into operation, and yesterday made sixteen trips back and forth, between that place and this city, with a probable average of one hundred passengers each trip.* Her machinery, we understand, is somewhat different from that of the large North River boats, and we presume she sails considerably faster than any other heretofore constructed in our waters."

Even in those days it seems that there was sharp competition. Especially was this the case between Fulton, who represented the Paulus Hook Ferry Company, and Colonel John Stevens that of the Hoboken Ferry. The latter, it would appear, started the first passenger steam ferry-boat, but the former produced, although at a later period, a boat (or rather a double boat) which proved successful for the general wants and uses of such a craft. In July of the year following, 1812, the *Columbian* says, editorially: "The large and commodious *Steam-boat* which

* Compare this statement with the fact that now *two hundred thousand* persons daily cross the East River, and as many more on the other side to New Jersey and Staten Island.

has been for some time erecting in this city by Mr. Fulton, as a ferry-boat to ply between this city and the city of Jersey, will be in full operation on Thursday next. The crossing of the North River has been such an obstacle to the communication with this city, that it is a matter of real congratulation to the public that their difficulties are removed. The most timid may cross now without fear. As the fare of a market-wagon, loaded, will be but fifty cents, there is no doubt but our markets will be better supplied than ever they have been." "The boat impelled by horses, from the New (Catharine) Slip to the upper Brooklyn Ferry, carried at one time, 543 passengers, besides some carriages and horses. And a horse-boat is to run soon from Grand Street Dock to Williamsburgh." The same authority, a short time afterwards, announces the successful launching of this boat, called the *Williamsburgh*, from the ship-yard of Mr. Browne. It was not, however, until May, 1814, that steam ferry-boats superseded those propelled by horse-power on the Brooklyn ferry.* In speaking of this great improvement, the paper we have before quoted (the *Columbian*), under date of May 14th, says: "*Brooklyn Ferry-Boat*.—The *Nassau*, the new steam-boat belonging to Messrs. Cutting & Co., which commenced running from Beekman Slip to the lower ferry at Brooklyn a few days ago, carried, in one of her first trips, 549 (another counted 550) passengers, one wagon and a pair of horses, two horses and chairs, and one single horse. She has made a trip in *four minutes*, and generally takes from four to eight, and has crossed the river forty times in one day." "Yesterday (Sunday, May 10th), between twelve and one o'clock, Mr. Lewis Rhoda accidentally got hurled into the machinery of the new steam-boat *Nassau*,

* The picture of the Brooklyn Ferry-house, on the opposite page, is copied from a colored engraving published in London, by Thomas Bakewell, in 1746, entitled, "A South Prospect of ye Flourishing City of New York, in ye Province of New York, in America."



FULTON FERRY IN 1740.

which cut off his left arm a little below the elbow, and broke his neck. He expired in about three hours.”*

In 1808, De Witt Clinton was again appointed Mayor of the city, which office—with the exception of only one year, when he was superseded by Judge Radcliffe in consequence of a change in party politics—he retained by successive annual appointments, until the year 1815.

“In the discharge of his duties as Mayor,” says Dr. David Hosack, in his address before the Literary and Philosophical Society, “whether presiding at the Common Council Board, superintending the general interests of the city as the President of the Board of Health, or officiating in the character of a judge on the bench, Mr. Clinton acquired the confidence, the respect, and the gratitude of all classes of citizens, uninfluenced by the various party feelings that distracted the community. As the presiding

* This may probably be considered the *first* “steam-boat accident”—now become so frightfully common—on record.

The first ferry ordinance on record (1654) lays down the following rates of ferriage:

The ferryman is to be allowed for a wagon, cart (either with horses or oxen), or a head of cattle	Flor.	stiv.
.....	2	10
For a one-horse wagon	2	
For a plough	1	
For a hog, sheep, buck, or goat		3
For a savage, male or female		6
For each other person		3
Half for children under ten years.		
For a horse, or four-footed horned beast	1	10
For a hogshead of tobacco		16
For a tun of beer		16
For an anchor of wine or spirits		6
For a keg of butter, or anything else		6
For four schepels of corn		1

The ferryman cannot be compelled to ferry any one over before he is paid. The hours shall be from 7 o'clock, A. M., to 5 P. M., in winter; but he is not to be obliged to ferry during a tempest, or when he cannot sail.

The directors and members of the Council, or court messenger, and other persons invested with authority, or dispatched by the Executive, are to be exempt from toll.

officer of the Common Council, the dignity, the ability, and the dispatch with which he performed the duties of that important office, were always the theme of eulogy; and to the municipal concerns of the city he paid a devoted and unremitted attention."

In this year, also, he was instrumental in obtaining from the State Legislature an appropriation of \$100,000 for the fortification of the city. He was likewise the President of the Board of Commissioners appointed to



FORT HAMILTON.

superintend the accomplishment of those important military works on Staten Island and in other portions of the bay for the defense of the city.

It was while Clinton was Mayor that the affair took place which is generally known as the "Trinity Church Riot."*

* The following account of this riot is taken from Chief-Justice Daly's scholarly discourse, delivered before the Century Club, on the death of Gulian C. Verplanck.

"In 1811, one of the graduating class of Columbia College, afterwards well known as Dr. J. B. Stevenson, who had been appointed one of the disputants in a political debate which was to take place at the college commencement, submitted, as required, what he was to say, to the inspection of one of the faculty, Dr. Wilson. It contained this passage: 'Representatives ought to act according to the sentiments of their constituents,' which Dr. Wilson required him to modify by limiting it to one instance only. The young man remonstrated, but the doctor was inexorable, because, as he afterwards testified, he considered it expedient that the young man should deliver correct principles, as he was to be the respondent in the debate. The commencement was held in Trinity Church before a crowded audience, and, when Stevenson came to reply, he omitted the qualification, and delivered the passage exactly as he had written it. When his name was called for the delivery of a diploma, he ascended the stage, and, as the president was in the act of handing him the one prepared for him, one of the professors interposed, and the president refused to confer the degree. The young man withdrew, overwhelmed by this public exposure; but, upon returning to the body of the church, he was surrounded by his fellow-graduates and friends, for he had been an industrious and most exemplary student, and, at their instigation, here turned to the platform and demanded his diploma. One of the professors, anxious to accommodate matters, said to him, 'Probably you forgot;' but the young man promptly answered, 'I did not, but I would not utter what I did not believe.' The diploma was again refused, upon which he had the courage to turn to the audience and say: 'I am refused my degree, ladies and gentlemen, not from any literary deficiency, but because I refused to speak the sentiments of others as my own.' This at once produced a sensation, upon which

Hugh Maxwell, an alumnus of the college, and afterwards a distinguished advocate, went upon the stage and addressed the audience in support of Stevenson, condemning the faculty in what they considered very bold and offensive language. At this juncture Mr. Verplanck also went on the platform and demanded of Dr. Mason, the provost, who was the ruling power in the college, why the degree was not conferred. Dr. Mason informed him, and Verplanck answered: 'The reason, sir, is not satisfactory; Mr. Maxwell must be sustained.' The audience now became greatly excited in favor of Stevenson, and Verplanck, turning towards them, moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Maxwell 'for his zealous and honorable defense of an injured man,' a proposition which the graduating class received with three cheers, followed by three groans for the provost. Verplanck's manner in this scene, as subsequently described by Dr. Mason, 'was loud and rude, with an air of consequence and disdain, calculated to aid and increase the disturbance,' and, according to the doctor's account, he 'appeared as if erecting himself into a tribunal to judge above the heads of the faculty,' a statement in which others who were present did not concur. Old as well as young men now took as active a part as Verplanck or Maxwell; and when Dr. Mason, in his official character as provost, came forward to restore order, he was, to employ his own words, when examined as a witness, received with a 'hiss that, in manner and quality, would not disgrace a congregation of snakes upon Snake Hill in New Jersey.' He was compelled to retire, the police were brought in, and the commencement came to an end in confusion and disorder.

"From the college and the church the affair passed into the newspapers. The faculty published in the daily journals a lengthy vindication of their course, and were answered by a rejoinder from the graduating class, and by

replies from others who were present. A complaint was made to the grand jury, and seven of the principal actors, —Stevenson, Verplanck, and Maxwell being included,—were indicted; and, at the August term of the Court of Sessions, or, as it was then popularly called, the Mayor's Court, they were arraigned and put upon their trial for the criminal offense of creating or assisting in a riot. De Witt Clinton, being then Mayor of the city, presided; and from the unusual circumstance of such an occurrence in a church upon such an occasion, and the fact that all who were indicted were members of leading families of the city, the trial excited the deepest interest. Verplanck and Maxwell defended themselves, and three of the most eminent counsel of that day, David B. Ogden, Josiah O. Hoffman, and Peter A. Jay, appeared for the other defendants. The principal members of the faculty were examined as witnesses, conspicuous among whom was Dr. Mason, the provost of the college, in the earnestness and zeal which he displayed to secure a conviction. He was at the time the most eloquent preacher in the city, or, indeed, in the country, and in giving his testimony brought all the weight of his popularity and his intellectual gifts to bear with great effect against the accused.

“Verplanck addressed the jury upon his own behalf. He declared, which was no doubt the truth, that he was moved to do what he did solely from his sense of the injustice of the college authorities, in publicly refusing to confer the degree because the young man would not utter their political sentiments. ‘There was,’ he said, ‘gentlemen of the jury, a lofty spirit of gallantry about the conduct of Mr. Maxwell, with which, at the time, I could not but sympathize, and which now I cannot but admire. He was bold in the cause of friendship and of character. I approved of his behavior, and I am proud that I did so;’ and then gratified his own feelings, at least, by telling the jury

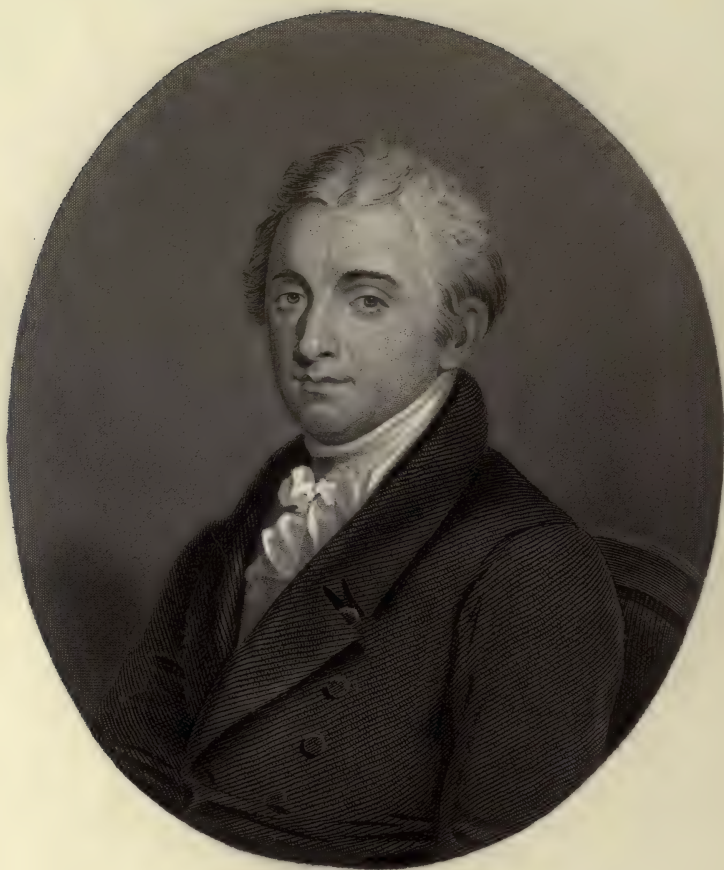
that Dr. Mason was 'a man towering in the proud consciousness of intellectual strength, little accustomed to yield, or even to listen to the opinions of others, that he appeared as a witness pouring forth upon him and Maxwell all the bitterness of his rancor and the overboiling of his contempt; throwing off the priest and the gentleman and assuming the buffoon; showering upon them his delicate irony, his choice simile of the congregation of snakes, and all the other savory flowers of rhetoric, in which he was so fertile, and had poured forth in such abundance,' and, appealing to the jury, asked, 'What credit will you give to a witness, inflamed by passion, smarting with wounded pride, and mortified self-confidence?'

"It was very doubtful whether the offense, which the law denominates a riot, had been proved, or in fact committed—whether there was any thing more than a strong expression of disapprobation on the part of the audience, an occurrence more or less incident to the nature of public assemblages, which became a scene of disorder from the faculty persisting in refusing to give the young man his diploma. No actual violence on the part of any of the defendants was proved, nor was what occurred of a nature to create public terror, a necessary ingredient in the crime of riot. There was probably nothing more than a breach of the peace.

"It was pertinently suggested by Mr. Jay, that, if the college permitted the students to discuss a political question, as a part of the public exercises at a commencement, they should have been allowed the free exercise of their own views in the discussion of it, and that the supervision of their remarks should have been confined to the correction merely of literary defects; that otherwise there was no freedom in the debate, but the students were simply mouth-pieces to utter the political views and sentiments of the professors; that there was nothing in the statutes

of the college which imposed the penalty of a refusal of a degree if a student would not incorporate in his speech what a professor directed him to put in; that a resolution had been inserted in the minutes of 1796, subjecting the compositions of the students to the inspection of the faculty, and, if any such penalty as the deprivation of a degree were attached, the students were left in ignorance of it, as there was nothing of the kind in the college statutes; and he argued that it was not the young men upon trial, but the faculty, who were responsible for the disturbance; that they had, perhaps, without sufficient reflection, fallen into an error, which their pride prevented them afterwards from admitting. They had committed a palpable act of injustice, and it was their unwillingness to recede from it, and their determination to persist in it, that had exasperated the audience. They, consequently, were the real authors of the riot, if there was one; but he insisted, as did the other counsel for the defense, that, in the sense of the law, there had been no riot.

"Clinton, however, had no misgivings in respect to the law. He charged the jury that the offense had been committed, that all the defendants were guilty of it, and got rid of the definition of a riot by Hawkins, a learned elementary authority upon the criminal law, by declaring it to be 'undoubtedly bad.' He commented upon the conduct of the defendants with great severity, and was especially severe upon Verplanck. It was difficult, he said, to speak of his conduct in terms sufficiently strong; that he was one of the principal ringleaders 'in the scene of disorder and disgrace,' and that in his reply to the provost, and in his moving a vote of thanks to Maxwell, he evinced 'a matchless insolence.' He told the jury that they were bound 'by every consideration arising out of the public peace and the public morals, and by their regard for an institution venerable for its antiquity, to bring in all the



James Monroe

defendants guilty;’ that he had no hesitation in declaring that the disturbance was ‘the most disgraceful, the most unprecedented, the most unjustifiable, and the most outrageous, that had ever come to the knowledge of the court.’

“Under this charge the jury found the defendants guilty. Verplanck and Maxwell were fined two hundred dollars each, which was imposed, says Renwick, Clinton’s biographer, in an address conveying a severe, merited, and pointed reprimand. They were required, in addition, to procure sureties for their future good behavior; and the same authority states that Clinton hesitated for some time whether he was not called upon, by a regard for justice, to inflict also the disgrace of imprisonment.”*

But before New York city was to attain to her present high position, she was destined to pass through another

* “But the result of the prosecution did not produce the effect which its promoters anticipated. Public feeling, especially in the Democratic party, was with the defendants, and the course of Clinton, upon the trial, greatly augmented the hostility of the Madisonian Democrats to him. We were then on the eve of a war with England. The measures of Madison had not been sufficiently energetic to satisfy the more ardent of the Democrats; and Clinton, relying upon a diversion of the dissatisfied portion of that party in his favor, had taken the field as a candidate for the Presidency against Madison, and at this very time was intriguing to secure the support of the Federalists. By the Democrats his course upon the trial was attributed to a desire to ingratiate himself with the Federal party, and matters subsequently brought to light disclose that this belief was not wholly without foundation. Dr. Mason, a Federalist of the straitest sect, either shortly before or about the time of the trial, had acted as the private friend of Clinton in bringing about an interview between him and John Jay, Rufus King, and Gouverneur Morris, three of the principal Federal leaders, which failed of its object through John Jay’s disgust at hearing Clinton say that he had never sympathized with the Democrats, but had always been in favor of the policy of Washington and Adams’ administrations—an extraordinary statement from the man whose denunciation of the Federal leaders as ‘men who had rather reign in hell than serve in heaven,’ had rung through every part of the Union. It was, therefore, not without some ground that he was exposed to the suspicion of having been actuated upon this trial by a desire to do something that would gratify the Federalists, and especially his negotiator with them, a man of imperious temper and despotic will, who had set his heart upon the success of this prosecution.”—*Chief-Justice Daly’s Discourse.*

period of darkness and depression—the War of 1812—a period, moreover, which was to be rendered additionally trying by the crippling of its resources by the terrible conflagration of 1811. The late Hon. G. P. Disosway, who, with a few yet living, passed through this fiery ordeal, gives his personal reminiscences of this fire as follows :

“An extensive fire broke out in Chatham Street, near Duane, on Sunday morning, May 19th, 1811, raging furiously several hours. A brisk north-east wind was blowing at the moment, and the flames, spreading with great rapidity, for some time baffled all the exertions of the firemen and citizens. Between eighty and one hundred buildings, on both sides of Chatham Street, were consumed in a few hours.

“We well remember this conflagration. The writer was then a Sabbath-school boy, and a teacher in a public school-room near by, at the corner of Tryon Row. The school was dismissed, and, as usual, proceeded to old John Street Church, thick showers of light, burning shingles and cinders falling all over the streets. That was the day of shingle roofs. When the teachers and scholars, their number very large, reached the church, the venerable Bishop McKendall occupied the pulpit, and seeing the immense clouds of dark smoke and living embers enveloping that section of the city, he advised the men ‘to go to the fire and help in its extinguishment, and he would preach to the women and children.’ This advice was followed.

“By this time the scene had become very exciting, impressive, and even fearful. We have not forgotten it, and never will. The wind had increased to a gale, and far and wide and high flew the blazing flakes in whirling eddies, throwing burning destruction wherever they lit or fell.

“The lofty spires near by of the ‘Brick Meeting,’ ‘St. Paul’s,’ and ‘St. George’s Chapel,’ enveloped in the rapidly passing embers, soon became the especial objects of watchfulness and anxiety. Thousands of uplifted eyes, and, we doubt not, prayers, were directed towards these holy tabernacles, now threatened with speedy destruction. And there was cause for fear. Near the ball at the top of the ‘Brick Church,’ a blazing spot was seen outside, and apparently not larger than a man’s head. Instantly a thrill of fear evidently ran through the bosoms of the thousands crowding the Park and the wide area of Chatham Street. They feared the safety of an old and loved temple of the Lord, and they feared, also, if the spire was once in flames, with the increasing gale, what would be the terrible consequence on the lower part of the city.

“‘What can we do?’ was the universal question—‘What in the world can be done?’ was in everybody’s mouth. The kindling spot could not be reached from the inside of the tall steeple, nor by ladders outside; neither could any fire-engine, however powerful, force the water to that lofty height. With the deepest anxiety, fear, and trembling, all faces were turned in that direction. At this moment of alarm and dread, a sailor appeared on the roof of the church, and very soon was seen climbing up the steeple, hand over hand, by the lightning-rod!—yes, by the rusty, slender iron! Of course, the excitement now became most intense; and the perilous undertaking of the daring man was

watched every moment, as he slowly, step by step, grasp after grasp, literally crawled upward, by means of his slim conductor. Many fears were expressed among the immense crowd, watching every inch of his ascent, for there was no resting-place for hands and feet, and he must hold on, or fall and perish; and should he succeed in reaching the burning spot, how could he possibly extinguish it, as water, neither by hose nor bucket, could be sent to his assistance? 'But where there is a will, there is a way,' says an old maxim, and it was at this crisis he reached the kindling spot, and, firmly grasping the lightning-rod in one hand, with the other he removed his tarpaulin hat from his head, and with it literally, blow after blow, thick, strong, and unceasing, extinguished or beat out the fire! Shouts of joy and thanks greeted the noble fellow as he slowly and safely descended to the earth again.* The 'Old Brick' was thus preserved from the great conflagration of that Sunday morning. Our hero quickly disappeared in the crowd, and, it was said, immediately sailed abroad, with the favorable wind then blowing. A reward was offered for the person who performed this daring, generous act; but it is said that some impostor passed himself off for the real hero, and obtained the promised amount.

"The cupola of the 'Old Jail,' which stood on the spot now occupied by the 'Hall of Records,' also took fire. This was extinguished through the exertions of a prisoner 'on the limits.' This was the famous, generous institution where unfortunate debtors formerly were confined and barred in with grated doors and iron bolts, deprived of liberty, and without tools, books, paper, or pen, expected to pay their debts. It was a kind of 'Calcutta Black-Hole,' and the inmates having no yard-room, the prisoners frequented the top of the building for open-air exercise. Here they might be seen every hour of the day. Generally discovering fires in the city, they gave the first alarm, by ringing the 'Jail-Bell.' This became a sure signal of a conflagration, and on this occasion they saved the legal pest-house from quick destruction. The Corporation rewarded the debtor who fortunately extinguished the threatened cupola.

"If the building had been destroyed and its inmates only saved, there would not have been much public regret, for it had been a sort of 'Calcutta Black-Hole' to American prisoners of war during the Revolution. After General Washington's success, during 1777, in New Jersey, a portion of these poor prisoners were exchanged; but many of them, exhausted by their confinement, before reaching the vessels for their embarkation home, fell dead in the streets. These are some of the historical reminiscences of the 'Old Debtors' Prison,' which so narrowly escaped burning in the great fire of May, 1811."

Scarcely had the citizens of New York recovered from the disheartening effects of this fire, when, on the 20th of June, 1812, the news was received in the city of President Madison's declaration of war against Great Britain, issued a few days previous. A meeting was immediately called at noon of the same day, in the

* This sailor was the father of the late Rev. Dr. Hague, Pastor of the Baptist Church, corner of Thirty-first Street and Madison Avenue.—*Letter from Thomas Hays to the Author.*

park, at which the citizens solemnly pledged themselves to give the Government their undivided support. Clinton, also,—although, as chief magistrate of the city, he could with perfect propriety have pleaded his official duties as an excuse for not taking an active part,—hastened to offer to the commander-in-chief his personal services for active operations in the field. These were preferred in a letter addressed to Governor Tompkins, by their mutual friend, Thomas Addis Emmet. But the patriotism of Mr. Clinton did not stop here. The declaration of war had found us as a nation wholly unprepared for war. The treasury was empty, and its credit, at that time, impaired. It was, accordingly, soon perceived that, if the city of New York was to be defended, the funds for that purpose must be provided by her own citizens. At this crisis, Mr. Clinton suggested to the Common Council that they should borrow the necessary funds on the credit of the city, and loan the amount thus raised to the United States. The plan was approved. An impressive address, drafted by Mr. Clinton, was made to our citizens, and a million of dollars—at that time a large sum to be secured in this manner—was raised by subscription for the defense of the city.

Nor was it only in repelling outside foes that the virtues of Clinton's character were exhibited. His
1813. patriotism, his unshaken firmness in supporting the laws and in preserving the peace of the community, were at this time most conspicuous.

A state of war in every country produces a body of men who, under various specious pretences, excite to acts of riot and disorder, which they turn to the gratification of their private and personal resentments, or their own malignant passions.* Disgraceful scenes of lawless violence and of bloodshed had recently occurred in a

* *Vide*, for example, the "Draft Riot" in New York in 1863.

sister city, and gave fearful omen of what might likewise be expected in New York, unless restrained by the strong arm of the law. Mr. Clinton foresaw the crisis, and his correct and intrepid spirit prepared for the emergency. In an address to the Grand Jury, he alluded to the riotous scenes in Baltimore, and, with a view to prevent a repetition of similar occurrences in New York, he digested and prepared a system of police regulations for the preservation of the peace of the city, which was adopted by the Common Council. The result was that the city remained tranquil and undisturbed by tumult of any sort. "The character of Mr. Clinton," says Dr. Hosack, in alluding to this circumstance, "was an assurance to the community that these regulations would not remain a dead letter, but be faithfully and promptly executed. His well known firmness gave tranquillity to our city; the vicious were awed; the virtuous, under his auspices, felt additional confidence."

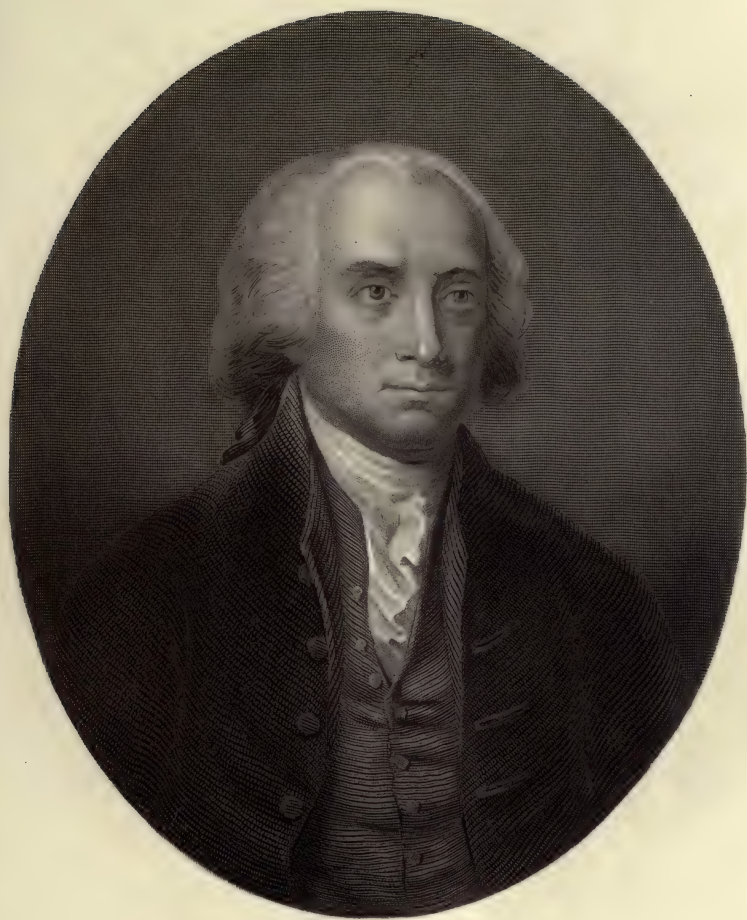
But, as a city, New York did well. Her conduct, in view of the severe blow which it was perceived would at once be given by the war to the prosperity of New York, was no slight proof of patriotism; and many who at the beginning of the war were rich, found themselves, when the treaty of peace was signed on the 24th of December, 1814, ruined. The condition in which
1814.
New York was at the close of the war, as well as the extravagant demonstration of joy with which the news of the termination of hostilities was received, is thus graphically described by the late Francis Wayland, who was an eye-witness of the scene:

"It so chanced that, at the close of the last war with Great Britain, I was temporarily a resident of the city of New York. The prospects of the nation were shrouded in gloom. We had been, for two or three years, at war with the mightiest nation on earth, and as she had now

concluded a peace with the continent of Europe, we were obliged to cope with her single-handed. Our harbors were blockaded, communications coastwise between our ports were cut off; our ships were rotting in every creek and cove where they could find a place of security; our immense annual products were mouldering in our warehouses; the sources of profitable labor were dried up; our currency was reduced to irredeemable paper; the extreme portions of our country were becoming hostile to each other; and differences of political opinion were embittering the peace of every household; the credit of the Government was exhausted; no one could predict when the contest would terminate, or discern the means by which it could much longer be protracted.*

* The following lines, entitled "Hard Times," published in New York city at the close of the War of 1812, seem, with one or two exceptions, written for the present day. History has repeated itself, except in the case of the geese and turkeys! Would that a "good fat goose" could now be bought for five shillings!

"No business stirring, all things at a stand,
People complain they have no cash in hand.
Dull times' re-echoes now from every quarter,
Even from father to the son and daughter.
Merchants cry out no money to be had,
Grocers say the times are very bad;
Mechanics work, but they can get no pay,
Beaux dress genteel, and ladies too are gay.
Cash very scarce, dancing twice a week—
Business dull—amusement still we seek.
Some live awhile, and then, perhaps, they fail.
While many run in debt and go to jail.
The females must have ribbons, gauze, and lace,
And paint besides, to smooth a wrinkled face;
The beaux will dress, go to the ball and play,
Sit up all night and lay in bed all day,
Brush up an empty pate, look smart and prim,
Follow each trifling fashion or odd whim.
Five shillings will buy a good fat goose,
While turkeys, too, are offered fit for use.
Are those bad times when persons will profess
To follow fashions and delight in dress?
No! times are good, but people are to blame,
Who spend too much, and justly merit shame."



James Madison

"It happened that, on a Sunday afternoon, in February, 1815, a ship was discerned in the offing, which was supposed to be a cartel, bringing home our Commis-
sioners at Ghent, from their unsuccessful mission. 1815.

The sun had set gloomily before any intelligence had reached the city. Expectation became painfully intense, as the hours of darkness drew on. At length, a boat reached the wharf, announcing the fact that a treaty of peace had been signed, and was waiting for nothing but the action of our Government to become a law. The men, on whose ears these words first fell, rushed in breathless haste into the city, to repeat them to their friends, shouting as they ran through the streets, 'Peace! PEACE! PEACE!' Every one who heard the sound repeated it. From house to house, from street to street, the news spread with electric rapidity. The whole city was in commotion. Men bearing lighted torches, were flying to and fro, shouting like madmen, 'PEACE! PEACE!' When the rapture had partially subsided, one idea occupied every mind. But few men slept that night. In groups they were gathered in the streets, and by the fireside, beguiling the hours of midnight by reminding each other that the agony of war was over, and that a worn-out and distracted country was about to enter again upon its wonted career of prosperity."*

* At the time that the news of peace was received, S. G. Goodrich ("Peter Parley") happened to be in the city. Speaking of the joyful effect produced, he says: "I had gone in the evening to a concert at the City Hotel. While listening to the music, the door of the concert-room was thrown open, and in rushed a man breathless with excitement. He mounted on a table, and swinging a white handkerchief aloft, cried out, 'Peace! Peace! Peace!!' The music ceased; the hall was speedily vacated. I rushed into the street, and oh, what a scene! In a few minutes, thousands and tens of thousands of people were marching about with candles, lamps, torches—making the jubilant street appear like a gay and gorgeous procession. The whole night Broadway sang its song of peace. We were all Democrats, all Federalists! Old enemies rushed into each other's arms; every house was in a revel; every heart seemed melted by a joy which banished all evil thought and feeling. On Monday morning, I set out for Connecticut. All along the road, the people saluted us

The winter of 1817 was unusually severe. As late as the 15th of February the Hudson was frozen over from

the city to the New Jersey side, so that people
1817. crossed on the ice from shore to shore. "Several

gentlemen," records the *Evening Post* for February, "set out for a sleigh-ride on the ice from Flushing to Riker's Island, where they arrived in safety. This was the first sleigh that was ever known to visit the island, and, as it passed down the bay, it drew forth numbers of people on the shore to view so singular an event." The suc-

ceeding year, also, witnessed the same intensity of
1818. cold, Long Island Sound being entirely closed by ice between Cold Spring and the Connecticut shore. The Hudson likewise was again frozen so firmly that heavy teams crossed to the Jersey side. Many persons, like the Canadians, when the ice-pont forms between Quebec and Point Levi, sought to make gain out of this unusual circumstance. Accordingly, they erected tents on the ice and sold in them liquor, roasted clams, and oysters. An attempt was also made to roast an ox, but the experiment failed, on account of the ice becoming weak near the furnaces where the cooking was done.*

with swinging of hats and cries of rejoicing. At one place, in rather a lonely part of the road, a schoolmaster came out, with the whole school at his heels, to ask us if the news was true. We told him it was; whereupon he tied his bandanna pocket handkerchief to a broom, swung it aloft, and the whole school hosannaed, 'Peace! Peace!'

* An amusing anecdote was told at this time of a certain Jeremiah Butman, around whose tent the ice had become quite thin, from the effects of the stove and several days of mild weather. One of his customers, happening to step upon a weak spot outside of his tent, broke through, and was struggling in the water, when a friend put his head inside of Butman's tent, saying, "Jerry, there is a man gone down your cellar!" "Is it so?" said Jerry. "Then it is about time for me to leave these premises." The man, however, was finally extricated, the tent struck, and all were safely taken to the land on a sled.

On account of the severe winter, provisions were considered very dear. At the present day, however, the prices that then ruled would be considered



MONUMENT TO GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

In the same year (1818) the Legislature of New York—De Witt Clinton, Governor—ordered the remains of General Montgomery to be removed from Canada to New York. This was in accordance with the wishes of the Continental Congress, which, in 1776, had voted the beautiful cenotaph to his memory that now stands in the front wall of St. Paul's Church, in Broadway. When the funeral cortege reached Whitehall, New York, the fleet stationed there received them with appropriate honors; and on the 4th of July they arrived in Albany. After lying in state in that city over Sunday, the remains were taken to New York, and on Wednesday deposited, with military honors, in their final resting-place at St. Paul's. Governor Clinton, with that delicacy for which he was always remarkable, had informed Mrs. Montgomery when the steamer *Richmond*, with the body of her husband, would pass her mansion on the North River. At her own request, she stood alone on the portico at the moment that the boat passed. It was now forty years since she had parted from her husband, and they had been married only two years; yet she had remained as faithful to the memory of her "soldier," as she always called him, as if alive. The steam-boat halted before the mansion; the band played the "Dead March;" a salute was fired; and the ashes of the venerated hero and the departed husband passed on. The attendants of the Spartan widow now appeared, but, overcome by the

remarkably cheap. The following are the quotations taken from the *Columbian* of December 5th, 1818:

Best beef, per lb.	12½c.	Butter, fresh.	33c.
“ “ “ cwt.	\$7 to 12	“ In firkins.	23c. to 26c.
Pork, per lb.	10c.	Potatoes, per barrel	56c.
“ “ cwt.	\$8.	Turnips, “ “	31c.
Veal, per lb.	10c.	Cabbages, per 1,000 ..	\$6 to \$7
Mutton, per lb.	8c.	Wood, oak, per load.	\$2 25c.
Turkeys, apiece (good).	\$1 56c.	“ Walnut “	\$3 50c.
Fowls, per pair	56c.	“ Pine “	\$1 62½c.
Geese, per piece	50c. to 56c.		

tender emotions of the moment, she had swooned and fallen to the floor.*

The gallant dead, though surrounded by the turmoil of a busy city, is still permitted to rest beneath the turf made radiant by the unsullied blossoms of early spring. The brave Wolfe, who fell on nearly the same spot sixteen years previous, sleeps within the splendid mausoleum of Westminster Abbey. But as we stand over the simple grave of Montgomery, we recall the quaint and beautiful language of Osborne: "He that lieth under the herse of heavenne is convertible into sweet herbs and flowers, that maye rest in bosoms that wolde shrink from the ugly bugs which may be found crawling in the magnificent tombs of Heny the VII."†

On the 22d of February, 1819, a grand ball was given by the Fourteenth Regiment,‡ in honor of General Andrew

* Janet Livingston, the sister of the distinguished Chancellor Livingston, and the wife of General Richard Montgomery, met the latter when he was a Captain in the British army, on his way to a distant frontier post. The meeting left mutual tender impressions. Returning to England soon after, Montgomery disposed of his commission, and, emigrating to New York, married the object of his attachment. But their visions of anticipated happiness upon a farm at Rhinebeck were soon ended. He was called upon to serve as one of the eight brigadier-generals in the Continental army. He accepted sadly, declaring that "the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed." His excellent wife made no opposition; and, accompanying him as far as Saratoga, received his last assurance: "You shall never have cause to blush for your Montgomery." Nor did she, for he fell bravely at Quebec. Having reduced St. John's, Chambly, and Montreal, he effected a junction with Arnold before the walls of Quebec, where he was shot through both his thighs and head, while leading his men, on the 31st of December, 1775. In person, General Montgomery was tall, graceful, and of manly address. At the time of his death he was only thirty-nine years of age.

† For the inscription on the cenotaph, and also for a letter from General Montgomery, explaining the reason for his coming to America,—which has always been involved in obscurity—see Appendix, No III.

‡ The *Fourteenth* (now the *Seventh*) *Regiment*—also known as the *Governor's Guards*, from the fact that it had once been detailed by Governor Daniel D. Tompkins (at the time a Major-General in the Army of the United States) as his special body guard—was distinguished for its splendid discipline and its

Jackson, at the City Hotel. The ball was attended by the General in person, and was far ahead, in elegance and brilliancy, of anything before known in the city —so much so, indeed, as to call forth several squibs and criticisms from "*Croaker*," the celebrated "quiz" and satirist of that day.*

The winter of 1820-'21, like that of 1817-'18, was one of remarkable severity. Indeed, for many years previous, such intense and steady cold weather had not been known. A newspaper of that day, speaking of this, says: "The weather, after twenty-one days of steady cold, began to moderate on Saturday afternoon (the 20th). On Saturday morning, Long Island Sound was crossed upon the ice from Sand's Point to the opposite shore, distance eight miles. The price of oak wood was up to five dollars a load, Saturday."† Three days afterwards the same paper states: "The cold still continues intense; both the North and East Rivers were crossed on the ice, and the bay is nearly filled with floating ice, which will probably be closed by another cold night, and our harbor shut up for the first time in forty years." On the next day: "The North River continues to be crossed with safety on the ice; the distance between the two shores has been measured, and found to be a mile from Cortlandt Street to Powle's Hook (Paulus Hook, Jersey City). The Hoboken ferry-boat, with fifty-seven persons and twenty-three horses on board, drifted, on

brilliant uniforms—blue coats, white pantaloons, and tall, waving feathers—which exceeded in richness and elegance all others in the city. "With its gallant cavalier, Colonel James B. Murray, at its head, it was the pride and delight of the beauty and fashion of the city; while it was equally distinguished, on the march in Broadway, in the walks of fashion, and in the gayeties of the ball-room."—*Recollections of the Seventh Regiment*, by Asher Taylor

* Fitz Greene Halleck.

† *American*, January 22d, 1821.

Wednesday evening, below Governor's Island, and was inclosed in the ice, where she now remains. The people suffered much from the cold during the night, although none were frozen." The same paper, also, of the 27th of January, says: "More than a thousand persons crossed the North River on the ice; produce, of every kind, was taken over in sleds; and hundreds were seen skating in the middle of the river. There came up, also, yesterday, from Staten Island on the ice, a boat and seven men, viz., John Vanderbilt, A. Laurence, William Drake, Lewis Farnham, Robert Davis, and Mr. Wainwright. The mail for Staten Island was yesterday taken down over the ice by Daniel Simonson and Joseph Seguine. Many persons at the same time walked from Long Island to Staten Island,—such a circumstance has not been witnessed before since the year 1780, when heavy ordnance were conveyed on the ice from New York to Staten Island."

This long and severe cold weather caused much suffering among the poor, and led to the establishment of soup-houses, through the generosity of many of the butchers. Collections were also taken up in the churches for the benefit of the suffering, one of which is noticed in a newspaper as amounting to \$2,106.46.*

* *The Market Book*, by Thomas F. Devoe.

CHAPTER V.

IN the successive years of its existence, the City of New York had been visited by war and fire and famine, and now the scourge of pestilence was again to be added. In 1819, the city was visited by yellow-fever, which shortly disappeared, only to return with increased violence in the fall of 1822. Hardie, in his account of the fever at this time, says: "Saturday, the 24th of August, our city presented the appearance of a town besieged. From daybreak till night one line of carts, containing boxes, merchandise, and effects, were seen moving towards 'Greenwich Village' and the upper parts of the city. Carriages and hacks, wagons and horsemen, were scouring the streets and filling the roads; persons, with anxiety strongly marked on their countenances, and with hurried gait, were hustling through the streets. Temporary stores and offices were erecting, and even on the ensuing day (Sunday) carts were in motion, and the saw and hammer busily at work. Within a few days thereafter, the custom-house, the post-office, the banks, the insurance-offices, and the printers of newspapers located themselves in the village, or in the upper part of Broadway, where they were free from the impending danger; and these places almost instantaneously became the seat of the immense business usually carried on in the great

1819.

1822.

metropolis."* "You cannot conceive," writes Colonel William L. Stone, at that time editor of the *Commercial*

Advertiser, under date of September 26th, 1822, to

his wife, "the distressing situation we are in, and the whole town. The fever is worse every hour. I saw the hearse pass the office an hour ago with seven sick in it. Thus the dead are carried to the grave, and the sick out of town—to die—on the same melancholy-looking carriages." And again, about a month after, he also writes, under date of October 10th, as follows: "As to the fever, I cannot say that it is any better. On the contrary, it rages sadly, and grows worse every hour. There are many sick and dying, especially in the lower parts of the city, who would not move, and the physicians will not visit them. I know several who have died without a physician. Old Mr. Taylor, for instance (Soap and Candles, Maiden Lane), would not move, and is now in his grave." On the 19th of the same month, also, he writes again to his wife: "I believe I told you in my last letter that I did not believe the fever was any better. The result has proved the correctness of what I said. The disease rages with fresh violence, as you will perceive by the reports. When it will please Heaven to cause it to abate, is more than mortal can tell. A severe, nipping frost, I have no doubt, will check it, and I yet hope that we shall be able to remove back by the first of next

* The visits of yellow-fever in 1798, 1799, 1803, and 1805, tended much to increase the formation of a village near the "Spring Street Market," and one, also, near the "State Prison;" but the "fever of 1822" built up many streets, with numerous wooden buildings, for the uses of the merchants, banks (from which Bank Street took its name), offices, &c.; and the celerity of putting up those buildings is better told by the Rev. Mr. Marcellus, who informed me that "he saw corn growing on the present corner of Hammond and Fourth Streets, on a *Saturday* morning, and, on the following *Monday*, 'Sykes & Niblo' had a house erected capable of accommodating *three hundred* boarders." Even the Brooklyn ferry-boats ran up here daily.—*The Market Book*, by Thomas F. Devoe.

month." The cold weather of 1822 and 1823, however, did not, as the writer hoped, check the disease; and during the succeeding summer its ravages became so frightful, that all who could, fled the city. 1823.

Business was entirely suspended, and the place presented the appearance literally of a deserted city—with no sounds except the rumbling of the hearses, as, at the dead of night, they passed through the streets to collect the tribute of the grave. By the 2d of November, however, the fever had disappeared; the inhabitants again returned to their homes; the bank and custom-house, which had been removed, during the fever, to Greenwich Village, on the outskirts of the town, moved back to their customary places; and business and social intercourse once more flowed in their accustomed channels.

The two following years were to witness two august celebrations in New York. The first was in the summer of 1824, on the occasion of the visit of General Lafayette to America, in his eighty-sixth year; 1824. and the second was in honor of the completion of the ERIE CANAL, in 1825, by which the waters of Lake Erie were connected with those of the Atlantic.

On Sunday, the 15th of August, General Lafayette, accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, and his secretary, Auguste Le Vasseur, arrived in New York bay in the ship *Cadmus*. As the ship passed through the Narrows a salute was fired from Fort Lafayette, and the national flag was immediately hoisted, and displayed during the day on all the public buildings in the city. On landing at Staten Island, he was conducted to the seat of Daniel D. Tompkins, the Vice-President of the United States, where he spent the day receiving calls.

Lafayette had no idea, nor even a suspicion, of the welcome that awaited him on this side of the Atlantic. At

least such is the inference from an incident told by one of the actors in it to Captain Mayne Reid, by whom, in turn, it was narrated to the author.

Lafayette had left France, after nearly half a century's absence from the United States, and without any intimation that he was to have any public reception in America. The gentleman who gave the relation to Captain Reid—a well-known Boston merchant—chanced to be his fellow-passenger on the voyage, which was made in a Havre packet-ship.*

While crossing the Atlantic, this gentleman had many opportunities of conversing with the French marquis and his son Washington. All knew that our old ally, though a nobleman, was not rich; and in his conversations with his fellow-passengers he showed himself very solicitous as to his pecuniary means, making many inquiries about the prices of living and traveling in America, and seemed very anxious on this account, as if fearing that his purse might not be sufficient for a very extended tour of travel through the United States. Indeed, the Americans who were aboard the packet, having been long absent from their country, had themselves no idea of the grand honors in store for their distinguished fellow-passenger. The gentleman admitted that he himself had no conception of what was to happen, and did occur, on this side. Feeling an interest in Lafayette, he had invited him and his son, in the event of their visiting Boston, to make his house their home.

In due time the French packet came in sight of the American coast, and lay to at Sandy Hook, waiting for a

* The Congress of the United States, some months before, upon learning that it was the intention of Lafayette to visit this country, had unanimously passed a resolution inviting him to our shores, and directed that a *national* ship should be held in readiness for his conveyance whenever it would suit his convenience to embark. This honor, however, the marquis declined, and took passage from Havre for New York on the 13th of July, 1824.

favorable wind to enter the Bay of New York. Near the Narrows she was boarded by a row-boat, in which were two gentlemen in plain civilian dress; who, after holding a private conference with the captain, again re-entered their boat and put off. No one aboard the packet, except the skipper himself, knew to what the conference related.

After passing through the Narrows, and coming alongside of Staten Island, the French ship cast anchor. This was a surprise to the passengers, who supposed they were going directly to the city. They were consequently chagrined at being thus delayed after their long sea-voyage; and many were heard to murmur at it. While in this mood, they observed a long line of vessels coming down the bay. There were steam-boats, and sailing craft of all kinds, forming a considerable fleet. They were following one another, with manned yards and flags flying, and bands of music (entirely impromptu), as if upon some gala procession. The passengers on board the French packet were surprised—Lafayette not the least.

“What does it mean?” asked the marquis.

No one could make answer.

“Some grand anniversary of your republic, *messieurs*,” was the conjecture of Lafayette.

About noon, the gayly-decked vessels approached; and it was seen that they were all making for the French ship, around which they soon clustered. Presently, one of the steam-boats came alongside, and a number of gentlemen, dressed in official costume, stepped on board of the *Cadmus*. Among them were General Morton, the Mayor of the city, and several members of the Common Council. Not until they had been some time on the deck of the packet, and her captain had introduced them to the General Marquis de Lafayette, did the modest old soldier know that a grand ceremonial was preparing for himself. The tears fell fast from his eyes as he received their congratu-

lations; and, on shaking hands with his fellow-passenger, the Boston merchant, at parting, he said:

“*Monsieur*, I shall love New York so well, I may never be able to get away from it to pay you a visit in Boston. *Pardieu!* This grand republic—this great people!”

The object of this early visit upon the marquis, before he had landed, was to exchange greetings, and communicate to him informally the plan that had been made for his reception on the next day. The following arrangements were published in the morning papers of Monday:

ARRANGEMENTS OF THE CORPORATION FOR THE RECEPTION OF THE
MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

The committee of arrangements of the Corporation have the pleasure to announce to their fellow-citizens the arrival of the distinguished guest of their country, the Marquis de Lafayette.

The following are the arrangements made for his reception in the city:

The committee of arrangements of the Corporation, the generals and other officers of the United States Army, the officers of the navy, the major-generals and the brigadier-generals of the militia, the President of the Chamber of Commerce, and the committee from the Society of Cincinnati, will proceed, at nine o'clock this morning, the 16th, to Staten Island, where the marquis is lodged, and escort him to the city. They will be accompanied to the Battery by the steam-boats, all with decorations, except that in which the marquis is embarked, which will only have the flag of the United States and the State flag of New York, bands of music being on each. The embarkation of the marquis will be announced by a salute from Fort Lafayette and the steam-ship Robert Fulton. The forts in the harbor will also salute as the boats pass.

The masters of vessels are requested to hoist their flags at mast-head, and, when convenient, to dress their vessels.

The bells of the city will be rung from twelve to one o'clock. The committee request that no carriages or horses, excepting those attached to the military and the procession, appear south of Chambers on Broadway, Market-field Street or Whitehall Street, between the hours of eleven and two.

The portrait-room in the City Hall is appointed to the use of the marquis, where, during his stay, he will, after this day, between the hours of twelve and two, receive the visits of such of the citizens as are desirous of paying their respects to him.

In accordance with this programme, about half-past twelve o'clock, the entire naval procession got under way, and proceeded to the city. The embarkation at Staten Island was announced by a salute from the shore, which

was responded to by Fort Lafayette, and by the steam-ship *Robert Fulton*. The beauty and interest of the scene which the vessels afforded to the thousands of spectators, who were viewing it from the Battery, can be better imagined than described. The steam-boat *Chancellor Livingston*, with her venerable passenger, was escorted up the bay by the splendid steam-ship *Robert Fulton*, manned by two hundred United States sailors from the Navy Yard, and the steam-boats *Oliver Ellsworth*, *Connecticut*, *Olive Branch*, and *Nautilus*, each having on board a large party of ladies



FORT LAFAYETTE.

and gentlemen and a band of music ; the whole forming, as they approached the city, one of the most imposing and splendid of aquatic spectacles. The lofty appearance of the steam-ship *Robert Fulton*, as she proudly “walked the waters,” leading the van of the procession,—her yards manned by sailors, and elegantly dressed from the water to the tops of her masts with the flags and signals of all nations,—presented a sight which was never forgotten by those who witnessed it. The ship *Cadmus*, towed by the steam-boats, brought up the rear, her towering spars decorated in the most elegant and fanciful manner with flags and signals. “She moved majestically, as if con-

scious of the veneration which was being testified for the noble patriot *she* had conveyed to our shores." As the procession passed Governor's Island, a salute was fired from Castle William.

On arriving in the city, the marquis landed at Castle Garden on a carpeted stairs prepared for the occasion, and under an arch richly decorated with flags and wreaths of laurel. On stepping ashore, a major-general's salute was fired from a battery of field-artillery, a national salute from the revenue-cutter, and from the United States brig *Shark*, at anchor off the Battery, and one from Fort Columbus. Upon entering Castle Garden, the marquis was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers from the assembled thousands, and salutations from a large number of the early friends of his youth; thence he proceeded with the committee and the military and naval officers to review the troops drawn up in line under the command of Major-General Benedict. The muster was, on this occasion, unusually full and splendid, each corps vying with the other in paying a tribute of respect to the Soldier of the Revolution,—the friend and companion of Washington. After the review, the marquis entered a barouche drawn by four horses, and was driven up Broadway to the City Hall. The houses to the roofs were lined with spectators, and to the incessant huzzas of the multitude, graceful females signified their welcome by the silent, but not less grateful and affecting, testimony of the waving of handkerchiefs. Never, on any previous occasion, had there been witnessed such a universal assemblage of the beauty, fashion, and splendor of the city.

Upon arriving at the City Hall, the marquis was conducted to the Common Council chamber, where the Corporation were assembled. The members rose at his entrance, and their chairman, Alderman Zabriskie, introduced him to the Mayor, who welcomed the city's guest in an appro-

priate speech. At its conclusion Lafayette responded as follows :

"SIR,—While I am so affectionately received by the citizens of New York and their worthy Representatives, I feel myself overwhelmed with inexpressible emotions. The sight of the American shore, after so long an absence; the recollection of the many respected friends and dear companions no more to be found on this land; the pleasure to recognize those who survive, this immense concourse of a free Republican population who so kindly welcome me; the admirable appearance of the troops, the presence of a corps of the national navy,—have excited sentiments to which no human language can be adequate. You have been pleased, sir, to allude to the happiest times, to the unalloyed enjoyments of my public life; it is the pride of my life to have been one of the earliest adopted sons of America. I am proud, also, to add that, upward of forty years ago, I have been particularly honored with the freedom of this city. I beg you, Mr. Mayor, I beg you, gentlemen, to accept yourselves, and to transmit to the citizens of New York, the homage of my everlasting gratitude, devotion, and respect."

At the conclusion of this address, which was received with most enthusiastic demonstrations, the marquis, attended by the Mayor and Common Council, retired from the Council chamber to a platform in front of the City Hall, where they received a marching salute from the troops. The Common Council then accompanied their guest to the City Hotel (where rooms had been fitted up for his reception), and partook of a sumptuous dinner. What must have been the feelings which warmed the bosoms of his entertainers when they reflected to whom these honors were given! that it was to a man, who, in his youth, devoted his life and fortune to the cause of their country; who willingly shed his blood in the acquirement of its independence, and, through all the desponding scenes of the Revolution, never forsook the side of his and their country's Father, the beloved WASHINGTON!

In the evening, the front of the City Hotel, the City Hall, and other buildings were handsomely illuminated; the theaters and public gardens displayed transparencies and fireworks; rockets blazed from the different house-

tops; and an immense balloon was sent up from Castle Garden, representing the famous horse Eclipse mounted by an ancient knight in armor. General hilarity reigned supreme.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, the 18th, General Lafayette, with his son, visited the Navy Yard (dining with the commandant and a few invited guests), and, in the evening of the same day, the rooms of the New York



NAVY YARD, BROOKLYN.

Historical Society. A large number of distinguished citizens had collected at the latter place to meet him; and, on his entrance into the room, he was conducted by Doctor Hosack and General Philip Van Cortlandt to the chair that had once been the seat of the unfortunate Louis XVI.* Over the chair, and decorated with Revolutionary emblems, was hung the portrait of Lafayette, painted for General Stevens in 1784. Thus was an

* Presented to the New York Historical Society by Gouverneur Morris.

opportunity afforded the audience of gazing at once upon the young and chivalrous warrior of the Revolution, and upon the same man, who, by forty years' hard service since, had ripened into a good old age, full of wisdom and honors, and without, by a single act, having tarnished the bright escutcheon of his fame.

As soon as Lafayette had taken his seat, Doctor Hosack, in a graceful address, tendered him his election as an honorary member of the society. To which the General responded in the following words :

"SIR,—With the most lively gratitude, I receive the honor which the Historical Society of New York have conferred in electing me one of its members.

"Permit me, also, thankfully to acknowledge the flattering manner in which you are pleased to announce this mark of their benevolence.

"The United States, sir, are the first nation in the records of history who have founded their Constitution upon an honest investigation, and clear definition of their national and social rights.

"Nor can we doubt, that, notwithstanding the combinations made elsewhere by despotism and aristocracy against those sacred rights of mankind, immense majorities in other countries shall not in vain observe the happiness and prosperity of a free, virtuous, and enlightened people."

The next day was spent in visiting the Academy of Arts, and in receiving the calls of the members of the bar, the French residents of the city, and all citizens who desired to pay their respects.

At an early hour on the following day the city again presented a scene of bustle and activity, preparatory to the departure of General Lafayette and suite for Boston. At seven o'clock, the horse artillery, commanded by Colonel Arcularius, paraded in Broadway in front of Washington Hall, and, at eight o'clock, took up their line of march to Harlem, in order to supersede the escort which was to accompany the marquis to that village. This escort consisted of a squadron of cavalry, the Corporation in carriages, and a number of citizens mounted. The General breakfasted with the Mayor, Philip Hone, at

half-past seven, and repaired immediately after to the City Hotel, whence the entire cavalcade under the command of General Prosper M. Wetmore, as Brigade-Major, moved up Broadway to Bond Street, and thence up Third Avenue. The streets were thronged with people, and the General rode uncovered, and repeatedly returned their expressions of kindness and attachment by bowing. "Thus, for the present," said the *Commercial Advertiser*, "have closed the attentions of our citizens to this excellent man. The arrangements of our civil and military officers were judicious and well executed; and we are told that the General has not only been highly gratified, but happily disappointed, in the reception with which he has met. The General's journey will be rapid, as he intends being at Harvard commencement on Tuesday next. His stay at the eastward must also be short, as he has engaged to be in Baltimore on the 15th proximo."*

* At this time there was a great rivalry between Philadelphia and New York, as to which city should receive the marquis most splendidly. A correspondent, writing from Philadelphia to the *Commercial Advertiser* at this time, says: "The great object here seems to be, to rival the reception given to the General in New York; and, so far as it respects the military parade, the display of paintings, banners, arches, &c., they will succeed; for the very good reason that we had but twenty-four hours to make our preparations, and they have had more than thirty-four days. But nothing that can be got up here can equal, or come anywhere near, the naval *fête* in the harbor of New York.

"There are many splendid triumphal and civic arches erected here, and the streets through which the General is to pass are lined with spectators. The windows of the houses are filled, and there are thousands of spectators in the boxes, or temporary stages, which have been erected for the purposes of public accommodation and private gain. These seats are let at from twenty-five to fifty cents each, and not for three or four dollars, as has been reported in New York. And they are not well filled, notwithstanding the trifling expense. There are many societies out to-day, handsomely dressed; and the procession will be much larger than has ever been witnessed in America.

"It is supposed that the General will arrive at the Hall of the Declaration of Independence at about four o'clock. Here he will be received by the Corporation, and presented to the principal citizens, who have the good fortune to be guests. After which he will return to his lodgings at the Mansion House. To-morrow, the General dines with the Corporation. On Saturday, he attends a Masonic festival. On Monday evening, he attends a Grand Civic Ball, and departs for the South on Tuesday."

"Such," writes Colonel Stone, in closing an account of the ovation, "is a faint outline of the proceedings of the last few days, which shine proudly in the annals of our country,—proceedings which were more brilliant than any that had ever been witnessed in America, and which will rarely, if ever, be equaled. They were proud days for the cause of enlightened and liberal principles. No fulsome adulation was here extorted by the power or splendor of royalty, but every feeling and every movement were the spontaneous bursts of admiration and gratitude for the character and services of a great benefactor of the whole civilized world, come among us in a private capacity, and in the unaffected attire of Republican simplicity."

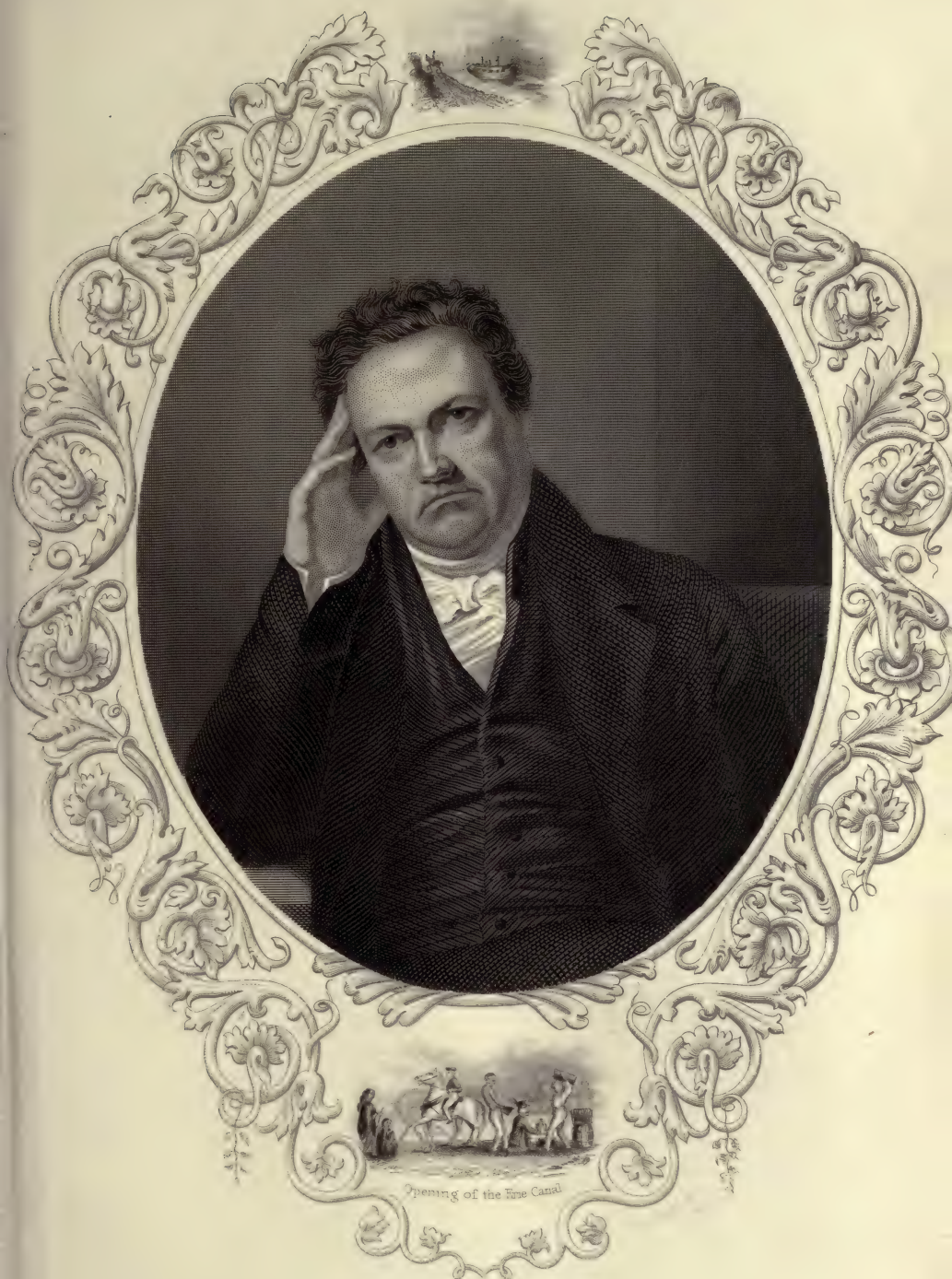
It was most fitting that the city which had so nobly supported the project of the Erie Canal from the beginning should take the chief part in the ceremonies attending its realization. Probably no project of internal improvement ever met with such bitter and malignant opposition as that of the Erie Canal; and, great as was the assistance given to the canal project by the Act of the New York Legislature of April, 1811, the obstacles in the way of its successful completion were by no means removed. The same incredulity as to the practicability of the canal, and the same apprehensions as to the capacity of the State, continued to raise a fierce opposition in the Legislature against any appropriation for carrying out the work which it had itself authorized. Many attempts were accordingly made to arrest, or at least curtail and arrest, the project; and often during the progress of the undertaking it seemed as if it would be utterly abandoned. Party spirit at that time ran high, and the greatest effort on the part of its supporters was required to persuade the people of the State to give it their support at the polls. In accomplishing this result, the Com-

mercial Advertiser, the oldest paper of New York city, gave powerful aid. That paper, which had always been the organ of the Federalists, became, upon Colonel Stone's assuming its management, in 1820, a stanch advocate of the Clintonians. A strong personal friendship for Mr. Clinton on the part of its editor, together with a firm conviction of the necessity for a canal through the interior of New York State, led to the position thus assumed. The trials and rebuffs experienced by Governor Clinton and his supporters in pushing the canal project, and the energy



SANDY HOOK, FROM THE SHIP CHANNEL.

which fought it through to a triumphant end, are matters of history. The Erie Canal was completed in the fall of 1825. At ten o'clock on the morning of the 26th of October of the same year, the first canal-boat, the *Seneca Chief*, left Buffalo, having on board Governor Clinton, Joshua Foreman, Colonel Stone, Chancellor Livingston, Thurlow Weed, and General Stephen Van Rensselaer; and the booming of cannon, placed at intervals of a few miles along the entire line of the canal from Buffalo to Albany, and thence along the banks of the Hudson to Sandy Hook, announced the successful termination of the enterprise



De Witt Clinton

In New York city, especially, this event was celebrated by extraordinary civic and military ceremonies, and the citizens gave themselves up to the wildest demonstrations of joy. Nor was this joy ill-timed or excessive. "For a single State to achieve such a victory, not only over the doubts and fears of the wary, but over the obstacles of nature, causing miles of massive rocks at the mountain ridge to yield to its power, turning the tide of error as well as that of the Tonnewanda, piling up the waters of the mighty Niagara as well as those of the beautiful Hudson;—in short, causing a navigable river to flow with gentle current down the steepy mount of Lockport; to leap the river of Genesee; to encircle the brow of Irondequoit as with the laurel's wreath; to march through the rich fields of Palmyra and of Lyons; to wend its way through the quicksands of the morass at the Cayuga; to pass unheeded the delicious licks at Onondaga; to smile through Oneida's verdant landscape; to hang upon the arm of the ancient Mohawk, and with her, after gayly stepping down the cadence of the Little Falls and the Cohoes, to rush to the embrace of the sparkling Hudson,—and all in the space of eight short years,—was the work of which the oldest and richest nations of Christendom might be proud." * Colonel Stone, as one of the most zealous champions of the canal, was appointed to write the *NARRATIVE OF THE CELEBRATION*, receiving a silver medal and box from the Common Council of New York city, together with the thanks of that body.†

* Stone's *Narrative*.

† Colonel Stone's narrative of the celebration was published by the Common Council under the title of the *GRAND ERIE CANAL CELEBRATION*, accompanied by a memoir of the great work by Cadwallader D. Colden.

In connection with the Erie Canal and its influence in building up the interior towns of the State, Colonel Stone was wont to relate the following anecdote: In 1820, he visited Syracuse with Joshua Foreman, the founder of that city and one of the earliest and most zealous friends of the Erie Canal. "I lodged for the night," says Colonel Stone, "at a miserable tavern, thronged by a com-

The naval and land processions in the city on this occasion were so unique, and, withal, were projected and carried out on such a magnificent scale, that we quote the following description from Stone's *Narrative*, a work which is now rare and difficult to obtain :

"The long-expected fourth of November—a day so glorious for the city and State—with all its 'pomp and circumstance,' came and passed; and the incidents, like the fragments of a splendid vision, are yet floating, in bright and glowing masses, through the imagination. But the pageant was too brilliant, and the scenes too various, for the memory to retain more than certain vague impressions, no less beautiful than indistinct. Those who saw the magnificent scene will at once admit that it cannot be painted in language; and those who had not that happiness must content themselves with the assurance, that the best endeavors of the writer to convey to them an adequate idea of its grandeur will fail. The poet, by giving full sway to his imagination, may perhaps partially succeed in conveying the various impressions imbibed on the occasion, and some detached parts of the scene might possibly be used to advantage by the painter who unites skill with genius. But we repeat, that the narrative, in humble prose, will fall short of a just representation.

"The grand fleet arrived in our waters from Albany before daylight, and came to anchor near the State Prison.

pany of salt-boilers from Salina, forming a group of about as rough-looking specimens of humanity as I had ever seen. Their wild visages, beards thick and long, and matted hair, even now rise up in dark, distant, and picturesque effect before me. It was in October, and a flurry of snow during the night had rendered the morning aspect of the country more dreary than the evening before. The few houses, standing upon low and marshy ground, and surrounded by trees and tangled thickets, presented a very uninviting scene. 'Mr. Foreman,' said I, '*do you call this a village?*' It would make an owl weep to fly over it.' 'Never mind,' said he, in reply, '*you will live to see it a city yet!*'" Colonel Stone did, indeed, live to see it a city, when he wrote the above in 1840, with a mayor and aldermen, and a population of more than twelve thousand souls

The roar of cannon from different points, and the merry peals of our numerous bells, greeted the sun as he rose in a cloudless sky. In a few moments afterwards, signals were given by the flag-ship, and the various flags, banners, and other decorations, were run up as if at the sudden command of a magician. Shortly afterwards, the new and superb steam-boat *Washington*, Captain E. S. Bunker, bore proudly down upon the fleet, heaving up the foaming billows as though she spurned the dominion of Neptune. In the language of the Noble Bard,

‘She walked the waters like a thing of life,
And dared the very elements to strife.’

She bore the great banner of the Corporation, representing, in dark figures, the arms of the city upon a snow-white ground. The *Washington* was an entirely new boat, chartered for the occasion, of large dimensions, beautiful model, and superbly finished throughout—uniting all the improvements in steam-boat architecture. The design of the taffrail represented the renown of Washington and Lafayette. The center was a trophy of various emblems—the laurel and the olive—standards—swords—the balance—the caduceus of Mercury, &c. The trophy was surmounted with a bald eagle. Each side of it was decorated with a bust—on the right, that of Washington; on the left, the bust of Lafayette. The former was crowned with the civic wreath and the laurel—the latter with the laurel only. The genius of America was crowning her hero, and the spirit of Independence, waving the flaming torch, binding the brow of Lafayette. Each of these figures was attended with emblematic medallions of Agriculture and Commerce. The whole was based on a section of the globe, and the background was a glory from the trophy. The corners of the taffrail were each filled with a cornucopia, which gracefully completed the design, on which neither painting nor gilding had been spared to enhance the effect. She ran

alongside of the *Chancellor*, and a Committee of the Corporation, with the officers of the Governor's Guard, came on board to tender his Excellency their congratulations on his arrival in our waters from those of Lake Erie. In performing this duty, Alderman Cowdrey made a handsome and pertinent address, in behalf of the Common Council, to which his Excellency made a reply in behalf of himself and his associates in the great work, and the several persons and bodies who had been welcomed to the shores and waters of New York, and to whom the hospitalities of the city had been so cheerfully tendered. To the officers of the Guards, headed by Colonel Brett, the Governor also expressed his gratitude and thanks for their prompt attention on the occasion.

"This duty having been performed, and there being an hour to spare, the several boats entered their respective docks, and came to anchor at the places assigned them, to give their numerous passengers an opportunity to prepare for the enjoyments of the day, agreeably to their various inclinations.

"The escorting fleet got under way, and passed the British sloops-of-war *Swallow*, Captain Baldock, and *Kingfisher*, Captain Henderson, dressed for the occasion, and bearing the American flag in company with the cross of St. George. A salute was fired from these ships, which was returned from the fleet.

"Not the least pleasing of this morning scene was the packet-ship *Hamlet*, Captain Candler, prepared by the Marine and Nautical Societies, appearing at sunrise in the North River, superbly dressed in the flags of various nations, interspersed with private signals, and the number-flags of the different members. She made a most splendid appearance during the whole day. At eight o'clock, these societies met on board the steam-boat *Fulton*, Captain R. Bunker, lying at Fulton Street Wharf (East River), and

were conveyed on board of the ship, where Captain J. G. Collins, assisted by his officers, took the command. Commodore Chauncey politely sent an officer and twenty men from the Navy Yard, to assist in the duties of the ship. And before they landed, an excellent collation, prepared for the occasion by the joint committees of the two societies, was spread, of which all on board partook—to the number of one hundred and twenty-five.

“At half-past eight o’clock, the Corporation and their invited guests assembled in the Sessions Room at the City Hall, and at a quarter before nine proceeded to the steam-boats *Washington*, *Fulton*, and *Providence*, stationed at the foot of Whitehall Street. At the same place was also stationed the *Commerce*, Captain Seymour, with the elegant safety-barge, *Lady Clinton*. This barge, with the *Lady Van Rensselaer*, had been set apart by the Corporation for the reception of the invited ladies, with their attendants. The *Lady Clinton* was decorated with a degree of taste and elegance which was equally delightful and surprising. From stem to stern she was ornamented with evergreens hung in festoons and intertwined with roses of various hues, China asters, and many other flowers alike beautiful. In one of the niches below the upper deck was the bust of Clinton, the brow being encircled with a wreath of laurel and roses. Mrs. Clinton, as well as many other distinguished ladies, was on board of the barge, which, though the party was select, was much crowded. Captain Seymour, however, paid every attention to his beautiful charge; every countenance beamed with satisfaction and every eye sparkled with delight.

“A few minutes after nine o’clock, the entire party being on board, the fleet from Albany, as before mentioned, led by the flag-ship of the Admiral, came round from the North and proceeded up the East River to the Navy Yard, where salutes were fired, and the sloop-of-war

Cyane was dressed in the colors of all nations. While here, the flag-ship took on board the officers of that station, together with their fine band of music. The officers stationed at West Point, with the celebrated band from that place, having been received on board on the preceding evening, were likewise on board of the *Chancellor Livingston*. On returning from the Navy Yard, the steam-boat *Ousatonic*, of Derby, joined the fleet. The wharves and shores of Brooklyn, the Heights, and the roofs of many of the buildings, were crowded with people to an extent little anticipated, and only exceeded by the thick masses of population which lined the shores of New York as far as Corlaer's Hook. The fleet, having arrived between the east end of the Battery and Governor's Island, was joined by the ship *Hamlet*, before mentioned. While the commander was signaling the various vessels, and they were maneuvering about to take their stations, the spectacle was beautiful beyond measure. Long before this time, however, our city had been pouring forth its thousands and tens of thousands; Castle Garden, the Battery, and every avenue to the water, were thronged to a degree altogether beyond precedent. The ships and vessels in the harbor were filled, even to their rigging and tops. And the movements in forming the order of the aquatic procession gave opportunity to all to observe the several vessels in every advantageous and imposing situation. Loud cheers resounded from every direction, which were often returned. Everything being in readiness, and every boat crowded to the utmost, the fleet, taking a semicircular sweep toward Jersey City, and back obliquely in the direction of the lower point of Governor's Island, proceeded down the bay in the order detailed in the official report of the Admiral, each boat and ship maintaining the distance of one hundred feet apart.

"The ship *Hamlet* was taken in tow by the *Oliver Ells-*

worth and *Bolivar*, and assumed and maintained its place in splendid style. Four pilot-boats were also towed by other steam-boats, together with the following boats of Whitehall watermen, all tastefully decorated, viz.: *The Lady of the Lake*, *Dispatch*, *Express*, *Brandywine*, *Sylph*, *Active*, and *Whitehall, Junior*.

"The sea was tranquil and smooth as the summer lake; and the mist which came on between seven and eight in the morning having partially floated away, the sun shone bright and beautiful as ever. As the boats passed the Battery they were saluted by the military, the revenue-cutter, and the castle on Governor's Island; and, on passing the Narrows, they were also saluted by Forts Lafayette and Tompkins. They then proceeded to the United States schooner *Porpoise*, Captain Zantzinger, moored within Sandy Hook, at the point where the grand ceremony was to be performed. A deputation, composed of Aldermen King and Taylor, was then sent on board the steam-boat *Chancellor Livingston*, to accompany his Excellency the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the several committees from Buffalo, Utica, Albany, and other places, on board the steam-boat *Washington*.

"The boats were thereupon formed in a circle around the schooner, preparatory to the ceremony; when Mr. Rhind, addressing the Governor, remarked 'that he had a request to make which he was confident it would afford his Excellency great pleasure to grant. He was desirous of preserving a portion of the water used on this memorable occasion, in order to send it to our distinguished friend and late illustrious visitor, Major-General Lafayette; and, for that purpose, Messrs. Dummer & Co. had prepared some bottles of American fabric for the occasion, and they were to be conveyed to the General in a box made by Mr. D. Phyfe from a log of cedar brought from Erie in the *Seneca Chief*.' The Governor replied that a more pleasing

task could not have been imposed upon him, and expressed his acknowledgment to Mr. Rhind for having suggested the measure.

"His Excellency, Governor Clinton, then proceeded to perform the ceremony of commingling the waters of the Lake with the Ocean, by pouring a keg of those of Lake Erie into the Atlantic; upon which he delivered the following address:

" 'This solemnity, at this place, on the first arrival of vessels from Lake Erie, is intended to indicate and commemorate the navigable communication which has been accomplished between our Mediterranean Seas and the Atlantic Ocean in about eight years, to the extent of more than four hundred and twenty-five miles, by the wisdom, public spirit, and energy of the people of the State of New York; and may the God of the Heavens and the Earth smile most propitiously on this work, and render it subservient to the best interests of the human race.'

"Dr. Mitchill, whose extensive correspondence with almost every part of the world enables him to fill his cabinet with everything rare and curious, then completed the ceremony by pouring into the briny deep bottles of water from the Ganges and Indus of Asia; the Nile and the Gambia of Africa; the Thames, the Seine, the Rhine, and the Danube of Europe; the Mississippi and Columbia of North, and the Orinoko, La Plata, and Amazon, of South America. The Hon. Cadwallader D. Colden then presented to the Mayor an able Memoir upon the subject of Canals and Inland Navigation in general.

"Never before was there such a fleet collected, and so superbly decorated; and it is very possible that a display so grand, so beautiful, and we may even add, sublime, will never be witnessed again. We know of nothing with which it can be compared. The naval *fête* given by the Prince Regent of England, upon the Thames, during the

visit of the Allied Sovereigns of Europe to London, after the dethronement of Napoleon, has been spoken of as exceeding everything of the kind hitherto witnessed in Europe. But gentlemen who had an opportunity of witnessing both, have declared that the spectacle in the waters of New York so far transcended that in the metropolis of England as scarcely to admit of a comparison. The day, as we have before remarked, was uncommonly fine. No winds agitated the surface of the mighty deep; and during the performance of the ceremonies, the boats, with their gay decorations, lay motionless in beauty. The orb of day darted his genial rays upon the bosom of the waters, where they played as tranquilly as upon the natural mirror of a secluded lake. Indeed, the elements seemed to repose, as if to gaze upon each other, and participate in the beauty and grandeur of the sublime spectacle. Every object appeared to pause, as if to invite reflection and prepare the mind for deep impressions—impressions which, while we feel them stealing upon the soul, impart a consciousness of their durability. It was one of those few bright visions whose evanescent glory is allowed to light up the path of human life—which, as they are passing, we feel can never return; and which, in diffusing a sensation of pleasing melancholy, consecrates, as it were, all surrounding objects, even to the atmosphere we inhale.

“While the fleet was here at anchor, a deputation from the members of the Assembly from different parts of the State, who were on board one of the steam-boats as guests of the Corporation, preceded by Clarkson Crolius, Esq., their Speaker, paid a visit to the *Seneca Chief*, to reciprocate congratulations with the Buffalo committee on the completion of the Grand Canal, to which the Legislature, of whom they were members, had made the last and finishing appropriation.

“Everything being made ready for returning to the

city, salutes were fired from the revenue-cutter, the pilot-boats, several of the steam-boats, and from the 'Young Lion of the West,' who, having prepared himself with a pair of brazen lungs at Rochester, often mingled his roar with that of the artillery with which he was saluted on his passage down. While passing up the Narrows, the passengers on board of the different boats partook of elegant collations. The Corporation, with their guests, dined on board of the the *Washington*, the Mayor presiding, assisted by Aldermen King and Taylor.

"When approaching the British armed vessels before mentioned, the latter fired another salute. In consequence of this compliment, a signal was immediately made from the flag-ship, and the whole squadron passed round them in a circle. The United States schooner *Porpoise* manned her yards and gave the Britons three cheers, which were returned. While performing this circular maneuver, the British bands struck up 'Yankee Doodle'; in return for which act of courtesy, the American bands, as they passed the other side, successively played 'God Save the King.' Another circumstance connected with these demonstrations of good feeling must not be omitted: On board of the *Swallow* an elegant breakfast was given, in honor of the occasion, by her commander, Lieutenant Baldock, to a numerous company of ladies and gentlemen, on which occasion was tastefully displayed a series of elegant and appropriate drawings, in water-colors, representing Britannia, Columbia, the Eagle, the Lion, and an English and American Sailor, Neptune, Liberty, and the flags and shields of both nations, all classically arranged, denoting good feeling, fellowship, and union of sentiment. There were also round one of the devices for a tower two designs of canal-basins, with double locks—one as coming through Welsh mountains, the other as through American mountains of granite; and on their basements were conspicu-

ously inscribed 'CLINTON' and 'BRIDGEWATER,' in honor of men whose pursuits in each country were so similar. The whole was designed by J. R. Smith, and executed by him and an assistant.

"One reflection occurred to us when the fleet was below the Narrows, which, although it has no immediate relation to the time or the occasion, it may not be amiss to mention. When we viewed the number and tonnage of the steam-boats employed, and the countless multitude of passengers borne upon their spacious decks, we could not but reflect upon the facilities of defense which, by means of steam navigation, our city would possess in the event of hostilities with any maritime power, and an attempt upon our lives and property from this direction. There were out upon this occasion, besides other craft of magnitude, no less than twenty-nine steam-boats, each capable of carrying from twelve to twenty-four guns, and from one to five hundred men. And from the readiness with which this force assembled, and from the rapid multiplication of vessels of this description with the increase of business in our metropolis, there is no doubt that even at the present moment fifty boats, with ten thousand men and six or seven hundred guns, might be collected, prepared, and sent to repel an approaching naval armament, in one or, at most, two days. Neither winds nor tides could stay their progress, or control their movements. They could choose their own time, position, and points of attack; and tremendous must be the power that could successfully oppose, and superhuman the skill that could baffle, an expedition of this kind, directed by the hand of valor and sustained by the unconquerable spirit of freemen!

"The head of the land procession, under Major-General Fleming, marshal of the day, assisted by Colonels King and Jones, Major Low, and Mr. Van Winkle, had already arrived on the Battery, where it was designed the whole

should pass in review before the Corporation and their guests, and the spectators on board of the other boats, which lay to near the shore, to afford an opportunity of witnessing the cars, and banners, and other decorations of the several societies, professions, and callings, who had turned out in the city in honor of the event commemorated. The *Washington* and *Chancellor Livingston* ran into the Pier No. 1, in the East River, and landed the Corporation and their friends at the proper time for them to fall into the rear of the procession. The fleet then dispersed, each vessel repairing to its own moorings; and thus, without a single accident to alloy the festivities of the day, ended an agreeable *fête*, unrivaled in beauty and magnificence, we fearlessly aver, in the annals of the world.

"This narrative would probably be considered incomplete, were it not to include a notice of that part of the pageant which was exclusively confined to the city. And yet a minute description can hardly be deemed necessary, since the ample official report of the marshal of the day is included among the papers collected in this volume. To be as brief as possible, therefore, we will state, in general terms, that the procession through the city, although it could not, from the very nature of things, present to the eye the bright and glowing images which ravished the senses upon the water, was yet such as to reflect the highest credit upon our city, the societies, and individuals, whose patriotism induced them to bear a part, and the occasion which called them forth.

"The civic procession was composed of the several benevolent and mechanic societies of our city; the fire department; the merchants and citizens; the officers of the State artillery and infantry, in uniform; the literary and scientific institutions; the members of the bar; the members of many occupations and callings not formally organized into societies, accompanied by fine bands of

music, exclusively of the Corporation, their associate committees and distinguished guests, who fell in the rear of the procession, as before mentioned, at the Battery. This procession, the largest of the kind ever witnessed in America, commenced forming in Greenwich Street, six abreast, at nine o'clock A. M.—the right resting in Market-field Street, near the Battery, and extending to the distance of more than a mile and a half. The line of march was taken up at half-past ten. Its first movement was a counter-march of the whole column upon the right wing. By this maneuver, every society and division was brought into such close approximation with each other as to afford every individual a distinct view of the whole. The procession moved from Greenwich Street through Canal Street into Broadway, up Broadway to Broome Street, up Broome Street to the Bowery, down the Bowery to Pearl Street, down Pearl Street to the Battery, over the Battery to Broadway, and thence to the City Hall. Along the whole extensive line of march, the spectacle was of a most imposing and animating description. Every society and occupation seemed to have been engaged in a laudable strife, regardless of the expense, to excel each other in the richness of their banners, and the beauty and taste exhibited in their badges and other decorations. Nor had the money of the societies been expended, or the skill of the artists of our city exercised, in vain. For never did a more imposing array of banners, of exquisite design and magnificent appearance, stream and flutter in the breeze. Many of the societies, likewise, had furnished themselves with cars of gigantic structure, upon which their respective artisans were busily engaged in their several occupations. The ornaments of many of these cars were curiously wrought, and they were otherwise beautifully and splendidly decorated. The richest Turkey or Brussels carpets covered the floors of some, whilst the costly gilding of

others reflected back the golden rays of the sun with dazzling effulgence.* The eye of beauty, too, gazed with delight upon the passing scene; for every window was thronged, and the myriads of handkerchiefs which fluttered in the air were only rivaled in whiteness by the delicate hands which suspended them; while the glowing cheeks, the ingenuous smiles of loveliness and innocence, and the intelligence which beamed brightly from many a sparkling eye, proclaimed their possessors worthy of being the wives, mothers, and daughters of freemen. It was, in fine, a proud spectacle; but language fails in attempting its description—much more in imparting to paper the sensations which it created. It is not difficult to describe individual objects correctly, but it is impossible to portray their general effect, when happily grouped together. It is amid scenes like these—a faint gleam of which can only be conveyed to the future antiquary or historian—that the mind is absorbed in its own reflections, musing in solitude, though surrounded by the gay and the thoughtless, and literally lost in its own imaginings.

“The festivities of the day were closed in the evening by illuminations of the public buildings and the principal hotels, upon many of which appropriate transparencies were exhibited. The illumination of the City Hotel contributed largely to the brilliant appearance of Broadway. Great taste was also displayed in the illumination of the New York Coffee-house. The front in Sloat Lane presented a brilliant wreath, encircling the letter “C.” The front, in William Street, displayed the words “Grand Canal,” in large and glowing capitals. We do not remember to have seen a more original and beautiful method of illuminating than that adopted at this establishment. Peale’s Museum presented a beautiful transparency—rays

* For a particular description of the several cars, banners, and badges, the reader is referred to the report of the marshal of the day.

of glory, containing a motto illustrative of the dependence of the fine arts upon the success of commerce. Scudder's Museum, likewise, was brilliantly illuminated, and a very large and beautiful transparency was exhibited in front. The Park Theater was illuminated, and also exhibited appropriate transparencies without; while within, an interlude, composed for the occasion by Mr. Noah, with scenery specially prepared for the occasion, was received with great applause. A similar production, from the pen of Mr. Woodworth, was played at the Chatham Theater, and was likewise well received. The house of Mr. Seixas, in Broadway, was illuminated; and an appropriate transparency, representing Fortune embarking on board of a canal-boat, loaded with bags of money, and several appropriate emblematical devices, were exhibited. At "The Lunch," a transparency was exhibited representing the canal-boat *Seneca Chief* receiving on board his Excellency the Governor, the Buffalo deputation, Indian chiefs, &c., preparatory to her passage from Lake Erie into the Canal. But the City Hall was the grand point of attraction, and too much praise cannot be given to our Corporation for the great exertions which they made to contribute to the enjoyment and festivities of the day. The City Hall, under their direction, was superbly illuminated, the front presenting a very magnificent transparency, on which were painted interesting views of the Canal, columns with the names of worthies, figures emblematical of the occasion, &c. The fire-works, prepared by Mr. Wilcox, far exceeded the public expectation, and were unrivaled of the kind. Such rockets were never before seen in New York. They were uncommonly large. Now they shot forth alternately showers of fiery serpents and dragons, 'gorgons, and hydras, and chimeras dire;' and now they burst forth and rained down showers of stars, floating in the atmosphere like balls of liquid silver.

The volcanic eruption of fire-balls and rockets with which this exhibition was concluded, afforded a spectacle of vast beauty and sublimity. They were sent up apparently from the rear of the hall to a great height, diverging like rays from a common center, then floating for a moment like meteors of the brightest light, and falling over in a graceful curve, presenting a scene magnificent and enchanting. The park was filled to overflowing; not less than eight or ten thousand admiring spectators were collected in it to view the splendid display which the Corporation had prepared so munificently for their fellow-citizens.

“ Thus passed a day so glorious to the State and city, and so deeply interesting to the countless thousands who were permitted to behold and mingle in its exhibitions. We have before said that all attempts at description must be utterly in vain. Others can comprehend the greatness of the occasion; the Grand Canal is completed, and the waters of Lake Erie have been borne upon its surface, and mingled with the ocean. But it is only those who were present, and beheld the brilliant scenes of the day, that can form any adequate idea of their grandeur, and of the joyous feelings which pervaded all ranks of the community. Never before had been presented to the sight a fleet so beautiful as that which then graced our waters. The numerous array of steam-boats and barges proudly breasting the billows, and dashing on their way regardless of opposing winds and tides; the flags of all nations, and banners of every hue, streaming splendidly in the breeze; the dense columns of black smoke ever and anon sent up from the boats, now partially obscuring the view, and now spreading widely over the sky and softening down the glare of light and color; the roar of cannon from the various forts, accompanied by heavy volumes of white smoke, contrasting finely with the smoke from the steam-boats; the crowds of happy beings who thronged the decks, and

the voice of whose joy was mingled with the sound of music, and not unfrequently drowned by the hissing of the steam; all these, and a thousand other circumstances, awakened an interest so intense, that 'the eye could not be satisfied with seeing, nor the ear with hearing.' We rejoiced, and all who were there rejoiced; although, as we looked upon the countless throng, we could not but remember the exclamation of Xerxes, and feel that 'a hundred years hence, not one of all that vast multitude will be alive.' The splendor of beauty and the triumph of art serve to excite, to dazzle, and often to improve the condition and promote the welfare of mankind; but the 'fashion of this world passeth away;' beauty and art, with all their triumphs and splendors, endure but for a season; and earth itself, with all its lakes and oceans, is only as the small dust of the balance in the sight of Him who dwells beyond the everlasting hills.*

"On Monday evening, the 7th of November, the festivities of our city were appropriately concluded by a ball, which was given in the Lafayette Amphitheater, in Laurens Street, by the officers of the militia, associated with a committee of citizens. The circus-buildings, comprising a spacious stage used for dramatic representations, was enlarged by the addition of an edifice in the rear, which had been used for a riding-school. These were connected in such a manner as to form an area of much greater extent than that of any other ball-room in the United States, being nearly two hundred feet in length, and varying from sixty to about one hundred feet in width. The usual entrance to the circus from Laurens Street was closed up, and new entrances opened from Thompson Street, in the rear, through the riding-school. The front

* For a letter from Colonel Stone to Dr. Hosack upon the legislative proceedings of 1816-'17, in regard to the Erie Canal, see Hosack's *Memoir of De Witt Clinton*.

was brilliantly illuminated, presenting in large letters, formed by bright lamps, extending over the doors across the building, the words 'The Grand Canal.' The whole area within was newly floored for the occasion, and divided into three compartments by the original division of the audience part of the circus, the stage, and the additional building on Thompson Street. Of these we shall speak in order, but briefly. The two tiers of boxes were preserved, and decorated for the accommodation of that part of the company which chose to retire and be spectators of the busy assemblage below. Access was obtained to them through a flight of steps in the middle of the boxes, of which the center one had been removed. The dome in this part of the hall was ornamented with green wreaths, which were appropriately festooned with beautiful and various flowers, sweeping gracefully to the pillars which supported the boxes, terminating at and around them. Above the proscenium were the names of the engineers who had been employed in the construction of the Canal, viz., Briggs, White, Geddes, Wright, Thomas; opposite these, and in the center of the circle of boxes, was a bust of Washington, surrounded with evergreens, and around were inscribed the names of the past and the present Canal Commissioners—Hart, Bouck, Holly, De Witt, North, Livingston, Fulton, Clinton, Van Rensselaer, Morris, Eddy, Young, Seymour, Porter, Ellicott.

"From the roof, splendid chandeliers added their blaze of light to the numberless lamps which were hung nearly parallel to the upper boxes. Passing into the upper apartment, the eye was met by a scene of equal splendor. One side of this room, which is the stage of the theater, was formed by a beautiful piece of scenery, representing the interior of an elegant chamber, with proper doors, handsomely ornamented. The other side was occupied by a band of music, placed behind a species of turret, on

the face of which arches were skillfully painted, and in the distance of which landscapes were represented. Here was also hung the painting, spoken of near the commencement of this narrative, from the cabin of the canal-boat, faithfully representing the whole arrangement at that place. The music of the band which was placed here was excellent, and we discovered that the bugle-notes were those of Willis, of West Point. Our national stripes were suspended from the center, and tastefully looped up from the extremities of the ceiling, forming a complete circumference of regular semicircles, meeting in a common center. Here, also, were lamps and chandeliers, and wreaths of flowers, and garlands of roses, and various devices and emblems, highly creditable to the managers. But it was to the third and remaining apartment that the exertions of the committee were directed, and their success was correspondent. So many and so elegant were the decorations, that the writer cannot hope to give them more than a very brief notice, in which he must call upon the imagination of the reader to increase with treble intensity the imperfect idea given of the splendor of decoration displayed. Imagine in a large hall, collected, and displayed in one grand view, the flags and emblems and costly decorations, which, in a continued and scattered procession, called forth such enthusiasm of admiration. Imagine them presented in one overwhelming view, blazing with light, and bright with reflected beauty; and when a proper idea is formed of the complete enchantment of the scene, add to this, in one prodigious mirror, the whole reflected back in trebled brilliancy, doubling the immense area, including the thousand lights that sparkled around, to tenfold greater splendor. And when all this is done, the imagination of the whole scene will be faint to the reality. Floods of light were poured forth from every point, which were glanced back by the glittering array of the mili-

tary, and a thousand other objects of brilliant reflection.

"But entrancing, above all other enchantments of the scene, was the living enchantment of beauty—the trance which wraps the senses in the presence of loveliness, when woman walks the halls of fancy—magnificence herself—the brightest object in the midst of brightness and beauty. A thousand faces were there, bright in intelligence, and radiant with beauty, looking joy and congratulation to each other, and spreading around the spells which the loves and the graces bind on the heart of the sterner sex.

"It only remains to speak of the ladies' supper-room, which was separated from the large apartment by flags elegantly festooned, and raised at the given signal. Mirrors, and splendid lights, and emblems, and statues, and devices, beyond the writer's abilities to describe, ornamented this part of the house in common with the rest. Upon the supper-table was placed, floating in its proper element (the waters of Erie) a miniature canal-boat, made entirely of maple-sugar, and presented to Governor Clinton by Colonel Hinman, of Utica. The refreshments were excellent; and, considering the vast number who were to partake of them, very plentifully provided. At a seasonable hour the company retired, with memories stored for future conversation, with the events, and decorations, and splendors of 'The Grand Canal Ball.'"

That this joy was not ill-timed and excessive, the steady increase of the productiveness of the State affords conclusive proof. Many of the supporters of the "Big Ditch," who, at the time, were regarded as enthusiastic and visionary, have lived to see their most sanguine predictions more than realized, as well as the complete refutation of the opinion which one of our greatest statesmen, whose zeal for internal improvements could not be questioned, was known to have expressed, that this enterprise

had been undertaken a hundred years too soon, and that, until the lapse of another century, the strength of our population and our resources would be inadequate to such a work.*

While, however, New York city was thus vindicating her claim to a place in the van of internal improvements, she did not hesitate to take the lead, also, in extending aid to a nation at that time struggling for its release from the thralldom of an oppressor. Greece

1826.

* The following statistics were furnished by the late Hon. Nathaniel S. Benton, for many years an able Canal Auditor:

The amount of tolls in 1823 was \$199,655.08; in 1866, \$3,966,522.52; and the total amount of tolls from 1823 to 1866, inclusive, \$90,153,279.19. The amount of tons going to tide-water is given in the report only as far back as 1836. In 1836, the number of tons going to tide-water over the Canal was only 419,125; in 1866, 2,523,664; and the total amount between these two years, inclusive, was 52,761,967. It also appears that, in 1837, the estimated value of all property transported on the Canal was \$47,720,879; in 1865, \$186,114,718; and between these years, inclusive, \$3,439,407,522. The amount of tons that came to this city in 1857, without breaking bulk, was 381,390; in 1866, 1,633,172; and between those years, 11,775,396. This ratio of increase seems to be broken in upon only in one particular, viz., in the amount of tons—the product of the State itself—arriving at tide-water. In 1836, this was 364,901; and in 1865, 173,538. Here the previous rule is reversed, and instead of a gain there is a considerable falling-off. This, however, is not to be attributed to a decrease in production, but to the fact that the channels by which produce is conveyed to the city are becoming more numerous each succeeding year. This is evident, if the amount brought down by the Champlain Canal for 1866 (561,053) be added, which gives a total of 734,591. And if to this could be added the number of tons that now go by way of the Central and other railroads of the State, which otherwise would have gone by the Canal, the sum would be very greatly increased. Indeed, this element of transportation by rail must be taken into calculation in forming a correct estimate of the importance of the Canal. It will be seen by the figures given above, that, with the exception just mentioned, the Canal shows a steady increase in its tolls and tonnage, notwithstanding the vast amount of freight yearly diverted from it by the railroads, and by vessels which now convey considerable freight from Buffalo direct to Europe, which formerly was brought to this city for shipment abroad. And to this must also be added the large amount of trade which has been directed by various channels into the Western States.

The report of the Auditor gives also the cost of the enlargement up to the close of 1866, viz., \$33,030,613.80. The original cost was \$7,143,789.86; the total cost, therefore, up to 31st of December, 1866, is \$40,224,403.66.

was at this period writhing under the heel of the Sultan. In the first three years of the war, that nation had received no material aid in men or money. This arose probably from the fact, that, at this time, the Greeks were in no need of assistance. Fighting with enthusiasm, and upon their own soil, they had beaten off the Turkish hordes, and cleared most of the country of their oppressors. In this year, however, affairs wore a different hue. Byron had died, and the dark days of the revolution had begun. The Egyptian Vizier had responded to the appeals of the Sultan; and his son, Ibrahim Pasha, landing an organized and regular army on the Peloponnesus, swept everything before him. In less than two years, the Greeks were driven from the plains and all the open country to the caves and recesses in the mountains, retaining only here and there a fortress. As it was a war without quarter, every one fled; for surrender was death to every man and dishonor to every woman. Two seasons brought them to the point of starvation. Their vines had been pulled up, their olive-trees burned, their fields desolated, their flocks slain and eaten. Snails and sorrel were their only food; and the only alternative left, on the part of the Greeks, was starvation or submission. Guerrilla bands alone hovered around the flanks and rear of the invading hosts. At this point, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, urged by a pure philanthropy, set out for Greece. After experiencing many vicissitudes, and languishing for several months in a Prussian dungeon, he at length landed upon the Peloponnesus alone, from an Austrian vessel going to Smyrna. As there was, however, no organization among the Greeks, he could do nothing, and accordingly returned to the United States to get help. On his arrival at Boston, he found that Greek committees, under the lead of Edward Everett and Daniel Webster, were already formed; and, after doing what he could to organize efforts for raising supplies, he came to New York,

at the solicitation of Colonel Stone, with whom he had been for a long time in correspondence, with a view to this end.* Colonel Stone now threw himself heartily into the good work. He roused the public through his paper, the *Commercial Advertiser*; issued stirring appeals for aid; depicted in vivid colors the sufferings of the Greeks; and got up private meetings of wealthy men, at which large subscriptions were obtained.† After doing all that could be done in the city, he accompanied Dr. Howe upon a tour up the Hudson River, and through the western towns of the State, preaching a sort of crusade for the relief of the Greeks.‡

The general results are well known. Through the efforts of those persons who have been mentioned, ships, and large amounts of grain, flour, clothing, and money, were obtained, forwarded, and distributed among the

* Letter from Dr. Samuel G. Howe to the author.

† In this connection, the author recalls an anecdote characteristic of both the parties to whom it refers. Colonel Stone, while engaged in securing subscriptions for the Greeks, called upon John Jacob Astor, 1st, for a considerable amount. To all his persuasions the old fur-merchant turned a deaf ear, finally alleging that he himself was really quite poor. "Yes, Mr. Astor," replied the Colonel, "every one is poor nowadays but you and me." Astor knew that the Colonel was, at this time, very much embarrassed, having lost nearly all his property by indorsing; and, upon this reply, so archly given, he joined in the laugh, and handed the Colonel his check for considerably more than the sum asked for.

‡ At a mass meeting held in the Cooper Institute on the 26th of January, 1867, in behalf of the Cretan patriots—his Honor Mayor Hoffman in the chair—Professor R. C. Hitchcock D. D., in paying a high tribute to the early friends of the Greeks in the United States, said: "In Massachusetts, Dr. Howe, Webster, and Everett; in Kentucky, Clay. But let us not forget one of our own fellow-citizens, who battled hard for the liberties of the Greeks, and who was one of three who received from the Greeks themselves a token of the respect and veneration in which he was held,—a name that has been strangely omitted of late when speaking of the early struggles of the Greeks; a man whose graceful pen has adorned our national literature; who wrote thrilling articles to rouse the people to a sense of the wrongs of those patriots; one who traveled up the Hudson, speaking to any one and every one that thronged around him, of the great subject that occupied the whole power of his mind,—the liberty of the Greeks; one second only, if even second to any, to Dr. Howe himself—the name of WILLIAM L. STONE."

starving people of Greece, which, by the immediate relief thus brought, and by the moral support thus given at the most critical period of the Greek Revolution, helped materially to aid the cause.*

* *Memoir of Colonel William L. Stone*, by William L. Stone, 2d. Albany · J. Munsell. 1866.

CHAPTER VI.

IN 1828, SA-GO-YE-WAT-HA, or Red-Jacket, the great Seneca orator, visited New York on his way to Washington. In 1797, his rival—though in a different field —THA-YEN-DA-NE-GEA, or Brant, had also paid a 1828. visit to New York, at which time he was the guest of Theodosia, the daughter of the Vice-President, Aaron Burr, at Richmond Hill. Miss Theodosia treated the forest chief with all the courtesy that hospitality suggested; and, young as she was, she performed the honors of her father's house (Burr was then in Philadelphia) in a manner that must have been as gratifying to her absent parent as it was creditable to herself. Among other attentions, she gave him a dinner party, selecting for her guests some of the most eminent gentlemen in the city, among whom were Bishop Moore and Drs. Bard and Hosack. In writing to her father upon the subject, she gave a long and sprightly account of the entertainment. She said that, in making the preliminary arrangements, she had been somewhat at a loss in the selection of such dishes as would suit the palate of her principal guest. Being a savage warrior, and in view of the many tales she had heard of

The cannibals that each other eat,
The anthropophagi, and men whose heads
Do grow beneath their shoulders,

she added, sportively, that she had a mind to lay the hospital under contribution for a human head, to be served up like a boar's head in ancient hall barbaric. But, after all, she found him a most Christian and civilized guest in his manners.*

In like manner, Red-Jacket, during his stay in the city, was made the "lion" of the hour; and many of the oldest and most distinguished families vied with each other to do him honor. While in New York, his portrait was taken by Robert W. Weir, at the request of Dr. John W. Francis. Henry Inman and Mr. Mathias also made sketches of him; but the one by Weir is of far the highest order of merit, and has become the standard likeness of "the last of the Seneca orators." An acquaintance of several years, and the reception of some trifling presents from Dr. Francis, had enabled the latter to educe a promise from the old chief to sit on his next visit to New York. This happened in the present year; when, with his interpreter, Jemison, he very promptly repaired to the studio of Mr. Weir. "For this purpose," writes Dr. Francis to his friend William Dunlop,† "he dressed himself in the cos-

* The following characteristic letter was written at the time by Burr, introducing the Mohawk chief to his daughter:—

"PHILADELPHIA, Feb. 28th, 1797.

"This will be handed to you by Colonel Brant, the celebrated Indian chief. I am sure that you and Natalie* will be happy in the opportunity of seeing a man so much renowned. He is a man of education—speaks and writes the English perfectly—and has seen much of Europe and America. Receive him with respect and hospitality. He is not one of those Indians who drink rum, but is quite a gentleman; not one who will make you fine bows, but one who understands and practices what belongs to propriety and good-breeding. He has daughters—if you could think of some little present to send to one of them (a pair of ear-rings, for example), it would please him. You may talk to him very freely, and offer to introduce him to your friend, Mr. Witbeck, at Albany. *Vale et arma.* A. B."†

† The author of the *History of the American Arts of Design*.

* Natalie Delagié, an adopted child of Aaron Burr, born in France, and subsequently married to a son of General Sumpter, of South Carolina.

† Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant*.

tume which he deemed most appropriate to his character, decorated with his brilliant over-covering and belt, his tomahawk and Washington medal.* For the whole period of nearly two hours, on four or five successive days, he was as punctual to the arrangements of the artist as any individual could be. He chose a large arm-chair for his convenience, while his interpreter, as well as himself, was occupied, for the most part, in surveying the objects which decorated the artist's room. He had a party of several Senecas with him, who, adopting the horizontal position, in different parts of the room, regaled themselves with the fumes of tobacco to their utmost gratification. Red-Jacket occasionally united in this relaxation; but was so deeply absorbed in attention to the work of the painter as to think, perhaps, of no other subject. At times he manifested extreme pleasure, as the outlines of the picture were filled up. The drawing of his costume, which he seemed to prize, as peculiarly appropriate, and the distant view of the Falls of Niagara—scenery at no great distance from his own residence—forced him to an indistinct utterance of his satisfaction. When his medal appeared complete in the picture, he addressed his interpreter by striking gestures; and when his noble front was finished, he sprung upon his feet with great alacrity, and, seizing the artist by the hand, exclaimed with great energy, "Good! good!" The painting being finished, he parted with Mr. Weir with a satisfaction equal to that which he, doubtless, on some occasions, had felt on effecting an Indian treaty. Red-Jacket must have been beyond his seventieth year when the painting was made. He exhibited in his countenance somewhat of the traces of time and trial on his constitution. Nevertheless, he was of a tall and erect form, and walked with a firm gait. His

* See engraving in the large-paper edition of this work, which is a copy of Weir's painting.

characteristics are preserved by the artist to admiration; and his majestic front exhibits an attitude surpassing every other that I have ever seen of the human skull. As a specimen for the craniologist, Red-Jacket need not yield his pretensions to those of the most astute philosophers. He will long live by the painting of Weir, the poetry of Halleck, and the fame of his own deeds.*

Red-Jacket loved his native forests, and no music was to him so sad as the sounds of approaching civilization, before which they were destined to fall. Every blow of the woodman's ax sent a pang to his heart. The crash of a falling tree sounded more painfully upon his ears than the jar of an earthquake. The following anecdote will illustrate his feelings upon this subject. In the days of his youth, he was wont to join the hunters in the beautiful valley of the Genesee with great enthusiasm. Game was then plenty, and those were, indeed, the fairest hunting-grounds he could traverse. Toward the close of his life, he went thither to indulge once more in the chase, where a forest, apparently of considerable extent, yet remained. He entered it, recognizing some of his ancient friends among the venerable trees, and hoping still to find abundant game. But he had not proceeded far before he approached an opening, and his course was presently impeded by a fence, within the inclosure of which one of the pale-faces was engaged in guiding the plow. With a heavy heart, he turned in another direction, the forest seeming yet to be deep, and where he hoped to find a deer, as in the days when he was young. But he had not traveled long before another opening broke upon his view; another fence impeded his course,

* Doctor Francis held many conversations with Red-Jacket, during the latter's stay in the city, some of which were upon the subject of the diseases to which the Indians were subject. The chief was quite descriptive in his statements and seemed sufficiently qualified to make a number of very fair distinctions in relation to the subject.—*Conversations of Dr. Francis with Col. Wm. L. Stone.*

and another cultivated field appeared within. He sat down and wept.*

In the same year that Red-Jacket visited the city, the Merchants' Exchange, in Wall Street (begun in 1825), was completed. Masonic Hall, opposite the New York Hospital, the Arcade, in Maiden Lane, and other buildings of more or less interest, were also erected. It has been the custom of late years to speak of the changes that have taken place in New York city as of recent date. This, however, is a mistake. *Modern* New York begins, in reality, about the year 1820, at which time the "march of internal improvement" began to level the most interesting of our city landmarks. Indeed, as late as 1827, Exchange Place was Garden Street, Beaver Street was Exchange Street, and Hanover Street was unknown. Garden Street, ending in what is now Hanover Street, was connected with Exchange Street and Pearl Street by Sloat Lane. This narrow lane was afterward widened and extended through to Wall Street, forming Hanover Street. The triangular block now bounded by Beaver, Pearl, and Hanover, was then bounded on the north by Exchange Street, on the east by a private alley, connecting the east end of that street with Pearl at a point some fifty feet this side of the present junction, on the south by Pearl, as now, and on the west by Sloat Lane. Beaver Street was subsequently opened through on its present line, and the private alley was closed up and built upon.

In 1829, an old resident of New York, returning to the city, after an absence of several years, was so struck with the changes which had taken place, both in the people and in the buildings, that he gave them to the public in two very interesting letters.† The reminis-

* Related to Colonel W. L. Stone by a Seneca chief.

† The late Gulian C. Verplanck (under the *nom de plume* of Francis Herbert), in the *Talisman*, for 1829-1831.

cences contained in them are of great value, as tending to preserve that which otherwise must have fallen into oblivion. New York has, it is true, reached a proud mercantile position; but it must not be supposed that, on this account, she has no traditions other than those associated with trade. To assume this would be as unjust as it is untrue. Many memories she has, both of a pleasant and a saddening nature; and while there are many, in this intensely practical age, who profess to sneer at everything in which they can "see no money," yet there are a few from whose hearts all sentiment has not been entirely crushed out. It is for the benefit of this latter class that we reproduce a portion of the reminiscences here alluded to. The writer says:

"New York is full of old reminiscences. Some are consecrated by religious feeling, and some by their connection with the political destinies of our country. My father used to show me, when a boy, the spot on the North River, just above the present Barclay-street Ferry, where Jonathan Edwards, when temporary pastor of Wall-street Church, used to walk backward and forward on the solitary pebbly shore, sounding the depths of his own conscience, and drawing 'sweet consolation' from the religion which he taught. Here he ruminated on the mysteries of eternal preordination and free-will, while fell upon his ear the murmurs of that ocean which is the symbol of eternity and power, and whose motions are controlled, like the events of our own lives, by the word and will of the Most High. Then, likewise, he showed me the little church, back to the site of the present Methodist Chapel, in John Street, where Whitfield, as my father expressed it, used to 'preach like a lion,' with a searching power that made the sinner quail, and shook and broke the infidel's stony heart. It was in Wall Street that the apos-

tolie Tennant lifted up his melodious voice, and sounded the silver trumpet of the Gospel.

* * * * *

“ On the site of the present Custom-house,* where the commerce of the world pays its tribute to the great treasury of the nation, stood the old City Hall, commanding a view of the wide and winding avenue of Broad Street. Here, in a species of balcony, in the second story of the building, such as the Italians call a *loggia*, mean in its materials of wood and brick, but splendid in the taste and proportions given to it by the architect L’Enfant, the inauguration oath of the chief magistracy of the Union was administered by Chancellor Livingston to Washington, the first of our Presidents. In front of the building an innumerable and silent crowd of citizens, intently gazing on the august ceremony, thronged the spacious street, and filled Wall Street from William Street to Broadway. Behind the President elect stood a group of the illustrious fathers of the nation—Hamilton and Knox, and the elder Adams, and the venerable and learned and eloquent Johnson, and Ellsworth and Sherman of Connecticut, and Clinton and Chief-Justice Morris and Duane of New York, and Boudinot of New Jersey, and Rutledge of South Carolina, and less conspicuous in person, though among the foremost in fame, the Virginian, Madison. There, too, stood the most revered of the clergy of New York, the venerable Dr. Rodgers, of the Presbyterian Church; the wise and mild and suasive Dr. Moore, of the Episcopal; the dignified and eloquent Dr. Livingston, of the Dutch; and the learned Dr. Kunze and the patriotic Dr. Grose, of the German churches. Back of these stood younger men, since scarcely less illustrious than the elder statesmen I have mentioned—Ames, and Cabot, and Gouverneur Morris, majestic and graceful in spite of his wooden leg. But

* Now the Sub-Treasury.

why should I attempt to describe this great occasion by words? I lately looked over the portfolio of my friend Dunlap, and found, among many other fine things, sketches which present this scene vividly to the eye, with the features of the great men who figured in it, and their costumes and attitudes, such as he himself beheld them. I wish somebody would employ him to paint a noble picture, such as he is capable of producing, on this magnificent subject. The pride of a New-Yorker, the feelings of a patriot, the ambition of an artist, and the recollections of this interesting ceremony, which still live in his memory, would stimulate him to do it ample justice.

* * * * *

"Cedar Street, since that day, has declined from its ancient consequence. I had the pleasure of seeing Mr. Jefferson in an old two-story house in that street, unbending himself in the society of the learned and polite from the labors of the bureau. And there was Talleyrand, whom I used to meet at the houses of General Hamilton and of Noah Webster, with his club-foot and passionless, immovable countenance, sarcastic and malicious even in his intercourse with children. He was disposed to amuse himself with gallantry, too. But who does not know, or rather, who ever did know, Talleyrand? About the same time I met with Priestley, grave and placid in his manners, with a slight difficulty of utterance; dry, polite, learned, and instructive in his conversation. At a period somewhat later, I saw here the deputy Billaud de Varrennes, who had swayed the blood-thirsty mob of the Faubourg St. Antoine, turned the torrent of the multitude into the hall of the Legislative Assembly, and reanimated France to a bolder and more vigorous resistance against her foreign enemies. I visited him in the garret of a poor tavern in the upper part of William Street, where he lived in obscurity. But why particularize further? We have

had *savans*, *littérateurs*, and politicians by the score, all men of note, some good and some bad, and most of whom certainly thought that they attracted more attention than they did,—Volney and Cobbett and Tom Moore, and the two Michaux, and the Abbé Correa, and Jeffrey, and others; the muster-roll of whose names I might call over, if I had the memory of Baron Trenck, and my readers the taste of a catalogue-making librarian. Have we not jostled ex-kings and ex-empresses and ex-nobles in Broadway? trod on the toes of exotic naturalists, Waterloo marshals, and great foreign academicians at the parties of young ladies? and seen more heroes and generals all over town than would fill a new Iliad?

“Pensive memory turns to other worthies no less illustrious in their way. There were Billy the Fiddler and his wife, whom no one having seen, could ever forget, and no one who had music in his soul remember without regretting that such a fiddle should ever have been hung up. Billy had been a favorite of Mozart, at Vienna, and used to say that he had composed one (I forget which) of his six celebrated sonatas; though I believe he drew rather too long a bow when he made this statement. He was about four feet six inches in height, with a foot as long as a fourth of his stature. His head was not disproportionate, as those of dwarfs usually are; but he had their characteristic petulance; and the irritability of his temper was certainly not improved by the enforced attendance of a retinue of idle boys, who always formed his *suite* when he walked forth in the streets. His wife was a suitable companion for him as to personal appearance and height; and it seemed, on looking at the couple, to be not at all wonderful how the Germans came by their wild and droll conceptions of goblins and elves. But I never heard of any other magic practiced by Billy, except that the sweet and enlivening strains of his violin made the young masters

and misses, at whose juvenile parties he officiated, dance off the soles of their shoes and stockings; and that they would have begun upon their tender skins if they had not been discreetly carried home.

“There was also the family of the Hewletts (which, from tradition or observation, I may say I know for four generations), contemporaries of the successive Vestrises. Indeed, according to the family record, the first Hewlett was a pupil of the first Vestris, and a favorite disciple of that great master; who only complained that he was not sufficiently *léger* in his ascents, nor quite *de plomb* enough in his descents; but certified, that, for grace, agility, and science, he was the prince of his *élèves*. The opinions of those educated under the successive dynasties of these masters of aërial gymnastics, as fashion controlled both teachers and scholars, ‘and as longer puffs and louder fiddles’ brought other professors of the graces of motion forward, varied as to the distinctive characteristics of their several excellencies; still, the Hewletts kept their ground. They outlived the Revolution of Seventy-six;—Trinity Church was pulled down, the Governor’s Court fled from the Battery, but they kept the field, like the trumpeters of chivalry. They taught dancing to the belles, who captivated the members of the first Congress; and tried to teach some of the members themselves. Then came the *horrible* French Revolution; and in that terrible storm, which overthrew the landmarks of the Old World, new manners and new teachers were drifted on our shores, and the Hewletts went out of vogue. There must be few who have dwelt in this now all-be-metamorphosed city, even for six years past, who have not had occasion to observe the dapper legs and silken hose of the last of this line. But they will be seen no more. David Hewlett is dead! and, as he trod lightly upon the earth, may the earth lie lightly on him. He was a gentleman, every inch of him. He

was the last of the anti-Revolutionary dancing-masters; a kind, good, humble man. At St. Paul's I always found him repeating the service with a formality which was the result of decorous habit, and a fervor which could only have come warm from the heart. Again I say, light be the earth above him! and he must have a stern, hard heart who can scoff at my honest tribute to the memory of my old dancing-master.

"My reminiscences of New York, or rather the people that have been in it, come before my mind in pretty much the same order that 'jewels and shells, sea-weed, and straw,' are raked by 'old father Time from the ocean of the past,' according to Milton or Bacon, or some other ancient writer of eminence. I had an uncle, who was a prudent man in all his transactions; and who, from patriotic considerations, waited for the development of events before he took any part in the Revolutionary War. He had many of what might be called Tory recollections of that period. He knew the Duke of Clarence, when he came here as a midshipman; skated with him on the Collect, where now stand the arsenal and the gas-manufactory,* and helped out of the ice him who is now official head of the English navy, and who may probably wield ere long the scepter of the British Empire. In walking along Broadway, he has often pointed out to me the small corner-room in the second story in the house in Wall Street, opposite Grace Church, then and long after occupied by Dr. Tillary, a Scotchman (formerly a surgeon and afterward an eminent physician), and told me how he used, at the period referred to, to eat oysters there, in the American fashion, with his Royal Highness, who preferred them to the copper-flavored productions of the British Channel.

"Pine Street is now full of blocks of tall, massive

* The present vicinity of the Tombs.

buildings, which overshadow the narrow passage between, and make it one of the gloomiest streets in New York. The very bricks there look of a darker hue than in any other part of the city; the rays of the sun seem to come through a yellower and thicker atmosphere; and the shadows thrown there by moonlight seem of a blacker and more solid darkness than elsewhere. The sober occupations of the inhabitants also, who are learned members of the bar, nearest Broadway, and calculating wholesale merchants as you approach the East River, inspire you with ideas of sedateness and gravity as you walk through it. It was not thus thirty or forty years ago. Shops were on each side of the way—low, cheerful-looking, two-story buildings, of light-colored brick or wood, painted white or yellow, and which scarcely seemed a hindrance to the air and sunshine. Among these stood the shop of Auguste Louis de Singeron, celebrated for the neatness and quality of its confectionery and pastry, and for the singular manners of its keeper, who was at once the politest and most passionate of men. He was a French emigrant, a courtier, and a warrior; a man of diminutive size, but of a most chivalrous, courteous, and undaunted spirit. He might be about five feet two inches in height; his broad shoulders overshadowed a pair of legs under the common size; his fiery-red hair was tied into a club behind, and combed fiercely up in front; the upper part of his cheek-bones, the tip of his nose, and the peak of his chin, were tinged with a bright scarlet; his voice was an exaggeration of the usual sharp tones of his nation, and his walk was that of a man who walks for a wager. He was the younger son of a noble family; and, having a commission in the French army, was one of the officers who defended the Tuileries on the melancholy night of the 10th of August, 1792, when the palace streamed with blood, and the devoted adherents of the king were bayoneted in the corridors, or

escaped only to be proscribed and hunted down like wolves. Auguste de Singeron made his way to L'Orient, took passage to the United States, and landed at New York without a penny in his pocket. His whole inventory consisted of a cocked hat, a rusty suit of black, a cane, a small-sword, a white pocket-handkerchief, and shirts, if I am justified in speaking of them in the plural, the exact number of which cannot now be known, as he never chose to reveal it, but looked as if they had never been brought acquainted with the nymphs of the fountains. He at first betook himself to the usual expedient of teaching French for a livelihood; but it would not do. He lost all patience at correcting, for the twentieth time, the same blunder in the same pupil; he showed no mercy to an indelicate coupling of different genders; and fell upon a false tense with as much impetuosity as he had once rushed upon the battery of an enemy. But if he got into a passion suddenly, he got out of it as soon. His starts of irritation were succeeded by most vehement fits of politeness; he poured forth apologies with so much volubility, and so many bows, and pressed his explanation with so much earnestness and vigor, and such unintelligible precipitation, that his pupils became giddy with the noise, and, at the end of his lesson, were more perplexed than ever. In short, to apply the boast of a celebrated modern instructor, his disciples were so well satisfied with their progress, that they declined taking lessons a second quarter, and the poor Frenchman was obliged to think of some other way of getting a living. But what should it be? He had no capital, and scarcely any friends. Should he become a barber, a shoe-black, a cook, a fencing-master, a dentist, or a dancing-master? Either of these occupations was better than to beg, to starve, or to steal, and the French nobility have figured in them all. The flexibility of the national character adapts itself in mature age to any situation in

life with the same ease that people of other nations accommodate themselves to that in which they were born. French marquises have sweltered in the kitchens of English private gentlemen, in greasy caps and aprons; French counts have given the polish to the nether extremities of the stately dons of Madrid; and French dukes have taken German ones by the nose. The graceful courtiers, who led down the dance the high-born dames of France, have exhausted themselves in the vain effort to teach Yorkshiremen to shuffle cotillions; the officers of his Most Christian Majesty's household have drawn teeth for cockneys; and the chevaliers of the Order of St. Louis have given lessons in the use of the broadsword to men who afterward figured as Yankee corporals. In the midst of his perplexity, a mere accident determined the future career of Monsieur de Singeron. He had politely undertaken to assist in the manufacture of some molasses-candy for a little boy, the son of his host; and, after a process attended with some vexations, during which the lad thought, two or three times, that his French acquaintance would swallow him alive, he produced the article in such delicious and melting perfection, that his fame was quickly spread abroad among the boys of the neighborhood as an artist of incomparable merit. He took the hint, got his landlord to assist him with a small credit, turned pastry-cook and confectioner, set up at first in a small way, enlarged his business as he got customers, and finally took a handsome shop in the street I have mentioned. The French have as great a talent for comfits as for compliments; and the genius that shines in the invention of an agreeable flattery displays itself to no less advantage in the manufacture of a sugar-plum. Auguste Louis de Singeron was no vulgar imitator of his clumsy English and Dutch brethren in the art. I speak not of the splendor of his crystallizations, of the brilliant frost-work of his plum-

cakes, nor of the tempting arrangement he knew how to give to his whole stock of wares, though these were admirable. But the gilt gingerbread I used to buy of him—instead of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba—was graced with the stately figures of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette; the queen standing bolt-upright—as became the conqueror of hearts and the mistress of the finest kingdom in the world—and the monarch holding her hand, with a delicate inclination of his royal body, as if acknowledging the empire of beauty. He, I believe, first introduced the practice of stamping the New-year's cake with figures of Cupids among roses, and hearts transfixed by an arrow in honor of *la belle passion*. His marchpane bore an impress of the *façade* of the Tuileries, with its pilasters, columns, and carvings; and his *blanc-mange* was adorned with a bas-relief of warriors in bag-wigs and cocked hats, tilting fiercely at each other on its quivering and glancing surface.

“I shall never forget the courtly and high-bred civility with which M. de Singeron used to welcome me to his shop, and bow me out of it. I have since seen the nobles of the court of Marie Antoinette, and was no longer at a loss to account for the graceful manners of my old friend, the confectioner. It was not, however, quite safe to presume too much upon his forbearance, for he knew no medium between the most violent irritation and the most florid politeness. He had no patience with these people who stood in his door on a keen windy day, and would neither come in nor go out. They always got from him a hearty curse in French, followed, as soon as he could recollect himself, by something civil in English. ‘*Peste soit de la bête,*’ he used to say, ‘*fermez donc la*—I beg pardon, sare, but if you vill shut de door, you shall merit my eternal gratitude!’ The fellows who went about the streets crying ‘good oysters,’ and ‘fine Rockaway clams,’ avoided his ill-omened door in the winter months, taught by bitter

experience, and sundry ungracious and unexpected raps on the knuckles. He at first tried the plan of making them come in, shut the door, and deliver their errand, and then sending them about their business. This not succeeding, he tried the shining old *lignum-vitæ* cane, with which he used to promenade in the gardens of the Tuileries, and with much better effect. On one occasion, however, he happened to bestow it rather rudely upon the nasal organ of a sailor. The fellow's proboscis was originally of most unnatural and portentous dimensions; it swelled terribly from the effect of the blow; and, meeting with a pettifogger, who told him it was a good case for damages, he brought an action against the confectioner. Monsieur de Singeron in vain offered an apology and a plaster of bank-notes; the sailor was inexorable, and insisted on producing his injured member before the seat of justice. He did so, but unluckily the effect on the jury was rather ludicrous than pathetic, and the impression it made was against the plaintiff, who got only ten shillings by his suit. M. de Singeron thought it was not enough, and gave the fellow a five-dollar note besides, which he had the meanness to accept, though I believe he blushed as he did it.

"Monsieur de Singeron afterward sold cakes and confectionery in William Street, and then in Broadway, and finally was one of that joyful troop of returning exiles that flocked back to France on the restoration of the Bourbons. He was provided for by being made a colonel of cuirassiers, and in the decline of his life his gallant and courteous spirit was no longer obliged to struggle with the hardships and scorns of poverty. I have lately heard, though indirectly, so that I cannot vouch for the fact, that he has been promoted to be one of the marshals of France.

"There was another Frenchman of distinction, also of the old school of French manners, but less fortunate than

Monsieur de Singeron, and who used daily to take his solitary walk through Broadway. I allude to Admiral Pierre de Landais, a cadet of the family of a younger son of the youngest branch of one of the oldest, proudest, and poorest families in Normandy. He had regularly studied in the *École de la Marine*, and was thoroughly instructed in the mathematical theories of sailing and building a ship, although, like the rest of his countrymen, he always found some unexpected difficulty in applying his theory to practice. For a Frenchman, however, he was a good sailor; but, in consequence of his grandfather having exhausted his patrimony in a splendid exhibition of fire-works for the entertainment of Madame de Pompadour, he had neither interest at court nor money to purchase court favor. He was therefore kept in the situation of an *aspirant*, or midshipman, until he was thirty-two years old, and was kept, I know not how many years more, in the humble rank of *sous-lieutenant*. He served his country faithfully, and with great good-will, until, in the beginning of the reign of Louis XVI, a page of the mistress of the Count de Vergennes came down to Cherbourg to be his captain. While he was boiling with indignation at this affront, the war between England and America broke out, and he seized that opportunity to enter the service of the United States. There he at once rose to the command of a fine frigate, and the title of admiral. Soon afterward came the brilliant affair of the *Serapis* and the *Bon Homme Richard*, in which Paul Jones, by his impetuous and undisciplined gallantry, earned the reputation of a hero, and poor Landais, by a too scrupulous attention to the theory of naval science, incurred that of a coward. I believe that naval authority is against me; but I venture to assert, *meo periculo*, and on the authority of one of my uncles, who was in that action as a lieutenant to Paul Jones, that Landais erred, not through any defect of bravery, but

merely from his desire to approach his enemy scientifically, by bearing down upon the hypotenuse of the precise right-angled triangle prescribed in the thirty-seventh '*manœuvre*' of his old text-book.

* * * * *

"The naval committee of Congress, unfortunately, understood neither mathematics nor French; they could not comprehend Landais' explanation, and he was thrown out of service. After his disgrace, he constantly resided in the city of New York, except that he always made a biennial visit to the seat of Government, whether at Philadelphia or at Washington, to present a memorial respecting the injustice done him, and to claim restitution to his rank and the arrears of his pay. An unexpected dividend of prize-money, earned at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, and paid in 1790, gave him an annuity of one hundred and four dollars, or rather, as I think, a hundred and five; for I remember his telling me that he had two dollars a week on which to subsist, and an odd dollar for charity at the end of the year.

* * * * *

"Although Congress, under the new Constitution, continued as obdurate and as impenetrable to explanation as they were in the time of the Confederation, the admiral kept up to the last the habits and exterior of a gentleman. His linen, though not very fine, nor probably very whole, was always clean; his coat threadbare, but scrupulously brushed; and, for occasions of ceremonious visiting, he had a pair of paste knee-buckles and faded yellow silk stockings with red clocks. He wore the American cockade to the last; and on the Fourth of July, the Day of St. Louis, and the anniversary of the day on which the British troops evacuated the city of New York, he periodically mounted his old Continental navy uniform, although its big brass buttons had lost their splendor, and the skirts of

the coat, which wrapped his shrunken person like a cloak, touched his heels in walking, while the sleeves, by some contradictory process, had receded several inches from the wrists. He subsisted with the utmost independence on his scanty income, refusing all presents, even the most trifling; and when my naval uncle, on one occasion, sent him a dozen of Newark cider, as a small mark of his recollection of certain hospitalities at the admiral's table when in command, while he himself was but a poor lieutenant, Landais peremptorily refused them, as a present he could not receive, because it was not in his power to reciprocate.

* * * * *

"He was a man of the most punctilious and chivalric honor, and at the same time full of that instinctive kindness of heart and that nice sense of propriety which shrink from doing a rude thing to anybody on any occasion. Even when he met his bitterest enemy, as he did, shortly after he came to New York, the man whose accusation had destroyed his reputation and blighted his prospects, whose injuries he had for years brooded over, and whom he determined to insult and punish whenever he fell in with him, he could not bring himself to offer him an insult unbecoming a gentleman, but, deliberately spitting on the pavement, desired his adversary to consider that pavement as his own face, and to proceed accordingly.

"Thus, in proud, solitary, and honorable poverty, lived Pierre de Landais for some forty years, until, to use the language of his own epitaph, in the eighty-seventh year of his age, he 'disappeared' from life. As he left no property behind him, and had no relations and scarcely any acquaintances in the country, it has always been a matter of mystery to me who erected his monument—a plain white marble slab, which stands in the church-yard of St.

Patrick's Cathedral, in New York, and on which is read the following characteristic inscription :



À LA MÉMOIRE
de
PIERRE DE LANDAIS,
ANCIEN CONTRE-AMIRAL,
au service
DES ÉTATS-UNIS,
Qui Disparut
Juin 1818,
Agé 87 ans.

“Who would suppose that the exploded science of alchemy had ever its professors in the United States, where the easy transmutation of the soil of the wilderness into rich possessions renders unnecessary the art of converting dross into gold? Yet such is the fact. Everybody who has been a frequent walker of Broadway, in any or all of the forty years preceding the last five, must recollect often meeting a man whom at first he might not have particularly noticed, but whose constant appearance in the same part of the street at the same hour of the day, and the peculiarities of whose dress and person, must at length have compelled attention. He was a plump-looking man, somewhat under the middle size, with well-spread shoulders, a large chest, a fair, fresh complexion, a clear but dreamy eye, and a short, quick stride, and had altogether the signs of that fullness of habit which arises from regular exercise and a good appetite, while a certain ascetic expression of countenance at once forbade the idea that it owed anything to festivity or good cheer. His

age, which never appeared to vary, might, from his looks, be estimated at five years, on the one side or other, of fifty. His dress was that of an old-fashioned, respectable citizen, educated before the age of suspenders, pantaloons, and boots, and who had never been persuaded to countenance those innovations of modern effeminacy. Notwithstanding its obsolete cut, it showed no signs of poverty, except, perhaps, to those, and those only, who occasionally met him sweltering, with a laudable contempt for the weather, in a full suit of thick Prussian blue, or Dutch black broadcloth, in a hot August day; or striding through a snow-storm in nankeen breeches and white cotton stockings in December. His name was Jan Max-Lichenstein; he was a Pomeranian by birth, who, early in life, going to Amsterdam to seek his fortune, became employed as a clerk in the great Dutch banking and commercial house of Hope & Co., where he proved himself a good accountant, and rendered himself useful in their German and Swedish correspondence.

“Afterward, by some accident or other, he found himself an adventurer at St. Petersburg. What led him to that city I cannot say; I have never heard it accounted for among his acquaintances in this city; at Amsterdam I forgot to inquire, and St. Petersburg I have never visited. But thither he went; and, having the good fortune to become known to Prince Potemkin, received an employment in his household, and finally came to be intrusted with the management of his finances. The prince, as everybody knows, like many others who have millions to dispose of, had constantly occasion for millions more; and, as everybody also ought to know who knows anything of his private history, when his funds were so reduced that he had nothing left but a few millions of acres and a few thousand serfs, took most furiously to gambling and alchemy. These liberal employments were divided be-

tween him and his treasurer. The prince rattled the dice-box in the gilded saloons of Tzarzko Zelo; and the Pomeranian, in spite of his remonstrances and his own better judgment, was set to compounding the alkahest, or universal menstruum, in the vaults under the north wing of Potemkin's winter palace. We soon get attached to the studies in which we are obliged to employ ourselves, and Lichenstein gradually found his incredulity yielding, and a strange interest stealing over him, as he read the books, and sweltered and watched over the operations of alchemy. The result was, that at length he became a believer in the mysteries of imbibition, solution, ablution, sublimation, cohabitation, calcination, ceration, and fixation, and all the martyrizations of metals, with the sublime influences of the Trine Circle of the Seven Spheres.

"Lichenstein, however, with all his diligence and increase of faith, could neither coin gold nor get it out of the prince's tenants in such quantities as it was wanted, and he was now destined to learn how much the favor of the great depends upon the state of their stomachs. One morning Potemkin, after a run of bad luck, plenty of good champagne, a sleepless night, and an indigestible breakfast of raw turnips and quass, called upon him for an extraordinary sum, and, not finding it easily furnished, flew into a passion and discharged him on the spot. As the prince never paid any debts but those of honor, Lichenstein knew that it would be in vain to ask for his salary, and walked into the streets without a penny in his pocket. The late Chief-Justice Dana, of Massachusetts, then our Minister at the Court of St. Petersburg, was about to return to America. Lichenstein had heard the most flattering accounts of the prospects held out in the United States to active and intelligent adventurers from the Old World and readily believed all he heard, which, for a believer in alchemy, was no great stretch of credulity. He had some

little acquaintance with the American Minister, in consequence of once or twice negotiating for him small bills on the bankers of the United States at Amsterdam. He threw himself upon his generosity, and requested a passage to this country—a favor which was readily granted. Here he was fortunate enough, almost immediately on his arrival, to be employed in the first mercantile house in New York, to answer their Dutch, German, and Northern correspondence, with a salary which, though not half so large as that allowed by Prince Potemkin, he liked twice as well, because it was regularly paid. He had scarcely become well settled in New York, when his old dream of alchemy returned upon him. He carefully hoarded his earnings until he was enabled to purchase, at a cheap rate, a small tenement in Wall Street, where he erected a furnace with a triple chimney, and renewed his search of the *arcenum magnum*. Every day, in the morning, he was occupied for two hours in the counting-room; then he was seen walking in Broadway; then he shut himself in his laboratory until the dusk of the evening, when he issued forth to resume his solitary walk.

“Year after year passed in this manner. Wall Street, in the meantime, was changing its inhabitants; its burghers gave way to banks and brokers; the city extended its limits, and the streets became thronged with increasing multitudes—circumstances of which the alchemist took no note, except that he could not help observing that he was obliged to take a longer walk than formerly to get into the country, and that the rows of lamps on each side of Broadway seemed to have lengthened wonderfully toward the north; but whether this was owing to the advance of old age, which made his walk more fatiguing, or to some other unknown cause, was a problem which I believe he never fully solved to his own satisfaction.

“Still, the secret of making gold seemed as distant as

ever, until it presented itself to him in an unexpected shape. His lot in Wall Street, which measured twenty-eight feet in front and eighty-seven in depth, and for which he had paid three hundred and fifty pounds in New York currency, had become a desirable site for a newly-chartered banking company. One day Lichenstein was called by the president of this company from his furnace, as he was pouring rectified water on the salt of Mercury. He felt somewhat crusty at the interruption, as he hoped, by reverberating the ingredients in an athanor, to set the liquor of Mars in circulation; but when this person had opened to him his errand, and offered him twenty-five thousand dollars for the purchase of his lot, his ill-humor was converted into surprise. Had he been offered five thousand, he would have accepted it immediately; but twenty-five thousand! the amount startled him. He took time to consider of the proposition, and the next morning was offered thirty thousand by a rival company. He must think of this also, and before night he sold to the first company for thirty-three thousand. He was now possessed of a competency; he quitted his old vocation of clerk, abandoned his old walk in Broadway, and, like Admiral Landais, 'disappeared,' but not, I believe, like him, to another life. I have heard that his furnace has again been seen smoking behind a comfortable German stone house in the comfortable borough of Easton—a residence which he chose, not merely on account of its cheapness of living, nor its picturesque situation, but chiefly, I believe, for its neighborhood to Bethlehem, where dwelt a Moravian friend of his, attached to the same mysterious studies, and for its nearness to the inexhaustible coal-mines of Lehigh.

"As I write, my recollections of the past, both ludicrous and melancholy, crowd upon me. I might amuse my readers with a history of the 'Doctors' Mob,' which

happened some forty years ago, when the multitude, indignant with the physicians and surgeons for having, as was supposed, violated the repose of the dead, besieged them in their dwellings, with an intention to inflict justice upon them according to their own summary notions, obliging them to slip out at windows, creep behind beer-barrels, crawl up chimneys, and get beneath feather-beds; and when the grave gentlemen of the healing art were fed in dark places, like hunted rebels or persecuted prophets, for three days and three nights. I might give my readers a peep into the little dark room in Pine Street, where Brown used to frame his gloomy and interesting fictions without any aid from the picturesque, and entangle his heroes in one difficulty after another, without knowing how he should extricate them. I might show residing in that part of Pearl Street now enlarged into Hanover Square, but then a dark and narrow passage, the famous General Moreau, who, when told that the street was not fashionable, replied that he 'lived in de house, and not in de street'—a conceited grammarian, talking absurdly of that science, and magnifying his supposed discovery of three thousand new adverbs, but otherwise gentlemanly, intelligent, and agreeable, and fortunate in his beautiful and accomplished wife. When I spoke of great men, I might touch upon the tragic and untimely end of one of our greatest—Hamilton—brought over from the fatal spot where he fell to expire in the hospitable mansion of Mr. Bayard, on the green shore of the Hudson. I well recollect the day of his death, a fine day in July; and the bright sunshine, the smiling beauty of the spot, the cheerful sound of birds and rustling boughs, and the twinkling waters of the river, contrasted strangely and unnaturally with the horror-struck countenances and death-like silence of the great multitude that gathered round the dwelling. I will not attempt to describe the scene.

"In this city especially, it is of more importance to preserve the recollection of these things, since here the progress of continual alteration is so rapid, that a few years effect what in Europe is the work of centuries, and sweep away both the memory and the external vestiges of the generation that precedes us.

"I was forcibly struck with this last reflection, when not long since I took a walk with my friend, Mr. De Viellecour, during his last visit to New York, over what I recollected as the play-ground of myself and my companions in the time of my boyhood, and what Mr. De Viellecour remembered as the spot where his contemporaries at an early period used to shoot quails and woodcocks. We passed over a part of the city which in my time had been hills, hollows, marshes, and rivulets, without having observed anything to awaken in either of us a recollection of what the place was before the surface had been leveled and the houses erected, until, arriving at the corner of Charlton and Varick Streets, we came to an edifice utterly dissimilar to anything around it.* It was a wooden building of massive architecture, with a lofty portico supported by Ionic columns, the front walls decorated with pilasters of the same order, and its whole appearance distinguished by that Palladian character of rich though sober ornament, which indicated that it had been built about the middle of the last century. We both stopped involuntarily, and at the same moment, before it.

"'If I did not see that house on a flat plain,' said Mr. De Viellecour, 'penned in by this little gravelly courtyard, and surrounded by these starveling catalpas and horse-chestnuts, I should say at once that it was a mansion which I very well remember, where in my youth I passed many pleasant hours in the society of its hospita-

* RICHMOND HILL, formerly Burr's residence. See Appendix No. II.

ble owner, and where, afterward, when I had the honor of representing my country in the Assembly, which then sat in New York, I had the pleasure of dining officially with Vice-President Adams. That house resembled this exactly; but then it was upon a noble hill, several hundred feet in height, commanding a view of the river and of the Jersey shore. There was a fine, rich lawn around it, shaded by large and venerable oaks and lindens, and skirted on every side by a young but thrifty natural wood of an hundred acres or more.'

"Perceiving it to be a house of public entertainment, I proposed to Mr. Viellecour that we should enter it. We went into a spacious hall, with a small room on each side opening to more spacious apartments beyond. 'Yes,' said Mr. Viellecour, 'this is certainly the house I spoke of.' He immediately, with the air of a man accustomed to the building, opened a side-door on the right, and began to ascend a wide staircase with a heavy mahogany railing. It conducted us to a large room on the second story, with wide Venetian windows in front, and a door opening to a balcony under the portico. 'Yes,' said my friend, 'here was the dining room. There, in the center of the table, sat Vice-President Adams in full dress, with his bag and *solitaire*, his hair frizzed out each side of his face, as you see it in Stuart's older pictures of him. On his right sat Baron Steuben, our royalist republican disciplinarian general. On his left was Mr. Jefferson, who had just returned from France, conspicuous in his red waistcoat and breeches, the fashion of Versailles. Opposite sat Mrs. Adams, with her cheerful, intelligent face. She was placed between the courtly Count Du Moustiers, the French ambassador, in his red-heeled shoes and ear-rings, and the grave, polite, and formally-bowing Mr. Van Birkel, the learned and able envoy of Holland. There, too, was Chancellor Livingston, then still in the prime of life, so deaf as to make

conversation with him difficult, yet so overflowing with wit, eloquence, and information, that while listening to him the difficulty was forgotten. The rest were members of Congress and of our Legislature, some of them no inconsiderable men.

“ ‘ Being able to talk French—a rare accomplishment in America at that time—a place was assigned to me next the count. The dinner was served up after the fashion of that day, abundant, and, as was then thought, splendid. Du Moustiers, after taking a little soup, kept an empty plate before him, took now and then a crumb of bread into his mouth, and declined all the luxuries of the table that were pressed upon him, from the roast-beef down to the lobsters. We were all in perplexity to know how the count could dine, when at length his own body-cook, in a clean, white linen cap, a clean, white *tablier* before him, a brilliantly white damask *serviette* flung over his arm, and a warm pie of truffles and game in his hand, came bustling eagerly through the crowd of waiters, and placed it before the count, who, reserving a moderate share to himself, distributed the rest among his neighbors, of whom being one, I can attest to the truth of the story, and the excellence of the *pâté*. But come, let us go and look at the fine view from the balcony.’

“ My friend stepped out at the door, and I followed him. The worthy old gentleman seemed much disappointed at finding the view he spoke of confined to the opposite side of Varick Street, built up with two-story brick houses, while a half-a-dozen ragged boys were playing marbles on the sidewalks. ‘ Well,’ said he, ‘ the view is gone, that is clear enough ; but I cannot, for my part, understand how the house has got so much lower than formerly.’

“ I explained to my friend the omnipotence of the Corporation, by which every high hill has been brought low, and every valley exalted, and by which I presumed this

house had been abased to a level with its humbler neighbors, the hill on which it stood having been literally dug away from under it, and the house gently let down, without disturbing its furniture, by the mechanical genius and dexterity of some of our Eastern brethren.

“‘This is wrong!’ said the old gentleman; ‘these New-Yorkers seem to take a pleasure in defacing the monuments of the good old times, and of depriving themselves of all venerable and patriotic associations. This house should have been continued in its old situation, on its own original and proper eminence, where its very aspect would have suggested its history. It was built upward of seventy years ago by a gallant British officer, who had done good service to his native country and to this. Here Lord Amherst was entertained and held his head-quarters at the close of those successful American campaigns which, by the way, prevented half the State of New York from now being a part of Canada. Here were afterward successively the quarters of several of our American generals in the beginning of the Revolution, and again after the evacuation of the city. Here John Adams lived as Vice-President during the time that Congress sat in New York; and here Aaron Burr, during the whole of his Vice-Presidency, kept up an elegant hospitality, and filled the room in which we stand with a splendid library, equally indicative of his taste and scholarship. The last considerable man that lived here was Counselor Benzon, afterward Governor of the Danish islands,—a man who, like you, Mr. Herbert, had traveled in every part of the world, knew everything, and talked all languages. I recollect dining here in company with thirteen gentlemen, none of whom I ever saw before, but all pleasant fellows, all men of education and some note—the Counselor, a Norwegian, I, the only American, the rest of every different nation in Europe, and no two of the same, and all of us talking bad French.

“ ‘There are few old houses,’ continued Mr. De Viellecour, ‘with the sight of which my youth was familiar, that I find here now. Two or three, however, I still recognize. One of these is the house built by my friend, Chief Justice Jay, in the lower part of Broadway, and now occupied as a boarding-house. It is, as you know, a large, square three-story house, of hewn stone, as substantially built within as without; durable, spacious, and commodious; and, like the principles of the builder, always useful and excellent, whether in or out of fashion.’

“ ‘I believe he did not reside there long?’ said I.

“ ‘No; he soon afterward removed into the house built by the State for the Governors, and then to Albany, so that I saw little of him in that house beyond a mere morning visit or two. No remaining object brings him to my mind so strongly as the square pew in Trinity Church, about the center of the north side of the north aisle. It is now, like everything else in New York, changed. It is divided into several smaller pews, though still retaining, externally, its original form. That pew was the scene of his regular, sober, unostentatious devotion, and I never look at it without a feeling of veneration. But, Mr. Herbert, can you tell me what is become of the house of my other old friend, Governor George Clinton, of Greenwich?’

“ ‘It is still in existence,’ I answered, ‘although in very great danger of shortly being let down, like the one in which we now are.’

“ ‘When I was in the Assembly,’ pursued Mr. De Viellecour, ‘the Governor used to date his messages at Greenwich, near New York. Now, I suppose, the mansion is no longer *near*, but *in*, New York.’

“ ‘Not quite,’ I replied, ‘but doubtless will be, next year. In the meantime, the house looks as it did.’

“ ‘I remember it well—a long, low, venerable, irregular, white, cottage-like, brick-and-wood building, pleasant,

notwithstanding, with a number of small, low rooms, and one very spacious parlor, delightfully situated on a steep bank, some fifty feet above the shore, on which the waves of the Hudson and the tides of the bay dashed and sported. There was a fine orchard, too, and a garden on the north; but I suppose that if not gone, they are going, as they say in Pearl Street.'

" 'It is even so. Were you often there?'

" 'Not often; but I had there, too, divers official dinners, and at one of them I recollect sitting next to old Melancthon Smith, a self-taught orator, the eloquent opposer of the adoption of the Federal Constitution, and the Patrick Henry of the New York Convention of 1788, who for weeks successfully resisted the powerful and discursive logic of Hamilton, and the splendid rhetoric of Robert R. Livingston. On my other side, and near the Governor, sat Brissot de Warville, then on a visit to this country, whose history as a benevolent, philosophic speculatist, an ardent though visionary republican, and one of the unfortunate leaders of the Gironde party in the French National Assembly, everybody knows.'

" 'But you say nothing of the Governor himself.'

" 'Oh, surely you must have known him! If you did not, Trumbull's full-length of him in the City Hall here, taken forty years ago, and Ceracchi's bust, of about the same date, will give you an excellent idea of his appearance.'

" 'Oh, yes, his appearance was familiar to me, and I knew him personally, too; but when I was in his company I was too young to have much conversation with him; and afterward, when he was last Governor, and during his Vice-Presidency, I was, you know, out of the country.'

" 'His conversation and manners in private corresponded exactly with his public character and his looks. His person and face had a general resemblance to those

of Washington; but, though always dignified, and in old age venerable, he had not that air of heroic elevation which threw such majesty around the Father of the Republic. There was a similar resemblance in mind. If he had the calm grandeur of Washington's intellect, he had the same plain, practical, sound, wholesome common sense, the same unpretending but unerring sagacity as to men and measures, the same directness of purpose and firmness of decision. These qualities were exerted, as Governor during our Revolution, with such effect that the people never forgot it, and they witnessed their gratitude by confiding to him the government of this State for twenty-one years, and the second office in the Union for eight more. His behavior in society was plain but dignified, his conversation easy, shrewd, sensible, and commonly about matters of fact—the events of the Revolution, the politics of the day, the useful arts, and agriculture.

“ ‘Is Hamilton's house still standing?’ ”

“ ‘Not that in which he labored as Secretary of the Treasury to restore the ruined credit of the nation, and reduce our finances and revenue laws to order and uniformity—where he wrote the *Federalist*, and those admirable reports which now form the most luminous commentary upon our Constitution. That was in Wall Street; it has been pulled down, and its site is occupied by the Mechanics' Bank. His last favorite residence was the Grange, his country-seat at Bloomingdale, which, when I last saw it, remained much as he left it’ ”

“ Mr. Viellecour and myself ordered some refreshment, as a kind of apology for the freedoms we had taken with the old mansion. On leaving it, we walked down Greenwich Street, moralizing, as we went, on the changes which time was working, so much more visibly in this little corner of the world than in any other part of it which I had seen—where the flight of years seemed swifter than

elsewhere, and to bring with it more striking moral lessons. After an absence of thirty years from the great cities of Europe, I beheld, when I revisited them, the same aspect—venerable still, yet neither newer nor older than before—the same order of streets, the same public buildings, the same offices, hotels, and shops, the same names on the signs, and found my way through their intricacies, as if I had left them but yesterday. Here, on the other hand, when I returned after an absence of two years, everything was strange; new, and perplexing, and I lost my way in streets which had been laid out since I left the city.

“My companion often stopped to look at houses and sites of which he had some remembrance. ‘There,’ said he, pointing to a modest-looking two-story dwelling in one of the cross-streets, ‘there died my good friend Mons. Albert, a minister of our French Protestant Church about twenty years ago, a very learned and eloquent divine, and the most modest man I ever knew. He was a native of Lausanne, a nephew of D’Yverdun, the friend of Gibbon, who figures in the correspondence and memoirs of the historian. Mons. Albert was much in the society of Gibbon, and has related to me many anecdotes of his literary habits and conversation.’

“‘I must not suffer you to monopolize all the recollections of the city,’ said I to my friend. ‘Observe, if you please, that house on the corner opposite the one to which you have directed my attention. There lived, for a time, my old acquaintance, Collies, a mathematician, a geographer, and a mechanician of no mean note. He was a kind of living antithesis, and I have often thought that nature made him expressly to illustrate that figure of rhetoric. He was a man of the most diminutive frame and the most gigantic conceptions, the humblest demeanor, and the boldest projects I ever knew. Forty years ago, his mind was teeming with plans of Western canals, steam-

boats, railroads, and other public enterprises, which in more fortunate and judicious hands have since proved fruitful of wealth to the community, and of merited honor to those who carried them through. Poor Collies had neither capital to undertake them himself, plausibility to recommend them to others, nor public character and station to give weight and authority to his opinions. So he schemed and toiled and calculated all his life, and died at eighty, without having gained either wealth for himself, or gratitude from the public. The marine telegraphs in this port are a monument of his ingenuity, for he was the first man of the country who established a regular and intelligible system of ship signals.'

"My friend stopped at some of the shops to make inquiries concerning the ancient inmates. At length I heard him asking for Adonis. 'Pray,' said I, 'who is this modern Adonis for whom you are inquiring? Some smooth, rose-cheeked boy, doubtless, like him of Mount Libanus.'

"'This Adonis, replied Mr. Viellecour, 'is neither a smooth nor rose-cheeked boy, being, in fact, a black old man, or rather gentleman, for a gentleman he is every inch of him, although a barber. I say *is*, for I hope he is still alive and well, although I have not seen him for some years. In this sneaking, fashion-conforming, selfish world, I hold in high honor any man who, for the sake of any principle, important or trifling, right or wrong, so it be without personal interest, will for years submit to inconvenience or ridicule. Adonis submitted to both, and for principle's sake.'

"'Principle's sake! Upon what head?'

"'Upon his own, sir, or upon Louis the Sixteenth's, just as you please. Adonis was an old French negro, whom the convulsions attendant in the West Indies upon the French revolution threw upon our shores, and who held

in the utmost horror all Jacobinical and republican abominations. He had an instinctive sagacity as to what was genteel and becoming in manners and behavior, as well as in the cut of a gentleman's hair, or the curl of a lady's. He had attended to the progress of the French revolution with the greatest interest, and his feelings were excited to the highest pitch when he heard of the beheading of the French king and the banishment of the royal family. He then deliberately renounced the French nation and their *canaille parvenue* rulers, and, in testimony of the sincerity of his indignation and grief, took off his hat and vowed never to put it on again until the Bourbons should be restored to the throne. This vow he faithfully kept. For twenty-one years, through all weather, did he walk the streets of New York bare-headed, carrying his hat under his arm with the air of a courtier, filled with combs, scissors, and other implements of his trade, until his hair, which was of the deepest black when he first took it off, had become as white as snow. For my part, I confess I never saw him, on my occasional visits to the city, walking to the houses of his customers without his hat, but I felt inclined to take off my own to him. Like all the rest of the world, I took it for granted that the loyal old negro would never wear his hat again. At length, in the year 1814, the French armed schooner ———, with the white flag flying, arrived in the port of New York, bringing the first intelligence of the return of the Bourbons to their throne and kingdom. Adonis would not believe the report that flew like wild-fire about the city. He would not trust the translations from the French gazettes that were read to him in the American papers by his customers, but walked down to the Battery with the same old hat under his arm which he had carried there for twenty years, saw the white flag with his own eyes, heard the news in French from the mouth of the cook on board the

vessel, and then, waving his hat three times in the air, gave three huzzas, and replaced it on his head with as much heart-felt pride as Louis the Eighteenth could have done his crown.'

"I could not help smiling at the earnest gravity of the old gentleman's eulogy upon Adonis. 'I fear,' said I, 'that your chivalric *coiffeur* owes a little of his sentimental loyalty to your own admiration of everything generous and disinterested. When you are excited on this head, sir, you often remind me of what old Fuseli, in his energetic style, used to say of his great idol, Michael Angelo—'All that he touched was indiscriminately stamped with his own grandeur. A beggar rose from his hands the patriarch of poverty; the very hump of his dwarf is impressed with dignity.' I suspect you have been unconsciously playing the Michael Angelo in lighting up such a halo of consecrated glory round the bare and time-honored head of old Adonis. I am afraid I cannot do quite as much for another tonsorial artist of great celebrity who flourished here in our days, but whom, as at that time you were not much in the habit of coming to town, perhaps you do not remember. He made no claim to chivalry or romance—his sole ambition was to be witty and poetical; and witty he certainly was, as well as the vehicle and conduit of innumerable good pleasantries of other people. I mean John Desborus Huggins.'

"'Huggins—Huggins,' said Mr. De Viellecour. 'I knew a young lady of that name once; she is now Mrs. —, the fashionable milliner.'

"'Oh, yes; that incident of your life cannot easily lose its place in my memory. But John Desborus Huggins was no relation of hers. He was of pure English blood, and had no kindred on this side of the Atlantic. At the beginning of this century, and for a dozen years after, he was the most fashionable, as well as the most accom-

plished, artist in this city for heads, male or female. He had a shop in Broadway, a low wooden building, where now towers a tall brick pile, opposite the City Hotel. This was literally the head-quarters of fashion; and fortune, as usual, followed in the train of fashion. But Huggins had a soul that scorned to confine its genius to the external decoration of his customers' heads. He panted after wider fame; he had cut Washington Irving's hair; he had shaved Anacreon Moore, and Joel Barlow on his first return from France; from them, when he was here, he caught the strong contagion of authorship. One day he wrote a long advertisement, in which he ranged from his own shop in Broadway to high and bold satire upon those who held the helm of state at Washington, mimicked Jefferson's style, and cracked some good-humored jokes upon Giles and Randolph. He carried it to the *Evening Post*. The editor, the late Mr. Coleman, you know, was a man of taste as well as a keen politician. He pruned off Huggins's exuberances, corrected his English, threw in a few pungent sarcasms of his own, and printed it.

“ ‘It had forthwith a run through all the papers on the Federal side of the question in the United States, and as many of the others as could relish a good joke, though at the expense of their own party. The name of Huggins became known from Georgia to Maine. Huggins tried a second advertisement of the same sort—a third, a fourth, with equal success. His fame as a wit was now established, business flowed in upon him in full and unebbing tide. Wits and would-be wits, fashionables and would-be fashionables, thronged his shop; strangers from North and from South had their heads cropped and their chins scraped by him for the sake of saying, on their return home, that they had seen Huggins; whilst, during the party-giving season, he was under orders from the ladies every day and hour for three weeks ahead. But alas, unhappy man! he

had now a literary reputation to support, and his invention, lively and sparkling as it had been at first, soon began to run dry. He was now obliged to tax his friends and patrons for literary assistance. Mr. Coleman was too deeply engaged in the daily discussion of grave topics to continue his help. In the kindness of my excellent friend, the late Anthony Bleecker, he found for a long time a never-failing resource. You were not much acquainted with Bleecker, I think, the most honorable, the most amiable, and the most modest of human beings. Fraught with talent, taste, and literature, a wit and a poet, he rarely appeared in public as an author himself, while his careless generosity furnished the best part of their capital to dozens of literary adventurers, sometimes giving them style for their thoughts, and sometimes thoughts for their style. Bleecker was too kindly tempered for a partisan politician, and his contributions to Huggins were either good-natured pleasantries upon the fashions or frivolities of the day, or else classical imitations and spirited parodies in flowing and polished versification. Numerous other wits and witlings, when Bleecker grew tired of it, some of whom had neither his taste nor his nice sense of gentlemanly decorum, began to contribute, until at length Huggins found himself metamorphosed into the regular Pasquin of New York, on whom, as on a mutilated old statue of that name at Rome, every wag stuck his anonymous epigram, joke, satire, or lampoon, whatever was unseemly in his eyes or unsavory in his nostrils in this good city. I believe he was useful, however. If his humanities had not been too much neglected in his youth to allow him to quote Latin, he might have asked with Horace—*Ridentem dicere verum*—”

“ ‘ My dear sir,’ interrupted the old gentleman, ‘ if you will quote, and I see you are getting into one of your quoting moods, you had better quote old Kats, my maternal

grandmother's favorite book, the great poet of Holland and common sense. He has said it better than Horace: "Haar lagehend coysheid laert, haar spelend vormt ter deuyd." You ought always to quote old Kats, whenever you can, for I suspect that you and I and Judge Benson are the only natives south of the Highlands who can read him. But to return to your barber-author.'

"Huggins became as fond and as proud of these contributions as if he had written them all himself, and at last collected them and printed them together in one goodly volume, entitled *Hugginiana*, illustrated with designs by Jarvis, and wood-cuts by Anderson. He was now an author in all the forms. Luckless author! His vaulting ambition overleaped itself. He sent a copy of his book to the *Edinburgh Review*, then in the zenith of its glory, and the receipt was never acknowledged. He sent another copy to Dennie, whose *Port Folio* then guided the literary taste of this land, and Dennie noticed it only in a brief and cold paragraph. What was excellent in a newspaper *jeu d'esprit*, whilst events and allusions were fresh, lost, of course, much of its relish when served up cold, years after, in a clumsy duodecimo. Besides, not having been able to prevail on himself to part with anything which had once appeared under his name, much very inferior matter was suffered to overlay those sprightly articles which had first given him *éclat*. Then the town critics assailed him, and that "most delicate monster," the public, who had laughed at every piece, good, bad, and indifferent, singly in succession, now that the whole was collected, became fastidious, and, at the instigation of the the critics aforesaid, pronounced the book to be "low." Frightful sentence! Huggins never held up his head after it. His razors and scissors lost their edge, his napkins and aprons their lustrous whiteness, and his conversation its soft spirit and vivacity. His affairs all went wrong thence-

forward, and whatever might have been the immediate cause of his death, which took place a year or two after, the real and efficient reason was undoubtedly mortified literary pride. "Around his tomb," as old Johnson says of Archbishop Laud—

" 'Around his tomb, let arts and genius weep,
But hear his death, ye blockheads, hear and sleep.' "

"We had now got far down into the old part of the city, when, turning up Vesey Street from Greenwich, Mr. De Viellecour made a sudden pause. 'Ah,' said he, 'one more vestige of the past. There,' pointing to a common-looking old house, 'there, in 1790, was the *atelier* of Ceracchi, when he was executing his fine busts of our great American statesmen.'

" 'Indeed!' answered I. 'I have often thought of it as a singular piece of natural good fortune, that, at a time when our native arts were at so low an ebb, we had such an artist thrown upon our shores to perpetuate the true and living likenesses of our Revolutionary chiefs and sages. Ceracchi's busts of Washington, Jay, Alexander Hamilton, George Clinton, and others, are now, as mere portraits, above all price to this nation; and they have, besides, a classic grace about them which entitles the artist to no contemptible rank as a statuary.'

" 'It was not a piece of mere good fortune,' said my friend; 'we have to thank the artist himself for it. Ceracchi was a zealous republican, and he came here full of enthusiasm, anxious to identify his own name in the arts somehow or other with our infant republic—and he has done it. He had a grand design of a national monument, which he used to show to his visitors, and which he wished Congress to employ him to execute in marble or bronze. Of course they did not do so; and, as it happened, he was much more usefully employed for the nation in modeling the busts of our great men.'

“ ‘He was an Italian—I believe a Roman—and had lived some time in England, where he was patronized by Reynolds. Sir Joshua (no mean proof of his talent) sat to him for a bust, and a fine one, I am told, it is. Ceracchi came to America enthusiastic for liberty, and he found nothing here to make him change his principles or feelings. But the nation was not ripe for statuary: a dozen busts exhausted the patronage of the country, and Congress was too busy with pounds, shillings, and pence, fixing the revenue laws, and funding the debt, to think of his grand allegorical monument. Ceracchi could not live upon liberty alone, much as he loved it; and, when the French Revolution took a very decided character, he went to France, and plunged into politics. Some years after, he returned to Rome, where he was unfortunately killed in an insurrection or popular tumult, growing out of the universal revolutionary spirit of those times.’

“ ‘May his remains rest in peace,’ added I. ‘Whatever higher works of art he may have left elsewhere—and he who could produce those fine classic, historical busts, was undoubtedly capable of greater things—whatever else he may have left in Europe, here his will be an enduring name. As long as Americans shall hold in honored remembrance the memory of their first and best patriots,—as long as our sons shall look with reverent interest on their sculptured images, the name of Ceracchi will be cherished here:

“ ‘And while along the stream of time, their name
Expanded flies and gathers all its fame;
Still shall his little bark attendant sail,
Pursue the triumph and partake the gale.’ ”

“We had now finished our long walk, and, as the old gentleman was going into his lodgings, I took leave of him, saying that our afternoon’s walk had furnished me with the materials, and I was now going home to record our conversation as a chapter of ‘Reminiscences of New York.’ ”

CHAPTER VII.

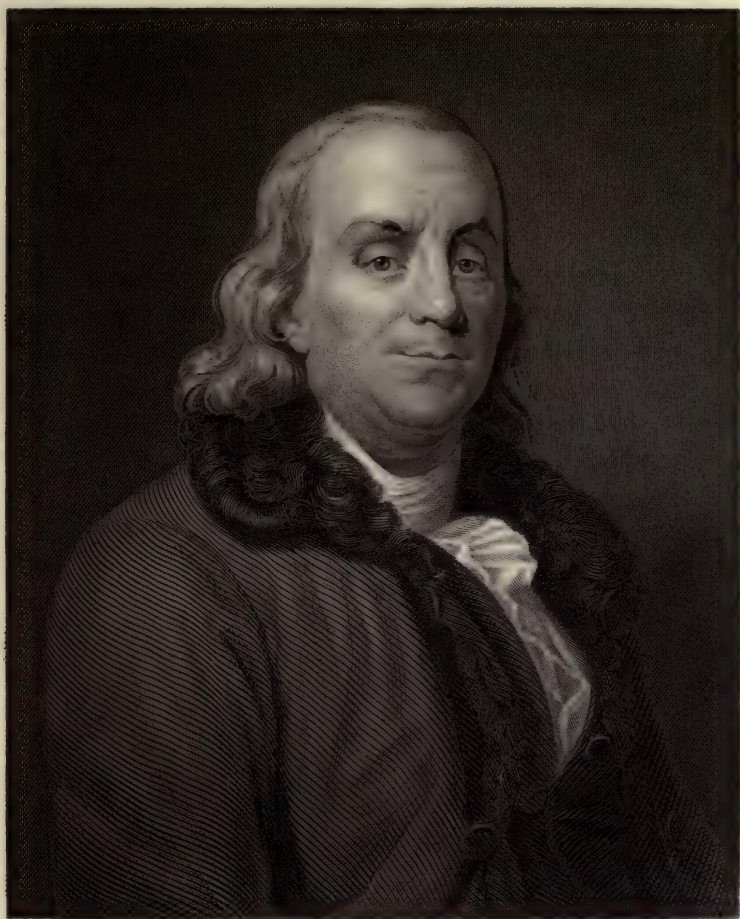
THE year 1834* may with propriety be called the YEAR OF RIOTS. In that year, the civil authorities were obliged, for the first time, to call for military aid to
1834. assist in maintaining the peace of the city. It was on the 10th of April, during the municipal election,† that the services of the National Guard were called into requisition—a call, says a chronicler of that day, which “was responded to with an alacrity that produced a very striking impression on the minds of the people.”‡

The elections, at that time, were held for three successive days; and, in the inefficient condition of the city police, they were oftentimes the cause of great excitement and turbulence. On the present occasion, party strife ran high, and gave rise to a series of brawls and riots in the

* From the year 1829 to the present year (1834), there is no event in the history of the city—with the exception of the cholera in 1832—that calls for particular mention. The cholera of 1832 (which then visited the city for the first time) raged to a fearful extent, “almost depopulating the city, and creating a universal panic among the inhabitants. It returned two years afterward, modified in violence, then disappeared entirely until 1849, when it broke out early in the summer, and raged fearfully until autumn.” In 1855, it again appeared, nor has it since wholly abandoned the city.

† It was in 1834 that the Mayor was elected by the city for the first time. Hitherto, as mentioned in a preceding note, that office had been filled by appointment by the Governor and Council.

‡ Asher Taylor.



Benj.ⁿ Franklin



Sixth Ward, perfectly in keeping with the questionable reputation which that precinct has ever maintained.*

Toward noon of the 10th, a large concourse of people collected around the head-quarters of their respective political leaders, whence they sallied forth, armed with bludgeons and stones, and endeavored to drive their opponents off the ground. At length, their passions getting the mastery of their reason, many from either side made a dash upon the gun-shops in Broadway for fire-arms. By this time the entire population of that part of the city, becoming greatly alarmed at the probable result of the disturbance, were in a condition to believe any report that might be started. Accordingly, when it was rumored that the mob were on their way to the State Arsenal to obtain by force the arms and ammunition there stored, a large number of peaceable citizens hastened to seize and hold possession of that building against the fighting men of all parties.

The State Arsenal was a three-story brick building (erected in 1808), on the corner of Elm and Franklin Streets, and, with its yard and out-buildings, occupied the block between Center and Elm, and Franklin and White Streets. In the center of the front, facing on Franklin Street, was a handsome three-story brick dwelling, the residence, at that time, of the Commissary General, who had charge of the establishment.

The party that made for the Arsenal was increased on the way by a large crowd, actuated by various motives. Some were for peace, and some for war; while many were in for anything that might turn up. Gaining access to the yard and obtaining the keys of the main building in which the arms were deposited, the party armed themselves, and prepared to defend the establishment from the belligerent crowds who, they apprehended, might make an attempt

* Hence its appellation—"The Bloody *ould* Sixth."

upon it—a course which their own hasty action was well calculated to invite.

The news of the attack on the Arsenal and its capture spread, greatly exaggerated, like wild-fire throughout the city, and, superadded to the stories of war already afloat, created an alarm unprecedented heretofore in the civil history of the city. Meanwhile, Mayor Lee called for military aid upon General Morton, who acted with such promptitude that in a very short space of time most of the members of the Twenty-seventh regiment had assembled at the Arsenal, armed and uniformed. The irregular force that had been holding the establishment at once retired, and left it in charge of the soldiers; and the turbulence and disorder soon subsiding, the peace of the city was restored.

After midnight, the Mayor visited the garrison, and relieved the regiment from further duty, thanking the men for their prompt response to his call for aid, and declaring emphatically that “the city had been in a *state of insurrection*, beyond the power of the civil authorities to control or subdue.”

“The people of the city, of all classes, were enlightened by the novel experience of that day—the mass of quiet citizens, by the knowledge that a disorderly element existed in their midst of a most formidable and alarming character, spreading widely, and including parties and classes before undreamed of in such connections; and the civil authorities, by the assurance that they possessed a power and a force hitherto untried, reliable, and at ready command for such emergencies, which was deemed by them of incalculable importance; and the members of the National Guard, by the evidence that had passed under their observation, that *on their organization*, in a great measure, the orderly people and the civil authorities of the city must rely for their future security of ‘life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness’ within its borders. The

reflections called up by the events of that day sank deeper in the minds of observing and thinking men than appeared at the moment.”*

In reference to the duties of the 10th of April, the Common Council passed the following resolution :

“That the thanks of the Common Council be presented to the individuals who thus nobly sustained their reputation as citizen soldiers, and proved the importance and the necessity to the city of a well-disciplined militia, in time of peace as well as in time of war.”

Major-General Morton, in promulgating the resolution of the Common Council, adds

“Next to the satisfaction arising from the consciousness of having performed a duty, is the approbation of those whose good opinion we prize. These resolutions, emanating from the municipal authorities of our city, cannot, therefore, but be highly gratifying.

“The late occurrences will show to the public the necessity and the use of a well-regulated militia, prepared at all times to support the magistracy in sustaining law and order in the community. It will confirm us in the opinion, long entertained, that the time has not yet arrived when we may beat our swords into plowshares, and our spears into pruning-hooks.

“The Major-General doubts not that the corps will still continue to perform their duties ; they will be sustained by their fellow-citizens, who will see in them, not the array of an uncontrolled force, but a power directed by the venerable majesty of the laws in the persons of the magistrates.”

On the 21st of June, Major-General Morton “had the melancholy duty to announce to the Division the death of General LAFAYETTE,” in France, on the 20th of May preceding, in the ninety-seventh year of his age. The General thus concluded :

“But a few years since we were engaged in welcoming him, with joyful and grateful hearts, as one of the soldiers of our Revolution, and the adopted son of our country. We are now called upon to pay funeral honors to his memory.

“The Common Council have resolved to pay funeral honors to the deceased, and have invited the corps to unite with them on the occasion.

* *Recollections of the Seventh Regiment.*

"The Division is therefore ordered for duty on the 26th inst.," on which day the regiment united in an imposing military and civic demonstration in celebration of the funeral obsequies of the *last General officer of the Revolution*, "the confidential friend of the great Washington, and the adopted son of our country—the illustrious MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE."

Three months after the National Guard had quelled the "Election Riot," they were again called upon to put down a disturbance of a much more formidable character.

For several months in the early part of the year there had been considerable feeling against certain citizens entertaining anti-slavery opinions, or, as they were from this period styled, "*Abolitionists*," who were holding a series of public meetings in which, as their opponents alleged, they "indulged in the most latitudinarian discussions, and violent and exciting declamations in favor of their peculiar views, and in denunciation of all adverse to them."

Some of the leading party newspapers of the day, also, pandered to the prejudices of the lower classes of the community, and suggested a course of open hostility and acts of violence, with the view of making short work of the "pestilent faction." At the same time it must be admitted that the Abolitionists themselves were not without blame, and, in many instances, exhibited a "zeal without knowledge." Indeed, their conduct was in some respects most reprehensible; for, while the excitement was almost at its height, among other things calculated to inflame their opponents, they posted an incendiary placard all over the city, headed,

"LOOK OUT FOR KIDNAPPING!!"

Then followed a cut representing a negro-driver mounted on a horse, with a double-thonged whip, driving before him a colored man, whose wife and children were cling-

ing to him to prevent the unnatural separation. The result may easily be seen. The meetings of the Abolitionists were attacked and broken up; and the mob, "increasing in boldness under the promptings and encouragement of their friends and advisers," as in the case of the "Draft Riot" in 1863, proceeded to the dwellings of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, on Rose Street, and other well-known and reputable citizens who were specially obnoxious, and, in their own expressive slang, "went through them," breaking furniture, and burning such pieces as were too heavy to be lifted. At length, a proclamation from the Mayor, and several troops of the city cavalry called out for the occasion, having failed to disperse the rioters, who were every moment becoming more violent and threatening, that personage, on the afternoon of the 11th of July, called upon the National Guard (the Twenty-seventh regiment) for assistance. The men responded with alacrity, and in two hours from the time of receiving their orders had assembled in the Arsenal yard, to the number of four hundred.

Upon being directed by the Mayor to march with his command to the City Hall and hold himself in readiness for such action as might be required, Colonel Stevens asked for a supply of ammunition before he moved. To this request the Mayor at first gave a refusal; but, upon the Colonel telling him decidedly that he should not advance a step without it, he gave a reluctant consent, and six rounds of ball-cartridges were thereupon served out to the regiment.*

* "Colonel Stevens used, in after times, often to speak of his anxiety at the time as to how 'his boys' would conduct themselves in this their first appearance in such a trying position. They were, a large portion of them, quite young, and had had but little training of their minds to the reality of such grave duties as were then before them; he watched, with no little solicitude, their reception of the ball-cartridges, which seemed a novelty to many of them; they turned them over in their hands as if surprised at their appearance, and

The troops then marched down Broadway to the Park. The street was filled with an excited crowd of rowdies, who assailed the men at every step with hisses and hootings. The mob and the riotous proceedings seemed, in fact, to be "rather popular with the people generally, even of the better classes, who were in the streets looking on." This ill-judged sympathy and the insults of the rowdies, however, had the effect, the Colonel observed, of exciting the "boys" to a proper pitch of feeling for the occasion, so that by the time they reached the Park "nothing would have suited them better than an order to 'pitch into' their blackguard assailants." The regiment remained for a considerable time in front of the City Hall, marching and countermarching in presence of the collected crowd, that the latter might see that they were ready for the work on hand. This came sooner, perhaps, than was expected.

About ten o'clock in the evening, word was brought of a large and disorderly gathering in the vicinity of the Spring-street Church (Rev. Mr. Ludlow's), between Macdougall and Varick Streets. This was one of the most obnoxious points, several meetings of the Abolitionists having been held there, and the minister of the congregation being understood to be among the most zealous of that class. It was feared that the rioters intended to destroy the church building, and Colonel Stevens was ordered to march as quickly as possible to the scene of the riot. Before moving, he gave the order to load with ball-cartridges; "and closely watching, with no little interest, the motions of the men, he was satisfied, from the jerk and emphasis with which the 'ram down' was given, that they were all right, and that there would be no hesitation

appeared to be remarking to each other upon the new and strange position in which they found themselves; they all, however, he noted, placed the cartridges in their boxes."—*Recollections of the Seventh Regiment.*

or hanging back on their part when the time came for action."

The churches, indeed, seemed to be the special object of dislike to the rioters. Besides Rev. Mr. Ludlow's church, on Spring Street, the mob made demonstrations against Dr. Cox's church, corner of Laight and Varick Streets; the African Chapel, corner of Leonard and Church; St. Philip's Church (also a colored Church), on Center Street, and a church corner of Dey and Washington Streets. The residence of Dr. Cox was also attacked; but fortunately the Doctor and his family, having received notice of the intentions of the mob, had, a few hours before, packed up their furniture and moved to the house of a friend.

The regiment first met the rioters in large force in Thompson Street, above Prince, where they were preparing to sack the parsonage of the Spring-street Church. This, however, was prevented by the timely appearance of the troops, who, pressing forward with the bayonet, compelled the mob to fall back. All the streets in the vicinity were filled with angry faces, on which the most malignant and diabolical passions were depicted; and as the regiment wheeled from Macdougall into Spring Street, to protect the church—the especial object of the fury of the mob—the men were assailed with stones and other missiles thrown from windows and from the crowd, by which many were hit, and several were felled to the ground. This so exasperated the soldiers that it was only with the greatest difficulty they were restrained from at once opening fire. "A striking feature of this occasion," says General Prosper M. Wetmore, who was present, "was the shower of sparks struck out by the stones glancing on the bayonets and barrels of the muskets."

Near the church the regiment encountered a barricade of carts, barrels, and ladders chained together, planted

across the street. On top of this obstruction a City Hall politician was haranguing and encouraging the mob to further resistance and deeds of outrage. He, however, was quickly disposed of, and, with a dozen men of the same stripe, sent to the rear under guard. The troops had not arrived a moment too soon. Already a portion of the pews and furniture had been thrown into the street, and one of the rioters was in the steeple ringing the bell, to attract the mob. He, too, was immediately seized and placed in custody; and "the church cleared of its irreverent congregation."

At this juncture, the Aldermen who had been deputed by Mayor Lawrence to accompany the military, and to direct, as magistrates, the action of the regiment, became greatly alarmed, and, having entered into negotiations for an armistice, agreed to a cessation of hostilities upon a promise of some of the mob to disperse. Accordingly, they endeavored to prevail on Colonel Stevens to "retreat" to the City Hall, asserting that the rioters were too formidable for his little band to contend with. To this the Colonel answered that "there was no *retreat* in the case; that he was there with his regiment for the purpose of dispersing the mob and quelling the riot; that he should not retire until that was done; and that he should proceed to the City Hall *only through that crowd*.* He then, in defiance of the orders of the Aldermen again reiterated, moved two companies up to the barricade under a shower of stones, broke it up, and, marching through the *débris*, wheeled into Varick Street, driving the mob before him at the point of the bayonet. Here he met Justice Olin M. Lowndes,† who had formerly been a captain in the regiment, with a force of police, and, thus reinforced, he

* Can it be that General Grant borrowed his famous phrase of "fighting it out on this line" from these words of Colonel Stevens!

† *Justice*, not *Sheriff*, Lowndes, as Asher Taylor states.

turned round and marched back against the mob. Charging with prolonged cheers through the remains of the barricade, the troops and police pushed the rioters rapidly back to Sullivan Street. Here Colonel Stevens halted his first division, holding Spring Street in that direction, and, wheeling the second across Sullivan Street, and the third and fourth to the left, facing opposite, he held securely all the streets, severed the mob into four pieces, and thus restored order in that section of the city.

The whole performance of the regiment, says Asher Taylor, was admirable. The men were assailed with stones and every offensive missile, and some of them were spit upon by the rabble. A number of them were struck and severely bruised. The sergeant-major was felled to the ground at the side of his colonel; notwithstanding which, with a forbearance from retaliation, and a subordination to discipline, truly surprising, and reflecting the highest credit on the commanding officer and all engaged in the duty, the colonel, elated at having accomplished his ends without resorting to the use of fire-arms, joyously exclaimed, "A victory, without firing a shot!"

On their way back to the City Hall, the troops marched through Center Street, and quickly put to flight a party of the rioters that was assailing St. Philip's (colored) Church.

The regiment was put on duty again the next afternoon; but, with the exception of slight disturbances at the head of Catharine Street, near Chatham Square, and in Greenwich village, the night passed off quietly. The troops, however, were kept under arms until Sunday, the 13th, at three o'clock, when they were dismissed to their homes, with orders to hold themselves in readiness to re-assemble at three strokes of the City Hall bell. Happily their services were not again required. The mob had been effectually put down, and peace was again restored.

Scarcely, however, had the troops been dismissed, and the city restored to quiet, when, in August, their services were again called upon to suppress a riot among the stone-cutters and masons. The cause of the disturbance was as follows: While the University was building, the contractors, for economy's sake, chose to purchase the marble at Sing-Sing, and employ the State prisoners to cut and hew it before bringing it to the city. No sooner was this known than it raised the ire of the stone-cutters' guild in the city to fever heat. Believing themselves aggrieved, they held meetings, paraded the city with incendiary placards, and even went so far as to attack the houses of several worthy citizens. The Twenty-seventh regiment was again called out by the Mayor, Cornelius W. Lawrence (who, by the way, seems to have had as Mayor a pretty severe term), and, commanded by Colonel Stevens, dispersed the malcontents. The feeling, however, was so intense that it was thought best not to disband the troops entirely; and, accordingly, a portion of the regiment lay under arms in Washington parade-ground for four days and nights. By that time the riot was over, and the soldiers were dismissed to their homes. Thus three times, within as many months, had the militia of the city been called upon, at the risk of life, to put down riots in the city. No wonder, therefore, that a prominent citizen of New York wrote at this time to a friend in a neighboring city: "Buy me a quiet place in the suburbs, and, if necessary to complete the sale, draw on me for the amount. I cannot live here longer, for my property is not safe."*

* The houses on the north-west corner of Fifth Avenue and Eighteenth Street, now owned by Mrs. T. Bailey Myers and Mrs. Sidney Mason, were built by Robert C. Townsend and Henry H. Elliott, from Sing-Sing marble, and were, like the University, also delayed by the "Stone-cutters' Riot." These buildings were, with the University, the last ones erected by material from that source.

In the early summer of this year, the city was once more thrown into excitement by what is known as "The Five Points Riot." For several years previous, and more especially since the election ^{1835.} brawls of the preceding year (1834), the antagonistic spirit between the Irish and Americans, which resulted many years after in the formation of the Know-nothing party, had been increasing in bitterness; and when, in June of this year, it was reported that a regiment, under the name of the "O'Connell Guards," was about to be organized in the city, the indignation of a portion of the native American population rose to fever heat. Many styled this "the making of an *Irish* regiment out of American citizens," and vowed that they would prevent its formation at all hazards. Demagogues, as is always the case at such times, were not wanting to encourage this feeling for base partisan ends; mutual recriminations followed; and, finally, the angry passions thus engendered culminated in open violence.

On Sunday, the 21st of June, the peace of the city was disturbed and the sanctity of the Sabbath violated by riots of greater or lesser magnitude in different quarters of the town. One of these was in Grand Street, near Crosby. Another occurred in Chatham Street, which, having its rise in a quarrel between a negro and a white, soon grew into a general battle, and was only quelled by the police with considerable difficulty. The third and greatest riot, however, of that day took place early in the evening in the Sixth Ward, the scene of which was principally in Pearl Street, near Chatham. This, also, was begun by a fight between two men—Irishmen—whose example, proving contagious, was imitated by others of their countrymen in such numbers that the affray shortly assumed the character of a serious riot. A number of citizens here interfered to keep the peace, but only with the

effect of increasing the uproar, and gaining for themselves sundry unpleasant visitations from fists, shillalahs, stones, and brickbats. Finally, the Mayor, accompanied by a large force of the police, appeared on the spot, and, having arrested the principal ringleaders, dispersed the rioters for the time being. In this affray, Dr. William McCaffrey, a highly-respected physician, who was passing at the time, on his way to visit a patient, was hit by a brick, and his jaw broken. He was then thrown down and his ribs broken; and, although he was rescued, he shortly afterward expired. By this time the turbulent element had extended into different parts of the city. On the next day, Monday, the riots were renewed by mobs of Irish and Americans. A public-house, known as the "Green Dragon," in the Bowery, near Broome Street, was attacked, the doors and windows broken in, and the house itself completely "gutted." The Mayor and police again came to the rescue; but the mob were not dispersed until several prominent citizens (among them Justice Lowndes) had been dangerously wounded, and a great amount of blood had been shed. The next day witnessed nearly the same scenes; and it was not until a notice had been publicly displayed to the effect that "the proprietors of the 'Bleecker-street House' desire to state that there will be no meeting of the 'O'Connell Guards,' as advertised in the Sunday dailies," that peace was permanently restored.

In this same year, the *Don-jon*, or OLD DEBTORS' PRISON, was changed into the present HALL OF RECORDS. A stranger in New York, and even many of its younger citizens, would hardly suppose, from the present appearance of the handsome Ionic temple standing directly east of the City Hall, for what "base uses" that classic edifice was originally built, or for what ignoble purposes it was kept, until the present year. Although it may now be justly consid-

ered one of the most correct and pleasing specimens of architecture in the Union, yet, until the transformation of its outward form and proportions, it was one of the most unsightly of buildings. It was not, however, of republican origin—having been erected early in the reign of His Most Excellent Majesty King George the Third, as a place of confinement for such of his refractory subjects as either could not or would not pay their debts. Nor is it any great credit to his majesty's successors in the Government that it should not have been appropriated to some other use at a much earlier day. Long did the citizens of New York petition for its removal or destruction, but in vain—until, “in the course of human events,” the public service demanded an additional edifice as a depository for its records. A change from the Bœotian to the Ionic order, and its conversion to a more humane purpose, were then determined upon, not only for the public convenience, but from motives of economy. One of the patriotic members of the city government, distinguished for his enterprise and public spirit, undertook the work, and gave to the ancient walls of unhewn stone their existing “form and pressure”—at an amount, too, not much exceeding, probably, twice the cost of two new buildings of the same dimensions.

The Old Debtors' Prison underwent its metamorphosis during the latter days of the venerable “Poppy Lownds,” as the worthy old jailor was called, who, for a long succession of years, had presided over the internal police of the prison. He was a kind-hearted old gentleman; and, amidst all the storms and vicissitudes of party, was never removed from office during his life-time—for the good reason, probably, among others, that the venerable officer had grown so lusty in his place that it was impossible to remove him out of it without removing a portion of the prison walls also. Be that, however, as it may, almost any day “Poppy Lownds” might have been

seen sitting in his big oaken arm-chair, dozing in some pleasing reverie, like a Turk over his sherbet after dinner, or as "calm and quiet as a summer's morning." If a visitor chanced to call, he would take a long pipe from his mouth, with the most easy deliberation, while the whiffs from the aromatic Virginia weed curled upward in an



THE PROVOST, OR DEBTORS' PRISON.

azure cloud and mingled with the vapor which had preceded it. Still, "Poppy Lownds," as before stated, was a good soul, and many a debtor had cause long to remember the kindness with which he was treated while sojourning in the old *Don-jon*.*

* It is true that the change from a prison into the Hall of Records was contemplated as early as 1830; but the building was not made perfectly ready for occupation until the present year.

For a more detailed account of the Debtors' Prison see Appendix No. IX.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN 1835, New York was visited by the most terrible conflagration she had ever experienced—an event which was so disastrous to the mercantile as well as to the private interests of the city, that a full account of it must not be omitted. The late Mr. Gabriel P. Disosway, who was present on the occasion, kindly furnished me, a few months before his death, with the following account of the conflagration itself, and the losses entailed by it: 1835.

“The fearful night of December 16, 1835, will long be remembered for the most terrible conflagration that has ever visited the great city. I then resided in that pleasant Quaker neighborhood, Vandewater Street, and hearing an alarm of fire, hastened to the front door. I immediately discovered, from the direction of the flame and smoke, that the fire was ‘down-town,’ and not far off. Thousands of others besides myself dreaded such an alarm that night, as it was the coldest one we had had for thirty-six years. A gale of wind was also blowing. I put on an old warm overcoat and an old hat, for active service ‘on my own hook.’ Years afterward these articles, preserved as curiosities, bore marks of the heat, sparks, and exposure of that fearful time. Our own store, Disosway & Brothers, 180 Pearl Street, near Maiden Lane, although fire-proof, naturally became the first object of my attention. This was providentially located several blocks above the fire; and, accordingly, having lighted the gas, and leaving the clerks to watch, I hastened to the building that was on fire.

“This was the store of Comstock & Andrews, well-known fancy dry-goods jobbers, at the corner of Pearl and Merchant Streets, a narrow, new lane, a little below Wall Street. When I entered the building on the lower floor, the fire had commenced in the counting-room, having caught, as it was believed, from the stove-pipe. Those few of us present had time to remove a considerable quantity of light fancy silk articles. The goods, however, were of a very

inflammable nature, and a strong current of air sweeping through the adjoining lane, we were soon compelled to leave the balance of this large and valuable stock to destruction. Here, and in this manner, the great fire of 1835 originated.

"In a short time this tall and large brick store was enveloped in flames, which burst from the doors and windows on both streets. Over half an hour had elapsed before the first engine arrived, and attempted to throw a stream upon the opposite stores of Pearl Street, against which the gale was driving the rapidly increasing heat and embers. But so furious were both that the boldest firemen retreated for their lives and the safety of their machine. The street at this point is very narrow, and prevented any man from reaching the lower or adjacent part of Pearl from this end. A burning wall of fire now intervened, and increased every moment. The way to the alarming scene was through William and Water Streets, and Old Slip. After a little while, that which was universally dreaded happened—the water in the hydrants froze, and prevented the engine from obtaining any further supply. Having drawn the 'machine' to a safe place, the firemen nobly went to work saving property. It was all they possibly could do. The reader must remember that the thermometer had now fallen below zero, which, added to a biting, fierce winter wind, paralyzed the exertions of both firemen and citizens. All ordinary means for stopping the rapidly increasing flames were abandoned, and the efforts of all were directed to the removal of the contents of the buildings to places beyond the supposed reach of destruction. In this way immense quantities of goods were placed in the large Merchants' Exchange on Wall Street, in Old Slip, Hanover Square, and the Garden-street Dutch Church and its adjoining grave-yard. In a few hours, however, the devouring element, reaching these areas and splendid edifices, swept everything away as with the 'besom of destruction.' Millions of dollars were consumed in a very short time.

"I am writing my own reminiscences of that awful night, and not the experiences of another, and must be excused if I often use the personal pronoun. By midnight it was evident that no earthly power could stay the *then* Etna-like rapid progress of the raging torrent, which increased every moment most alarmingly, and spread in every direction, except toward the east. Most fortunately, it did not cross Wall, that street having become an impassable barrier, else the eastern and upper sections of the city might have shared the same fate as the lower. Who can tell where the calamity would have paused, for there were immense blocks of wooden buildings on Water and Cherry and Pearl Streets, 'up' town more than 'down,' and inflammable magazines which, once fired, could extend the common destruction over the city.

"My own course that night was to obtain voluntary aid, and, entering the stores of personal friends, remove, if possible, books and papers. Such was absolutely the heat in front of some stores on the south side of Pearl, near Wall Street, that, although they were not yet on fire, it was impossible to force an entrance that way, and we were obliged to effect it from Water Street, as those buildings extended through the block. A panel in the rear door was broken out, and, entering through this with lanterns, we reached the counting-room, and then, collecting the books and invoices, placed them in a hand-cart and sent them away. It is impossible to imagine the fervent heat created by

the increasing flames. Many of the stores were new, with iron shutters, doors, and copper roofs and gutters, 'fire-proof' of first class, and I carefully watched the beginning and the progress of their destruction. The heat alone, at times, melted the copper roofing, and the burning liquid ran off in great drops. At one store, near Arthur Tappan & Co.'s, I warned some firemen of their danger from this unexpected source. Along here the buildings were of the first class, and one after another ignited under the roof, from the next edifice; downward, from floor to floor, went the devouring element. As the different stories caught, the iron-closed shutters shone with glowing redness, until at last, forced open by the uncontrollable enemy within, they presented the appearance of immense iron furnaces in full blast. The tin and copper-bound roofs often seemed struggling to maintain their fast hold, gently rising and falling and moving, until, their rafters giving way, they mingled in the blazing crater below of goods, beams, floors, and walls.

"On the north side of Hanover Square stood the fine store-house of Peter Remsen & Company, one of the largest East India firms, with a valuable stock. Here we assisted, and many light bales of goods were thrown from the upper windows, together with a large amount of other merchandise, all heaped in the midst of the square, then thought to be a perfectly secure place. Vain calculation! Both sides of Pearl Street were soon in the furious blaze, and the ground became covered with living cinders. This whole pile dissolved and mingled in the common and increasing ruin. Water Street, too, was on fire, and we hastened to the old firm of S. B. Harper & Sons, grocers, on Front, opposite Gouverneur Lane, where there appeared to be no immediate danger.

"The father and sons had arrived, and we succeeded in removing their valuables. As we left the store after the last load, a terrible explosion occurred near by with the noise of a cannon. The earth shook. We ran for safety, not knowing what might follow, and took refuge on the corner of Gouverneur Lane, nearly opposite. Waiting for a few minutes, a second explosion took place, then another and another. During the space, perhaps, of half an hour, shock after shock followed in rapid succession, accompanied with the darkest, thickest clouds of smoke imaginable. The explosions came from a store on Front Street, near Old Slip, where large quantities of saltpeter in bags had been stored. Suddenly the whole ignited, and out leaped the flaming streams of these neutral salts in their own peculiar colors, from every door and window. Some might have called them fire-works. We have never forgotten this saltpeter eruption, or explosion, and never doubted since the explosive character of the article.

"About midnight, the onward march of the uncontrolled, riotous flames had reached the East River, and could go no further beyond that impassable barrier. Before this, the crowded shipping had fortunately sufficient time to be removed from the docks and slips. One of the most grand and frightful scenes of the whole night was the burning of a large oil-store at the corner of Old Slip and South Street. It was four or more stories high, and filled with windows on both sides without any shutters. This was before the days of petroleum and kerosene, and the building was full of sperm and other oils. These fired hog-head after hog-head, and over the spacious edifice resembled a vast bonfire or giant beacon, casting its bright beams far and wide on the river and surrounding region; but finally the confined inflammable mass, from eaves to cellar, shot

out with tremendous force through every window and opening, and soon all disappeared except the cracked, tottering, and falling walls.

"The blazing, flying timbers were carried across the East River, and, in one instance, set fire to the roof of a house in Brooklyn, which, however, was quickly extinguished. Large quantities of tar and turpentine on the wharves becoming ignited, ran down blazing into the stream, and, floating off, made a sort of burning sea, many square yards in extent. The conflagration, increasing every moment, also extended inward toward Broadway. Great hopes were indulged that the Merchants' (marble) Exchange (in which, since 1827, the Post-office had been located) would escape. In the vast rotunda of the edifice stood a most beautiful white marble statue of Alexander Hamilton. Accordingly, a great anxiety was manifested to save this image of the great statesman. It was a masterpiece of art, and hundreds of willing hands, including those of a large number of sailors, undertook its removal, but to no purpose; and the finely chiseled marble, with the solid granite of the Exchange, before long mingled together in common ruin. The letters of the Post-office were alone saved.

"There was evidently now no salvation for those fine new stores on William Street, near by, and in Exchange Place, where the auctioneers and other commission houses had located. I sought the premises of Burns, Halliburton & Company, one of the most popular firms of that day. They were the agents of the Merrimac and other works, and had an immense valuable stock of calicoes, muslin, and flannels. Their large store extended from William Street to the grave-yard of the Garden-street Church. Most of the stock was easily removed to this place of imagined security, which, indeed, became the depot, for the time being, for millions of merchandise. We soon cleared this store. The firm were agents also for extra flannels. These, packed in small bales, and light, were readily cast from the upper stories into the grave-yard. In one of the upper lofts I met a member of the firm, Mr. B., one of Nature's noblemen, since dead, with his other partners, and he was weeping. 'Too hard,' said he, 'after all the toil of years, to see property thus suddenly destroyed!' 'Cheer up,' we replied, 'the world is still wide enough for success and fortune;' and so it proved to him and many other sufferers.

"This row of fine new stores had very flat roofs, and, imagining that a good view of the whole conflagration could be obtained from the top, we soon found our way there. Some friends in the yard, fearing that we had been locked up and in danger, screamed like wild Indians, pointing out a way of escape. But there was no danger; and what a sight now presented itself! From Maiden Lane to Coenties Slip, and from William Street to the East River, the whole immense area, embracing some thirteen acres, all in a raging, uncontrollable blaze! To what can we compare it? An ocean of fire, as it were, with roaring, rolling, burning waves, surging onward and upward, and spreading certain universal destruction; tottering walls and falling chimneys, with black smoke, hissing, crashing sounds on every side. Something like this, for we cannot describe it, was the fearful prospect, and, soon satisfied with the alarming, fearful view, we retreated from our high look-out. The light had spread more and more vividly from the fiery arena, rendering every object, far and wide, minutely discernible—the lower bay and its islands, with the shores of Long Island and New Jersey. Even from Staten Island the conflagration was very plainly seen. A sea on fire is, perhaps, the best similitude I can fancy to describe this grand and awful midnight winter scene.

"Not long after we left our high stand-point it was enveloped in the universal blaze, and soon the Garden-street Church, with its spire, organ, and heaps of goods stored within and outside, was consumed. There, too, was lost the venerable bell which had been removed at an early period in New York history from the old St. Nicholas Church within the present Battery. 'What more can be done to stop the progress of the flames?' became the anxious and general inquiry. Mr. Cornelius W. Lawrence, the Mayor, appeared with his officers, and, after consultation, it was determined to 'blow up' some buildings, and the east corner of Coenties Slip and Coenties Lane (a narrow street) was selected as the proper place to begin the necessary work. On the opposite side was the store of William Van Antwerp & Co., hardware-dealers, and relatives of the writer, who, engaged at this point in saving goods, could see the necessary preparations for the blast. The building to be 'blown up,' I think, was occupied by Wyncoop & Co., grocers. It was large, and of brick. Colonel Smith soon arrived with the powder and a gang of officers and sailors from the Navy Yard; and none else were permitted to interfere. They commenced mining in the cellar, and placing heavy timbers upon the powder-kegs and against beams of the floors, everything was soon ready for the explosion. A friend near by said to an old tar, 'Be careful or you will be blown up!' 'Blow and be ——!' was the careless and characteristic reply to the warning. But all having been admirably and safely arranged, the crowd retreated. The torch was applied, and in an instant the report followed; then the immense mass heaved up as if by magic, and losing its fastenings, from the cellar to the roof, tottered, shook, and fell. A shout went up from the gazing spectators; and at this point the common danger was evidently arrested, thanks to Colonel Swift, Lieutenant Reynolds, and Captain Mix, of the navy, and their noble, brave sailors. Heroism can be as much displayed at a terrible catastrophe of this kind as on the bloody field of battle, and it was to-night. This party of miners arrived about two o'clock in the morning, when their important work commenced. They continued it successfully in another direction; indeed, it was believed that the conflagration was at last checked by this blowing-up of the buildings.

"Wearied with watching, labor, and anxiety, thousands wished for the return of day, and at length a dim increasing light in the east, but enshrouded with dull, heavy clouds of smoke, foretold the coming morning. And what an unexpected melancholy spectacle to thousands did New York present! The generous firemen from Philadelphia soon after made their appearance; but the fire had been checked. The immense remains continued to blaze and burn for many days. We could now travel around the bounds of the night's destruction, but no living being could venture through them. In many places there were no lines of the streets to be discovered at all, as every foot of ground was covered with the heated bricks, timbers, and rubbish of the destroyed buildings.

"Many a merchant living in the upper section of the city went quietly to bed that night, and, strange as it may seem, when he came down-town the next morning, literally could not find his store, nor enough of his stock remaining to cover his hand—every yard, ell, pound, gone! There were official statements of several stores, in each of which a quarter of a million of dollars in goods was consumed, with books, notes, and accounts. New York the next day sat, as it were, in sackcloth and ashes, and real sorrow began to appear on

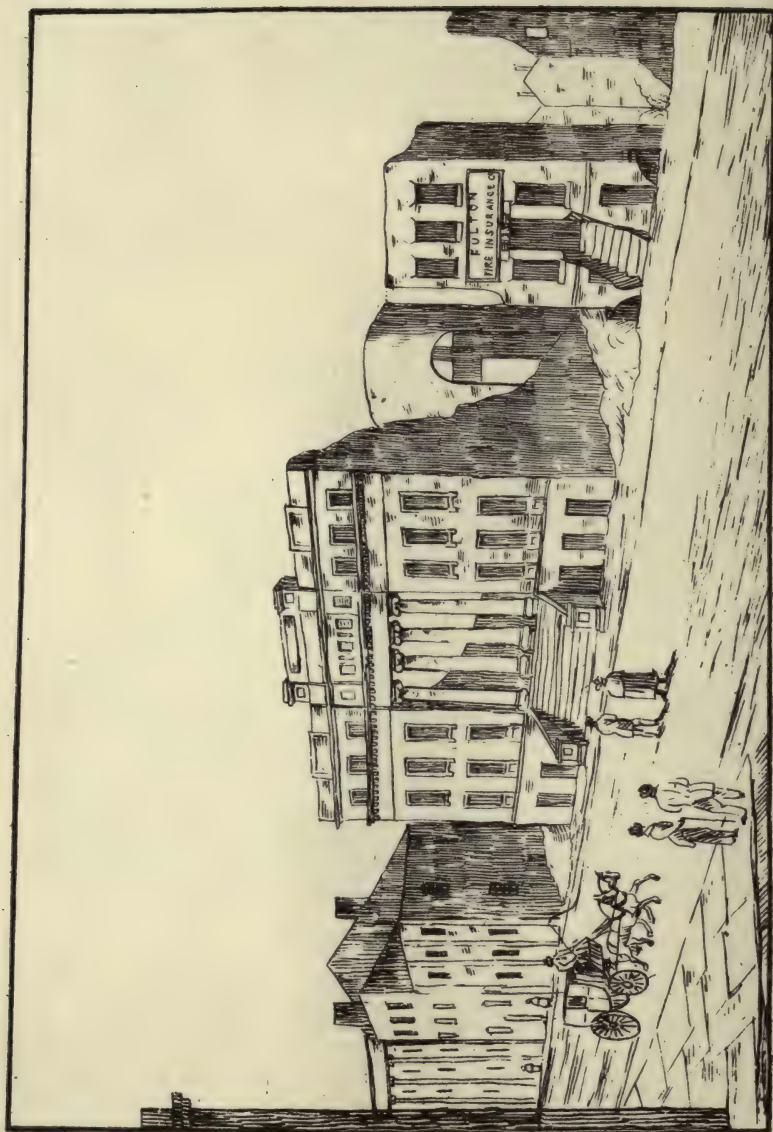
men's faces as the losses and ruin were discovered by the light of day. To increase, also, the public calamity, the insurance companies, except the *Ætna*, of Hartford, and the Chatham, had all become bankrupt from their severe losses, and could not pay. Universal gloom prevailed, but not despondency.

"There was great anxiety expressed for the preservation of the Merchants' Exchange on Wall Street, and a large crowd assembled in front to watch the noble edifice, now in imminent danger.

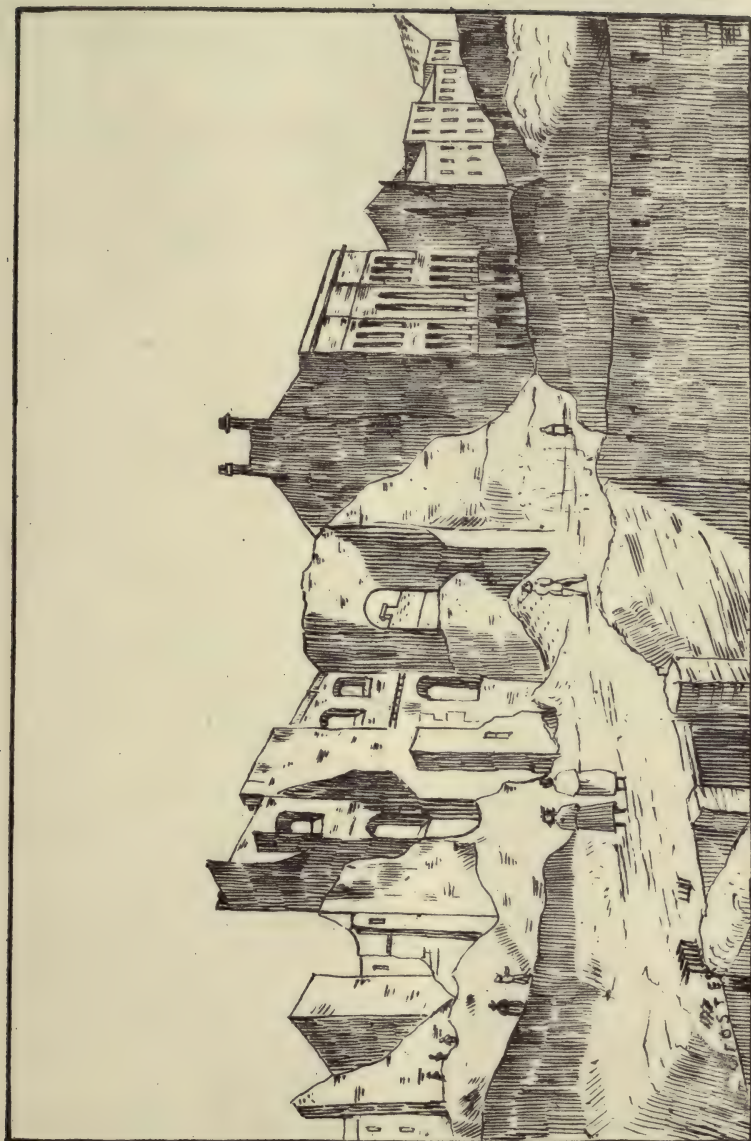


MERCHANTS' EXCHANGE BEFORE THE FIRE.

"We have stated that the letters of the Post-office, then in its basement, were saved, and the marble statue of HAMILTON, placed beneath the rotunda, was lost. But now the fire-fiend had reached the solid structure, and all hopes of saving it were abandoned. The public gaze evidently centered most upon its cupola. Higher and higher the flames reached, and after a brief conflict the roof fell. A short silence ensued in the almost breathless crowd, but what a strange thing is ever a mob? Next went up—shall we call it a fiendish shout, as a friend standing by did at the time? Then came another pause, the lofty shooting fires lighting up the faces of surrounding crowds. At this moment a



View of the EXCHANGE (in the Front.)



EXCHANGE *in the Rear*

man was seen hurrying along, crying out at the top of his voice, 'Is there a surgeon among you, gentlemen? for God's sake, is there a surgeon?' The report soon spread that hundreds were in the Exchange at the moment its cupola fell, and those dragged out of the ruins needed a surgeon's care. Providentially, this was not the case, and that which was still more wonderful and striking, no fatal or serious accident occurred during the whole of this awful December calamity.

"During the conflagration, then under full headway toward Broad Street, the presence of mind of one man saved much property. This was Downing, the oyster king, of Broad-street fame. Water was out of the question, and at this emergency he thought of his supplies of vinegar, which were large, and with careful application by pailful after pailful, a large amount of property was saved in that direction from the general destruction. To his good sense, and credit, and worthy memory, we record this generous act.

"I forgot to mention one circumstance connected with the destruction of the Garden-street Church, and have been reminded of it by a friend who was among the very last persons to leave the sacred edifice. Many, many a solemn dirge had been played upon that fine organ at the burial of the dead, and now, the holy temple on fire, some one commenced performing upon it its own funeral dirge, and continued it until the lofty ceiling was in a blaze. The music ceased, and in a short time the beautiful edifice, with its noble instrument and immense quantities of goods stored inside and out, were all irrecoverably gone, nothing escaping save the long-sleeping dust and bones of the buried dead.

"I forgot also to mention in their proper place some items about the old 'Tontine Coffee house.' This was the 'Exchange' of the city. The old folks may remember its rough but pleasant keeper, old Buyden. We only have heard of his fame, and it is related of him that, when the first anthracite coal was offered for sale in New York, he tried it in the hall of the Tontine; but he pronounced the new article worse than nothing, for he had put one scuttle into the grate, and then another, and after they were consumed he took up two scuttlefuls of stones.

"In the great fire of 1835, this well-known public edifice came very near sharing the common destruction. The engines had almost entirely ceased working, and the Tontine was discovered to be on fire in its broad cornices, at the corner of Wall and Water Streets. This created still greater alarm, for the burning of this large building would destroy the hopes of saving the eastern section of the city, if not more. Two solitary engines, with what little water they managed to obtain, were throwing their feeble and useless streams upon the flaming stores opposite, when Mr. Oliver Hull, of our city, calling their attention to the burning cornice, generously promised to donate one hundred dollars to the Firemen's Fund 'if they would extinguish that blaze.' Seeing the threatening danger, they immediately made a pile of boxes which had been removed from the adjacent stores, from the top of which, by great efforts, a stream reached the spot and quickly put out the alarming flame. Mr. Hull is still living, and, thanks to him for his wise counsel and generosity at that trying moment, and gratitude to the noble firemen who so successfully averted the awful progress of the destroying element from crossing Wall Street and ending, who can tell where? They were frequently told of the

vital importance of preventing the conflagration extending beyond this limit, and labored accordingly, and with the happiest results.

"As already stated, no lives were lost during the conflagration; still, we remember that, shortly afterward, one of our most widely-known and respected fellow-citizens passed away in death. This was John Laing, often called 'Hon-est John Laing,' the senior partner of Laing, Turner & Co., of the old *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*; and his last illness—of paralysis or apoplexy—was hastened by the excitement and devastation of this great public calamity. He was a gentleman of the old-school *queue-hair* style.

"In the estimated thirteen acres of the burnt district, only one store escaped entire. This was occupied by the well-known John A. Moore of this day, in the iron trade on Water Street, near old Slip. Watched inside, and fire-proof, in their wildest career, the rapid flames seemed, as it were, to overleap the building, destroying all others. There it stood, solitary and alone, amidst surrounding entire destruction, as a sad monument stands alone amid the general ruin.

"As many as three or four buildings were blown up to stop the progress of the fire, all other efforts having failed; and if such a measure had been resorted to earlier, great destruction of property might possibly have been prevented. There was also a want of powder, although, unknown to the citizens, a vessel loaded with the article lay anchored in the stream. At last, Mr. Charles King generously volunteered to visit the Navy Yard for a supply, and returned with a band of marines and sailors. The explosions went on fearfully and successfully. Up and down went the mined structures, two barrels of powder under each, until no flames were left, no means of spreading the fiery element to the next houses.

"The extent of the fire in December, 1835, may be imagined from its several limits. These, commencing at Coffee-house Slip, extended along South Street to Coenties Slip, thence to near Broad, along William to Wall, and down that street to the East River on the south side, with the exception of Nos. 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, and 61, along where the new splendid banking-house of Brown Brothers & Company now stands. This burnt district embraced some thirteen acres, in which nearly seven hundred houses were leveled to the ground in a single winter's night, with a loss of seventeen million dollars; *four* millions, it was calculated, was the value of the buildings, and *thirteen*, of the goods. During a few hours this vast amount disappeared, either in the flaming atmosphere or in ashes upon the earth—the most costly goods and products from every portion of our globe. Some merchants, retiring to bed wealthy in the evening, and perhaps so dreaming, found themselves the next morning either ruined or their estates seriously injured. In the impressive language of Scripture, their riches had taken wings and flown away in a single night—warehouse, stock, notes, and books, all gone beyond recovery.

"After the general consternation had somewhat subsided, a public meeting assembled in Mr. Lawrence's office (the Mayor's), City Hall, to consider what should be done under the circumstances. At this meeting, committees were appointed to provide means for the relief of the most necessitous cases, and to ascertain the condition of the insurance companies, and the amount of the losses as far as practicable. The writer acted as secretary of this last committee, and the losses absolutely stated from various firms and parties amounted to *seven*—

teen millions of dollars. In many cases they were total. Some would not name their damages, and among them very large houses; and, although the seven-teen millions were reported by the losers, still, the committee estimated the real loss at twenty millions of dollars. To increase the difficulties, all the insurance companies, except the two mentioned in a former article, failed to meet the demands against them, but paid as much as they were able, and this consumed all their assets, leaving them bankrupt. This result caused great distress among a class who had been otherwise unharmed—old people, widows, orphans, and others, whose income came from fire-insurance *dividends*; these were now at an end, and many suffered severely in consequence. Among the first acts of the public committee was to relieve this class.

"In respect to the entire loss, some accounts place the number of buildings at five hundred and twenty-eight; others, higher. Let us visit the 'burnt district,' as it was then named, commencing at the eastern limits. Coffee-house Slip, and South, Front, and Water Streets, were burned down from Wall Street to Coenties Slip, Pearl consumed from the same point to Coenties Alley, and there, as we have seen, stopped by the blowing-up of a building. This was the well-known crowded region of the dry-goods importers and jobbers, merchant princes in the granite palaces, filled with the richest merchandise, domestic and imported. The destruction on Stone Street extended down from William to then No. 32, one side, and to No. 39 on the other. Beaver was destroyed half-way to Broad. Exchange Place was burned from Hanover Street to within three doors of Broad, and here, also, the flames were arrested by blowing up a house. The loss on William Street was complete, commencing at Wall and ending in South, and on both sides, including the market in Old Slip. Wall Street was devastated on the south side, from William to South, excepting, as we have noticed, Nos. 51, 53, 55, 57, 59, and 61. The greatest efforts were made along here to prevent the flames reaching the banks and offices on the opposite side. Here was located the *Courier and Enquirer* office; and we well remember the noble person of its editor, Colonel Webb, as he stood on a prominent, elevated place, exhorting the people to renewed diligence and efforts to save the city. All the intermediate streets, lanes, and alleys within these limits were also swept away by the destroying element. The following statement will be found, we imagine, nearly accurate, of the houses and stores leveled to the earth:

On Wall Street.....	26	On Old Slip.....	33
On South Street.....	76	On Stone Street.....	40
On Front Street.....	80	On Mill Street.....	38
On Water Street.....	76	On Beaver Street.....	23
On Pearl Street.....	79	On Hanover Street.....	16
On Exchange Place.....	62	On Coenties Slip.....	16
On Gouverneur's Lane.....	20	On Hanover Square.....	3
On Jones's Lane.....	10	On Cuyler's Alley.....	20
On Exchange.....	31		—
On William Street.....	44	Total.....	674

"Six hundred and seventy-four tenements were thus consumed in a few short hours, and the far greater part were occupied by New York's largest shipping and wholesale dry-goods merchants, besides many grocers.

"This was a terrible day for the commercial emporium of our land. The destruction had been fearful, and so were the consequences. In a few months

the United States banks suspended payment; then followed the commercial distress of 1837, and for a time business seemed paralyzed. Next came bankruptcy after bankruptcy in quick succession, and soon the banks of our State stopped payment for one year. The Legislature legalized this necessary public act. What a disastrous moment! what terrible reverses! what gloomy forebodings and prospects! But the most wonderful fact of all these fearful times was the energy and elasticity of the New-Yorkers. Not long depressed by their misfortunes, a reaction took place, and before many months the city literally arose from her ashes, and acres of splendid granite, marble, brown-stone, and brick stores filled the entire 'burnt district.' Business, trade, and commerce revived more briskly than ever before. How truly astonishing, and how noble and praiseworthy! What shall we call our native city—the Giant of the Western World, the Queen of America, the Commercial Emporium, or by what other name? Her wharves and streets are now visited by men from every region of the world, and her white canvas gladdens every ocean. In vain do we search for a chapter in ancient or modern history of such a conflagration and its losses, and of rapid recovery from all its evils, with increasing prosperity, as we find in the great fire of New York in December, 1835. Well may New-Yorkers be proud of their noble city, her enterprise, her trade, and her 'merchant princes.'"

The great extent of the "burnt district," and the immense amount of valuable goods and property of various kinds which remained among the ruins, exposed to depredations, required the exercise of energies beyond the ordinary civil powers; and, such an organization as the present "Insurance Patrol" being at that time unknown, the Mayor accepted the services of the "National Guard"* for guard duty in the emergency. "A line of sentinels was accordingly formed from the foot of Wall Street, up Wall, and to the foot of Broad Street, outside of the limits of the devastated district, rendering entire protection to the exposed property during the night of their service. The narrator recollects well *his* two 'turns' on post during the night, at the corner of the ruins of the old Merchants' Exchange, at Hanover Street, in an exceedingly cold and driving storm of sleet and rain, and the gloomy and dreadful appearance of the smoldering ruins extended over a space of upward of fifty acres, broken here and there by a fitful flame from a half-smothered fire. He recollects as well, too, the relief of *toasting his toes*, in

* This name was, in 1847, changed into the "Seventh Regiment."

the 'off' intervals, at the glowing fire, and refreshing the inner man with the genial hospitality of the noted 'Auction Hotel' of George W. Brown, in Water Street, which was the head-quarters of one wing of the regiment for the occasion."*

As soon as the first excitement had subsided, a public meeting of the citizens of New York convened, in pursuance of a call from the Mayor, at the City Hall, on Saturday, the 19th of December, at noon. The meeting was called to order by Judge Irving, upon whose motion the Mayor took the chair.

The following gentlemen were then appointed vice-presidents on the motion of General Prosper M. Wetmore: Albert Gallatin, Preserved Fish, Louis McLane, George Newbould, Isaac Bronson, Enos T. Throop, Campbell P. White, John T. Irving, Samuel Hicks, George Griswold, James G. King, Benjamin L. Swan, Jacob Lorillard, and Stephen Allen. On motion of General Jacob Morton, the following secretaries were also appointed: Jonathan Goodhue, Prosper M. Wetmore, John S. Crary, John A. Stephens, Jacob Harvey, Reuben Withers, Dudley Selden, Samuel B. Ruggles, George Wilson, Samuel Cowdrey, James Lee, and John L. Graham. The meeting was addressed by William L. Stone, Prosper M. Wetmore, and several other prominent citizens, after which the following resolutions were, on motion of James G. King, unanimously adopted:

"*Resolved*, That while the citizens of New York lament over the ruin which has left desolate the most valuable part of this city, and deeply sympathize with the numerous sufferers, it becomes them not to repine, but to unite

* Asher Taylor, in his *Recollections of the Seventh Regiment*. Chief-Justice Daly, also, was one of the guard on this occasion. The head-quarters of his regiment was at the Shakespeare Tavern, where, during the night, they were all regaled with bread and cheese. The Judge had a tussle, on his beat, with a negro who was carrying off a case of silks, in which the former came off the victor.

in a vigorous exertion to repair the loss; that the extent of her commerce, the number, wealth, and enterprise of her citizens, justify, under the blessing of Divine Providence, a primary reliance upon her own resources.

"*Resolved*, That we consider it the duty of our citizens and moneyed institutions, who stand in the relation of creditors to those who have directly or indirectly suffered by the late fire, to extend to them the utmost forbearance and lenity."

On motion of Dudley Selden, Esq., it was further

"*Resolved*, That a committee of the Mayor and one hundred and fifty citizens be appointed to ascertain the extent and probable value of the property destroyed, and how far the sufferers are protected by insurance. Also, with power to make application to Congress for relief by an extension of credit for debts due the United States, and a return or remission of duties on goods destroyed; and also to ask such other aid from the general, State, and city governments as may be deemed expedient. Also to ascertain the origin and cause of the fire, and what change, if any, should be made, either in the regulating of streets, the erection of buildings, or the arrangements of the Fire Department, to prevent a recurrence of similar calamities, and take such other measures as the emergency may demand.

"*Resolved*, That the Committee to be appointed take the earliest and most effectual measures to ascertain and relieve the necessities of those who have been reduced to want by the recent unfortunate event."

On motion of Colonel Murray, it was also

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be, and they are hereby, tendered to the citizens of Philadelphia, Brooklyn, and Newark for the spontaneous expression of their sympathy in our misfortunes, and that they be especially tendered to the firemen of those cities, who, with a promptitude and kindness unexampled, have left their homes at this inclement season to offer their services, and which they are now tendering at the scene of the calamity."

On motion of Prosper M. Wetmore, it was finally

"*Resolved*, That the members of the two boards of the Common Council be *ex officio* members of the committee to be appointed."

The Committee was then announced as follows :*

Cornelius W. Lawrence Albert Gallatin, Preserved Fish, Samuel Hicks, Benjamin L. Swan, Dudley Selden, Jonathan Goodhue, Saul Alley, *Prosper M. Wetmore*, John T. Irving, John Pintard, George Newbould, *Samuel B. Ruggles*, James G. King, *Wm. B. Astor*, George Griswold, *Enos T. Troop*, Samuel Cowdrey, Thomas J. Oakley, George Wilson, *Wm. T. McCown*, John G. Coster,

* The reader will not fail to remark that this committee was composed of men whose names are household words in the history of our city, and are identified with its interests and prosperity. Hence the propriety of giving them in full in the *text*. The names in *italics* represent those who are living at the present time (1872).

Walter Bowne, James F. Boorman, Louis McLane, Jacob Lorillard, John S. Crary, Jacob Harvey, Reuben Withers, Ogden Hoffman, Charles King, *Edward Sanford*, John W. Leavitt, Adam Treadwell, John Leonard, George S. Robins, Wm. Neilson, Stephen Whitney, Joseph Bouchaud, Jacob Morton, John Wilson, Mordecai M. Noah, Philip Hone, William L. Stone, Rensselaer Havens, *Charles W. Sanford*, *Wm. Van Wyck*, D. F. Manice, John Kelly, H. C. De Rham, Isaac Bronson, Campbell B. White, John A. Stevens, *James Lee*, George Douglass, Stephen Allen, John Fleming, John B. Lawrence, Wm. B. Townsend, *Charles H. Russell*, James Heard, Charles Graham, George Ireland, John Y. Cebra, Samuel Jones, Charles Augustus Davis, *Robert C. Wetmore*, James D. P. Ogden, *Andrew Warner*, David Hall, James Conner, Robert White, Richard Pownell, Joseph Blunt, Samuel Ward, F. B. Cutting, John H. Howland, John Lang, Daniel Jackson, J. Palmer, Richard Riker, *James Roosevelt, Jr.*, James Monroe, Richard McCarthy, Isaac S. Hone, Peter A. Jay, Amos Butler, Joseph D. Beers, David Bryson, Samuel Swartwout, Walter R. Jones, Philo L. Mills, Morris Robinson, Benjamin McVickar, John Haggerty, Charles Denison, George W. Lee, Wm. Churchill, George Lovett, G. A. Worth, Edwin Lord, B. L. Woolley, *Wm. Mitchell*, *Burr Wakeman*, Wm. Leggett, James B. Murray, Peter A. Cowdrey, John L. Graham, George D. Strong, Jonathan Lawrence, Cornelius Heyer, *James Lawson*, Samuel S. Howland, *James Watson Webb*, Wm. M. Price, John Delafield, James McCride, M. M. Quackenboss, B. M. Brown, Wm. B. Crosby, G. C. Verplanck, *Wm. Beach Lawrence*, Joseph L. Josephs, S. H. Foster, *T. T. Kissam*, Robert Bogardus, Wm. Howard, Luman Reed, Robert Smith, *M. Ulshoeffer*, Samuel Thompson, Robert C. Cornell, P. G. Stuyvesant, David Hadden, Benjamin Strong, Wm. P. Hall, Isaac Townsend, *Charles P. Clinch*, Rufus L. Lord, J. R. Satterlee, David S. Jones, David Austin, Seth Geer, Robert Lenox, Perez Jones, Wm. Turner.

Scarcely had this committee been appointed when a communication was received from the President of the Board of Trade, announcing the names of a committee from that body to co-operate in the objects of the meeting.

On motion of Mr. P. M. Wetmore, it was accordingly

Resolved, That the following gentlemen, deputed from the Board of Trade, be added to the committee, viz., Gabriel P. Disosway, Robert Jaffrey, Silas Brown, N. H. Weed, George Underhill, D. A. Cushman, Meigs D. Benjamin, Marcus Wilbur, and *Thomas Denny*.

Thereupon the committee, "having been requested to meet at seven o'clock in the evening at the Mayor's office, adjourned." Terrible, however, as was this calamity, New York city was by no means crushed by the blow. "Great as the loss has been," said a writer,* a few days after the

* "Foster's | account of the | conflagration | of the principal portion of the

fire, "we are happy to announce to our friends at a distance, that our merchants and others who have suffered are in good spirits, and fully determined promptly to redeem their loss. All despondency, if it ever existed, is at an end. Smiling faces and cheerful countenances meet us at every corner, and demonstrate that there is an elasticity in the character of our people which always enables them to rise above the most overwhelming evils. The same spirit which made New York what it is, will enable it quietly to bear and nobly to triumph over even the present calamity. Indeed, such is the tone of the public mind, that we expect to see business as brisk as ever in the spring; and within two years the entire district destroyed will be rebuilt on a more permanent and convenient plan"—a prophecy which was more than fulfilled; since, in 1836, according to an assessment made November 12th, of that year, the value of the real and personal estate in New York city was \$327,988,780, of which the proportion of real estate was \$253,201,191, and of personal \$74,787,589. This was an increase of \$20,183,824 over the assessments of 1832-'33.*

In the month of February, 1836, the peace of the lower part of the city was endangered by a "strike" among the stevedores and other "long-shore" workmen.

1836.

After parading the streets and along the docks for several days, their demonstrations became so violent that the civil authorities were roused to vigorous action. The Mayor called upon the Twenty-seventh regiment, which, with ball-cartridges and a bountiful supply of ammuni-

first | ward of the city of New York | on the night of the 16th of December, 1835." The two cuts given in the text, representing the ruins of the Merchants' Exchange, are from this pamphlet.

* *Niles' Register*, Nov. 20th, 1836. Compare the above assessment with the fact that the taxable property of New York Island in 1871, reported at less than half its value, reaches nearly a *thousand millions*, and the annual tax twenty-five millions.

tion, promptly turned out on the morning of the 24th of February, and took up its quarters in the court-rooms of the City Hall. This fact coming to the knowledge of the rioters, order was restored, and the regiment was dismissed in the evening.

This same year witnessed, also, the destruction of the "OLD SHAKESPEARE TAVERN," the ancient stamping-ground of the "National Guards," and for many years intimately associated with the military history of the city. It stood at the south-west corner of Fulton and Nassau Streets (the site [1872] of the present *Commercial Advertiser* building). It was originally a low, old-fashioned, massive edifice, built of small, yellow bricks, two stories high, with dormer-windows on the roof. The entrance, in its early days, was through a green baize door on Nassau Street—an entry running through the building, with rooms on both sides. "The Tap" was in the south front room, on Nassau Street, and was fitted up in one corner with a circular bar of the old English fashion. The building was erected many years before the Revolution, by John Leake, a commissary in the French war,* but, in 1822, a modern extension on Fulton Street, three stories high, was added.

On the second story there was a room for public meetings and military drills, and on the third story there was also another room, arched, for concerts and balls, and for the accommodation of the political, literary, and musical patrons of the house. It was kept in its palmyest days by Thomas Hodgkinson, an Englishman by birth, who had come over to the United States when quite young.† He

* This Leake is said to have saved the life of the Duke of Cumberland at the Battle of Dettingen. He was also at the siege of Louisburg, under Sir William Pepperell.

† Hodgkinson was an officer of the Second regiment of N. Y. S. Artillery,

was a brother of the celebrated comedian and vocalist, John Hodgkinson, who was at one time manager of the old Park Theater. Hodgkinson bought the house in 1808, and under his management it soon became and long continued a great resort for the wits of the day, and was celebrated for the superiority of its wines and the quiet comfort and elegance of its private suppers.

The "Shakespeare Tavern," in fact, was to New York what the "Mermaid" was to London in the days of Shakespeare and Queen Bess, or, later, the "St. James Coffee-house" and the "Turk's Head" in the time of Reynolds, Garrick, and Goldsmith. Within its walls, Hugh Gaine and James Cheetham have broken many a lance over the political topics of the day. In its tap-room "Ready-Money Provost" has been seen quietly sipping a mug of foaming flip as he meditated over some fresh scheme for cheating the revenue.* Here, De Witt Clinton was wont to discuss his

and distinguished for his devotion to the cause of his adopted country in 1812. At his death, which occurred on the day of the reception of General Lafayette, in 1824, he was a captain, and was buried with military honors. Two of his sons served in the "National Guard."—*Recollections of the Seventh Regiment*, for the use of two copies of which book (now exceedingly rare) the author is indebted to the courtesy of Herman G. Carter, Esq., and to the publishing house of J. M. Bradstreet & Son.

* "READY-MONEY PROVOST," or David Provost—a man long known as the chief of a gang of smugglers who infested Long Island Sound—acquired his compound appellation in consequence of the abundance of money which he always had by him, even in times of the greatest scarcity. One of his strongholds for secreting his contraband articles was at Hallett's Cove, L. I. He was for many years such a character, that I here give a conversation said to have been held between him and a gentleman, as illustrative both of the man and of the ideas held by his class upon smuggling:

"I have not the honor of an acquaintance with you, Mr Provost; but I have heard much of you and your occupation."

"No reflections, if you please, Mr. Talcott: my occupation is an affair of my own: 'Free Trade' 's my maxim: we fowt with Great Britain for liberty, and agin the tea-tax and the custom-houses. I got a bullet in my leg, and like to have had a baggonet in my bread-basket at the battle of Brooklyn, over there where the Jarsey Blues was shot. I was agin the custom-houses then, and I'm agin them now. Well: we whipped the English, and the Hessians to boot, and got our liberties, they tell us. But blast my picture, if we aint more pes-

pet project, the Erie Canal; here, Fitz-Greene Halleck, and Sands, and Percival,* and Paulding, and Willis Gay-

tered and plagued with custom-houses now than we was then—and be hanged to 'em!"

"I meant no reflections, Mr. Provost," replied Mr. Talcott; "but as you said you supposed you were a stranger to me, I only intended to say that you had been pointed out to me as a smug—I beg pardon—as a—"

"Ay, smuggler—say it out! They turn up their noses, and call me smuggler, who have never cheated a man in my life; while they fail for their thousands, and ride in their coaches all the while besides! Many a time have I lent the scoundrels the hard chink—the real Caroluses—to keep them out of limbo; when, before they had turned the next corner, they would call me smuggler!—just because I'm for making an honest living by FREE TRADE. There's Congress has just been introducing a Tariff, as they call it, and Madison, and Carroll, and old Roger Sherman, and all on 'em are voting for it. But by the"—and here, with flashing eyes, the smuggler swore a great oath which we will not repeat—"Ready-Money Provost' will stand by his 'reserved rights,' as they call them away there in Virginny, and nullify the custom-house laws, as long as the 'Pot' boils in Hellgate!"

"Never mind," replied Talcott, in a conciliating tone; "we will waive that subject. I am no merchant, and know little of the mysteries of trade or of smuggling. And if—"

"Smuggling, again! I tell you, Mr. Talcott, you must not make my Jarsey blood boil too hot. I'm an honest man, that pays his debts, and ruins no friend who has the kindness to underwrite for me. I am only a free-trader,—acting as a broker between the importer and the jobber, just to help 'em get clear of the duties which Government puts on to pay their idle officers. It's no harm to cheat the Government,—particklar when one gets along without swearing till all's blue in the custom-house. And, as betwixt man and man, I've never taken anybody in—man nor woman nother—and, what's more, I've always stuck to my engagements."

Provost, notwithstanding his roughness and questionable occupation, married the widow of James Alexander, and mother of Lord Stirling, an eminent American officer in the Revolutionary War. He was buried in the family vault, cut in a rocky knoll in Jones's Wood, near the house in which he lived the latter portion of his life. It is now a dilapidated ruin near the foot of Seventy-first Street. The marble slab which he placed over the vault in memory of his wife (and which commemorates him, also) lies neglected over the broken walls. Near the site of the tomb, the Germans, who love the open air, go thither on Sunday, in large numbers, and tents, wherein *lager-bier* is sold, form conspicuous objects in that still half-sylvan retreat. Provost died in 1791, aged ninety years.

* In the spring of 1832, S. G. Goodrich was in New York, and invited Mr. Cooper, the novelist, to dine with Percival at the City Hotel. Mr. Goodrich thus describes their appearance: "It is not easy to conceive of two persons more strongly contrasting with each other. As they sat side by side at the table, I noted the difference. Mr. Cooper was in person solid, robust, athletic;

lord Clark, have met in social converse and passed many a merry jest and brilliant repartee; here, too, McDonald Clark, the "Mad Poet,"* has often startled the little circle gathered around him by one of his strange outbursts of poetic frenzy; here, some of the liveliest sallies of the *Croaker* and most touching passages in *Yamoyden* were conceived and brought forth; and here, also, Sands first recited to his friends Stone, Verplanck, and John Inman, his last and most remarkable poem—*The Dead* of 1832.† Henceforth, let no one say that New York has no memoirs save those of the temples of the money-changer. The old Shakespeare Tavern has entertained coterie composed

in voice, manly; in manner, earnest, emphatic, almost dictatorial—with something of self-assertion bordering on egotism. * * * Percival, on the contrary, was tall and thin; his chest, sunken; his limbs, long and feeble; his hair, silken and sandy; his complexion, light and feminine; his eyes, large and spectral; his whole air startled; his attitudes, shy and shrinking; his voice, abashed and whispering. Mr. Cooper ate like a man of excellent appetite and vigorous digestion: Percival scarce seemed to know that he was at the table. Cooper took his wine as if his lips appreciated it: Percival swallowed his evidently without knowing or caring whether it was wine or water. Yet these two men conversed pleasantly together. After a time, Percival was drawn out, and the stores of his mind were poured forth as from a cornucopia. I could see Cooper's gray eye dilate with delight and surprise."

Percival, as is well known, was very eccentric, even if he was not at times deranged. He was more free in conversation with Mrs. Colonel Stone than perhaps with any other person. He was subject to deep dejections; and, when he was quite "in the depths," he would come to her, usually spending several days at the house; but he came and went suddenly. One morning, upon coming down to breakfast, she found a piece of poetry. It was on her plate; and he was not seen nor heard of for some time afterward. This piece of poetry, entitled "Musings at the House of a Friend," does not appear in his published poems, and is, therefore, given at the close of Appendix No. V.

* For several curious anecdotes of McDonald Clark, see Appendix No. V.

† This poem appeared in the *Commercial Advertiser* but a few days before Sands's death. "By a singular coincidence," says Mr. Verplanck, in his elegantly written sketch of the poet, "he chose for his theme the triumphs of Death and Time over the men who had died in the year just closing—Goethe, Cuvier, Spurzheim, Bentham, and Walter Scott; Champollion, 'who read the mystic lore of the Pharaohs,' Crabbe, the poet of purity; Adam Clarke, the learned Methodist;—a goodly company, whom he himself was destined to join before the year had passed away."

of as choice spirits as ever supped at the "Turk's Head." True, all is now changed. Where formerly it stood, the hum of business and the rattling of drays have succeeded



PROVOST'S TOMB, JONES'S WOOD.

to the quiet that was once so grateful to the wearied frame; and a bare brick building usurps the site of the quaint vine-clad tavern. But, though all traces of it have

vanished, it will live in its traditions, which, like the ivy that formerly covered its portals, shall forever be entwined around the hearts of future generations.*

* On the death of its proprietor in 1824, the house passed to his connection by marriage, James C. Stoneall (afterward an alderman of the Second Ward), by whom the interior was remodeled and modernized, and a handsome bar-room fitted up in one corner, with an entrance on Fulton Street. Like his predecessor, Stoneall maintained the character of the house until the widening of Fulton Street caused its demolition.

CHAPTER IX.

It was during the mayoralty of Cornelius W. Lawrence that the great Flour Riot took place—a riot which, although I can find no mention of it save in the contemporaneous records of the day, at first threatened the most serious destruction to life and property.

The winter of 1836-'37 had been one of unusual severity. In addition to this, a scarcity of the cereal crops throughout the country, the preceding season (not more than one-half the usual quantity having been harvested), had raised flour to twelve and fifteen dollars a barrel—at that time an enormous price. The poorer class of citizens, as a matter of course, suffered greatly; and a mistaken idea having got abroad that a few of the larger flour and grain dealers had taken advantage of the scarcity to buy up all the flour in the city, there was added mental to physical distress. But, granting all this, it is extremely doubtful whether these feelings would have culminated in actual deeds of violence, had not two political factions—the Loco-foco and the Temperance—for their own ends, fanned the embers of discord into a blaze. The former, through their party organs, labored to stir up the evil passions in the bosoms of the laboring classes by the war-cry of “the poor against the rich;” while the latter attributed the scarcity of grain to the distilleries. A few weeks before


the riot, a public meeting had been held at the New York Tabernacle,* to consider and act upon the high price of grain and provisions, on which occasion the speeches evinced considerable heat, though they were not of an openly incendiary character. The fires, however, were only smoldering, and, accordingly, on Friday, the 10th of



February, 1837, a notice was published in some
1837. of the newspapers, and conspicuously placarded through the city, of a meeting to be held in the Park on the afternoon of the next Monday, February 13th. The notice itself, as will be seen, was couched in language of a highly injudicious character, and well calculated to inflame the minds of the unthinking, and lead them into the excesses which they afterward committed.

The following is a fac-simile of the notice :

BREAD! MEAT! RENT! FUEL!!

THEIR PRICES MUST COME DOWN!

 *The voice of the people shall be heard and will prevail.*

 The people will meet in the PARK, *rain or shine*, at
4 o'clock MONDAY Afternoon, 

To enquire into the cause of the present unexampled distress, and to devise a suitable remedy. All friends of humanity, determined to resist monopolists and extortionists, are invited to attend.

MOSES JACQUES,

PAULUS HEDL,

DANIEL A. ROBERTSON,

WARDEN HAYWARD,

DANIEL GORHAM,

JOHN WINDT,

ALEXANDER MING, JR.,

ELIJAH F. CRANE.

New York, February 10th, 1837.

* The New York Tabernacle, built in 1835-'36, and designed for a free church, was torn down in 1856, and re-erected in 1859 by the society, on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street.

Under the above call, a mob of about six thousand people collected together, at the time appointed, in front of the City Hall, combining within itself all the elements of riot and revolution. Moses Jacques was selected as the chairman. Order was not the presiding genius, and the meeting was divided into various groups, each of which was harangued by some favorite demagogue after his own fashion and on his own account.

Conspicuous among the orators was Alexander Ming, Jr., and other speakers, who, in a most exciting manner, denounced the landlords and the holders of flour for the prices of rents and provisions. One of these orators, after working upon the passions of his audience until they were fitted for the work of spoliation and outrage, expressly directed the popular vengeance against Mr. Eli Hart, who was one of the most extensive flour-dealers in the city. "Fellow-citizens," he exclaimed, "Mr. Hart has now fifty-three thousand barrels of flour in his store. Let us go and offer him eight dollars a barrel, and if he does not take it"—here some person touched the orator on the shoulder, and he suddenly lowered his voice, and finished his sentence by saying, "*we shall depart from him in peace.*" This hint was sufficient. A large body of the rioters at once marched off in the direction of Mr. Hart's store, situated on Washington Street, between Dey and Cortlandt. The store was a large brick building, and had three wide but strong iron doors upon the street. Being apprised of the approach of the mob, the clerks secured the doors and windows, but not until the middle door had been forced, and some thirty barrels of flour rolled into the street, and their heads staved in. At this point Mr. Hart arrived on the ground with a posse of officers from the police. The latter were immediately assailed by a portion of the mob in Dey Street, their clubs wrested from them and shattered to pieces. The numbers of the

mob not being large enough at this time, the officers succeeded in entering the store, and for a short while delayed the work of destruction. The Mayor next arrived on the scene, and attempted to remonstrate with the infatuated multitude on the folly of their conduct, but to no purpose; their numbers were rapidly increasing, and his Honor was assailed with all sorts of missiles, and with such fury that he was compelled to retire. Meanwhile, large reinforcements of rioters having arrived from the Park, the officers were driven from the field, and the store carried by assault—the first iron door torn from its hinges being used as a battering-ram against the others. The rioters, like enraged and famished tigers, now rushed in; the windows and doors of the upper lofts were wrenched open, and the work of destruction again commenced. Barrels of flour by dozens, by fifties, and by hundreds were thrown in rapid succession from the windows, and the heads of those which did not break in falling were at once staved in. Intermingled with the flour were sacks of wheat by the hundred, which were cast into the street, and their contents emptied upon the pavement. About one thousand bushels of wheat and six hundred barrels of flour were thus wantonly and foolishly destroyed. The most active of those engaged in this were foreigners, debased by intemperance and crime—indeed, the greater part of the assemblage was of exotic growth; but there were probably a thousand others standing by and abetting their incendiary labors. Amidst the falling and bursting of the barrels and sacks of wheat, numbers of women were engaged, like the crones who strip the dead on the battle-field, filling the boxes and baskets with which they were provided, and their aprons, with flour, and making off with it. One of the destructives, a boy named James Roach, was seen upon one of the upper window-sills, throwing barrel after barrel into the street, and crying out with every throw,

"Here goes flour at eight dollars a barrel!"* Early in the assault, Mr. Hart's counting-room was entered, his books and papers seized and scattered to the winds.†

Night had now closed upon the scene; but the work of destruction did not cease until strong bodies of police arrived, followed soon after by detachments of troops. The store was then closed, and several of the rioters were arrested and sent to the Bridewell, under charge of



THE OLD BRIDEWELL.

the Chief of Police. On his way to the prison, the latter, with his assistants, was assailed, his coat torn off him, and several prisoners were rescued.

Before the close of the proceedings at Hart's store, the cry of "Meech" was raised, whereupon a detachment of the rioters crossed over to Coenties Slip to attack the

* This boy, however, with others, paid dearly for his flour, being afterward indicted, tried, and sent to prison for a term of years.

† Mr. Hart's loss was set down at \$10,000.

establishment of Meech & Co., also extensive flour-dealers. But the store of S. H. Herrick & Co., coming first in their way, they commenced an attack on that. The windows were first smashed in with a shower of brickbats, and the doors immediately afterward broken. Some thirty barrels of flour were then rolled into the street, and their heads staved in. The citizens and police, however, advancing in large force, compelled the mob to desist, and soon dispersed it, capturing, also, some of the rioters.

"At eight o'clock in the evening," writes Colonel William L. Stone to a friend on the morning after the occurrence, "all was quiet. I took a stroll over the scene of the principal riot, wading for a considerable distance knee-deep in flour and wheat. Several hundreds of people were yet lingering about, but the police were strong, and the patrols of troops frequent. I saw several women stealing away with small sacks of flour; but the weather was too intensely cold for people to remain abroad, and before nine all was quiet and still. The night was bright moonlight, and the glittering of the burnished armor made quite a striking appearance. Thus has ended the first attempt of the sovereign wisdom of this country to reduce the price of provisions by reducing the quantity in the market!"

A detachment of the military, consisting of the National Guards, under Colonel Smith, and Colonel Helas's regiment, were under arms the entire night, with muskets loaded and cartridge-boxes well supplied with powder and ball, ready to act promptly on hearing the signal from the great bell of the City Hall; but, happily, their services were not called into requisition.

Regarding this riot, the city authorities were greatly blamed for not taking official measures for the preservation of the peace of the city in anticipation of the meeting in the Park. They had had, it seems, full warning.

An anonymous letter had been found a day or two previous in the Park, addressed to a Mr. W. Lennox, informing him that Hart's store would be attacked soon by a large number of people; and that, the better to carry out this project, two alarms of fire were to be given, one near the Battery, and the other higher up Broadway; and while the attention of the police was thus distracted, the conspirators were to break into Hart's store and carry off as much flour as they could. Besides this letter, several other anonymous letters, to the same import, were received by the Mayor. It would therefore appear that the censure of the authorities by the public was not entirely undeserved.

In this riot some forty of the rioters were captured, and afterward indicted, tried, and sent to State Prison. The ringleaders, however, almost to a man, escaped. Not a single person who signed the call, nor, as can be discovered, a single orator who harangued the meeting, was tried. Nor did the mob succeed in bettering their condition. "One effect," says *Niles' Register* for the week after the riot, "has resulted from the doings of the *Political Economists* (!), which will add to the distress of that class they affected a desire to relieve. The stock of flour having been reduced, the price has naturally risen, and fifty cents per barrel more is now asked than was demanded previous to the mob."

The Great Fire of 1835, narrated in the preceding chapter, convinced the people of New York that the question of an ample supply of water could no longer be postponed. It had now been nearly seventy years since the subject of supplying New York with water began to attract the attention of the city authorities. Prior to the year 1799, the dependence of the people of the city for water was on the old "Collect Pond," the famous "Tea-

Water Pump," and wells in different parts of the city. In 1774, when the total population of the city did not exceed 22,000, works were constructed by Engineer Collis, on the east line of Broadway, between the present Pearl and White Streets. Here a reservoir was built, and a large well sunk in the "Collect Pond," now filled up and covered with costly buildings. The breaking out of the Revolutionary War in 1775, and the occupation of the city by the British, caused these works, while yet uncompleted, to be abandoned. The "Tea-Water Pump" was situated in Chatham Street, east of Pearl. Its water was pure and soft, and the pump was resorted to from all parts of the city. As late as 1797, the records of the Common Council indicate its popularity, a resolution having been passed to prevent the street being obstructed by the water-carts, and the owner required to raise and lengthen the spout for the convenience of passers on the sidewalk. A fruitless effort was again made in 1798-'99 to obtain water for the city from the River Bronx, but no further action was taken at that time, owing to the organization of the Manhattan Company. This Company, which was incorporated April 2d, 1799, supplied the city until 1822. The Manhattan Works, however, had long since proved comparatively worthless; and, after much discussion—the people meanwhile having decided the question of "water or no water" in the affirmative, by a large majority vote—it was resolved to construct an aqueduct from the Croton River, distant forty miles from New York, whic' should conduct the waters of that stream into the city. The work was,

1842. accordingly, forthwith begun, and finished in 1842.

Never was there a better investment made than that of the Croton Aqueduct by the citizens of any other city. It has proved itself of great benefit, not only in a sanitary and financial point of view, but as a real source of enjoyment—its construction having given rise



MOUTH OF THE CROTON RIVER

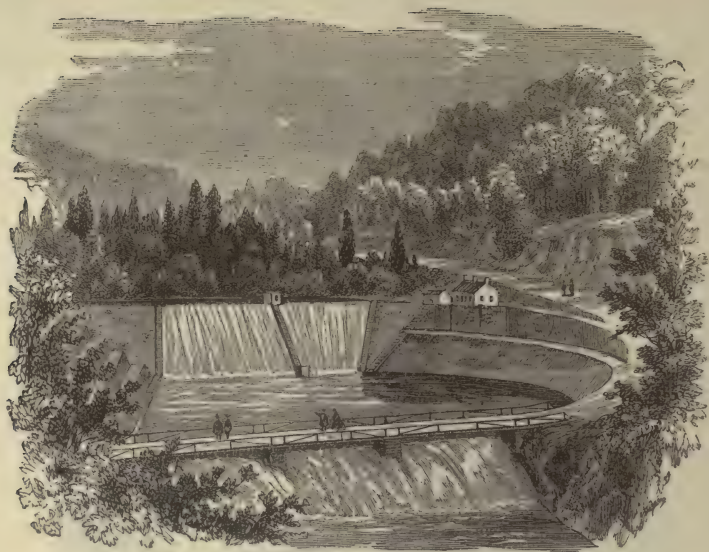
to many imposing works of art of which New-Yorkers may justly be proud.

Beginning at the "Dam," the waters of the Croton flow to the Distributing Reservoir in Central Park, forty



CROTON AQUEDUCT AT SING SING.

miles and a half, through a covered viaduct made of stone and brick. In its course, it flows through sixteen tunnels in rock, varying in length from one hundred and sixty to one thousand two hundred and sixty-three feet. As it passes through Sing Sing and over the Kill, it becomes an



CROTON DAM.



THE HIGH BRIDGE.



VIEW ON BLOOMINGDALE ROAD.



VIEW IN CENTRAL PARK.

elliptical arch of hewn granite, of eighty-eight feet span, with its key-stone more than seventy feet from the waters of the brook beneath it. In Westchester County it crosses twenty-five streams, from twelve to seventy feet below the line of grade, besides numerous small brooks furnished with culverts. Upon its reaching Harlem River, it passes



MANHATTANVILLE FROM CLAREMONT.

over from the main-land to Manhattan Island by the "High Bridge," justly considered one of the most magnificent structures on the continent. Built of granite, the "High Bridge," or aqueduct, is one thousand four hundred and fifty feet in length, and rests upon arches sup-

ported by fourteen pieces of heavy and elaborate masonry. Eight of these arches are eighty feet span, and six of them fifty feet high. The height of the bridge above the water is one hundred and fourteen feet. The original cost of this structure was nearly a million of dollars. This point forms one of the "lions" of the city—to which any



THE RESERVOIR, FIFTH AVENUE.

"cousin" or "friend" who visits New York must certainly be taken during his or her stay. Nor, indeed, could a more charming drive be taken in the suburbs of the city than this. The Bloomingdale Road, which, leading through Manhattanville, conducts the visitor from the city to the "High Bridge," and, passing between hills covered with wood, affords, in the heats of summer, a delightful change from the dust and scorching stone sidewalks and brick walls of the town.

From the "High Bridge" (which, by the way, is at the foot of One Hundred and Seventy-fourth Street), the waters pass the Clendening Valley in an aqueduct one thousand nine hundred feet in length, and enter the Receiv-

ing Reservoir in the Central Park. Hence the waters are conveyed to the Distributing Reservoir on Murray Hill.

The Reservoir stands in solemn contrast to the gay buildings of the Fifth Avenue, by which it is surrounded. "Its walls, in Egyptian style, are of dark granite, and average forty-four feet in height above the adjacent streets." Upon the top of the wall, which is reached by massive steps, is a broad promenade, from which may be obtained a fine view of the surrounding country. Perfect security for the visitor is obtained by a strong battlement of granite on the outside, and an iron fence on the inside nearest the water. The water was first let into this reservoir on the 4th of July, 1842; and, on the 14th of the following October, distributed, by means of iron pipes, throughout the city.*

* The Croton Dam covers an area of four hundred acres, and contains 500,000,000 gallons of water. The usual flow of the water through the pipes is 30,000,000; its capacity 60,000,000. The Receiving Reservoir covers thirty-five acres, and contains 150,000,000 of gallons. The Distributing Reservoir holds 21,000,000 of gallons. "The ridge line, or water shed, enclosing the Croton Valley above the dam is 101 miles in length. The stream is 39 miles in length, and its tributaries 136 miles. The total area of the valley is 352 square miles, and within it are 31 natural lakes and ponds."—*Lossing's Book of the Hudson*.

CHAPTER X.

NEW YORK had now fairly distanced all competitors. The gas had been introduced into the city in 1825; the New York University, notwithstanding the "Stone-cutters' Riot," finished in 1835; the magnificent Merchants' Exchange (the present Custom-house), and the Custom-house (now the Sub-treasury), erected in 1827; the Croton Aqueduct completed, and its practical utility inaugurated by a brilliant procession, in 1842, and a communication by the magnetic telegraph opened with other cities. Nothing was wanting to her *temporal* 1842. prosperity; her *civil* freedom was all that could be desired. One thing only was necessary to place her on a footing with her sister cities in breadth and liberality of sentiment. Nor was she long in taking this last step. By the provisions of an act passed by the New York Board of Education on the 11th of April, 1842, it was declared that no school in which any religious or sectarian doctrine or tenet was taught should receive any portion of the school moneys to be distributed by this act. Archbishop Hughes at once took the ground that to allow the Bible to be read daily in the schools was teaching a sectarian doctrine, and therefore demanded that the schools in which it was read should not be included in the distribution of the moneys. Colonel Wm. L. Stone, who for many years had been one

of the School Commission, and at this time (1843-'44) was the county superintendent of the Common Schools,* immediately protested against the promulgation of this atrocious sentiment. A lengthy public discussion upon this point followed between the Archbishop and Colonel Stone, in which the latter carried the day; and at a meeting of the Board of Education, held November 13, 1844 (three months after Colonel Stone's death), the act was amended by a resolution to the effect "that the Bible, without note or comment, is not a sectarian book, and that the reading of a portion of the Scriptures without note or comment, at the opening of the

* The difficulty which the author experienced in endeavoring to discover the year in which Colonel Stone was Superintendent of Common Schools deserves particular mention, as showing the shiftless manner in which the public records are kept in the city of New York. Wishing to ascertain the exact year in which Mr. Stone held the office, he went to a gentleman (we will call him A), whom he knew to be engaged in writing a history of our common schools, and asked the question. The gentleman was unable to tell him at the moment, but referred him to the Board of Education as the place where, of course, the desired information could be obtained. The author went there and asked an officer of the Board the question. He could not tell him, but referred him to a gentleman upstairs who would know. The latter, however, was equally in the dark, but, in his turn, referred his questioner to a gentleman down-stairs in another department, who, having been connected with the Board for a long term of years, would certainly know. Upon repeating the question to this one, he was informed that he did not know, as, until within a few years, the school records had not been annually printed, and that the manuscript kept by the different secretaries before that time was mislaid. He, however, was positive that if he should go to Mr. —, in Wall Street, he would know, as he was one of the School Commissioners in the year designated. To him, therefore, the author went; but his astonishment may well be imagined when that person said he had entirely forgotten, but stated that if he would go to such a one—mentioning the veritable *Mr. A.*—he could undoubtedly tell him, as he was now engaged upon a history of the common schools! This, if not "reasoning in a circle," certainly was questioning in a circle, the questioner having brought up at the very point from which he started! Finally, upon the author making a second visit to the room of the Board, an *attaché* of the place, who had a dim recollection of a record-book being in the cellar, went down-stairs, and, after much search, exhumed the manuscript, from which, after patient search, the desired information was brought to light. Now, if such difficulty exists in ascertaining—not an insignificant fact, but one relating to the Superintendent of Common Schools only twenty years since—what would

schools, is not inculcating or practicing any religious or sectarian doctrine or tenet of any particular Christian or other religious sect." The catholic spirit of New York's Dutch ancestors had triumphed. Henceforth it is to be hoped that she will be as cosmopolitan in her religious as she is in her civil rights.

In 1845 New York was again visited by a conflagration second only in its ravages to the one of 1835.

The burnt district embraced Broadway, Exchange Place, New, Broad, Beaver, Marketfield, Stone and Whitehall Streets, and—which is a striking coincidence—a portion of the same region devastated by the great conflagration in 1835, ten years before. 1845.

be the difficulty in finding the history of events which occurred thirty, forty, or fifty years ago?

We have stated the above with no intention of throwing censure upon the officers of the present Board. The fault lies not at their door. On the contrary, with great courtesy, they endeavored to aid us to the extent of their ability, and realized in its fullest extent the evils of the manner in which the records had in former times been kept. Indeed, it is only justice to say that it has been through their exertions that the proceedings have latterly been printed.

Another remarkable illustration of the subject existed a few years ago in the basement of the City Hall, under the County Clerk's office. The ancient rolls of the Colonial Courts were one grand pile of parchment, lying in mass, and great quantities were stolen and sold to gold-beaters. It would probably be impossible at the present time to find the judgment-roll in any cause tried prior to the year 1787, unless by chance. Possibly there has been more care of late in the preservation of these records. Their value cannot be overestimated. (See also Appendix XII., in regard to the destruction of the records in the Hall of Records by the mice.)

Although there may be spasmodic attempts by individuals to bring about a reform in this regard, yet we greatly fear that it will continue so long as the true cause of the difficulty remains, to wit, that political maxim—the bane of American institutions—"to the victors belong the spoils." New office-holders care little for old records; and, throwing aside all sentiment in the matter, unless this thing is rectified, it will, in time, embarrass the practical business relations of every-day life. More attention must be paid to preserving records. It is not necessary to make enormous jobs, such as the atrocity which was perpetrated in New York City in reference to the Register's office. What is needed is a general respect for the value of old records, and the adoption of preservative means.

"It broke out on July 19th, 1845, completely destroying Exchange Place and Beaver Street, from Broadway almost to William. Both sides of Broad Street, from above Exchange Place to Stone, with the east sides of Broadway and Whitehall, were consumed. Above Exchange Place the flames crossed Broadway, and consumed a number of buildings on its west side. During the progress of the fire a tremendous explosion took place, similar to that of 1835, in a building stored with saltpeter. The owner contended that this article could not explode, which gave rise to the long-debated question, "Will saltpeter explode?" and for a long time able and scientific men warmly took sides in the arguments. Explosive or not, this was the second store filled with the article that blew up, causing great alarm and destruction to the neighborhood.

"Three hundred and forty-five buildings were swept away at this time. Their value, with the goods, was estimated at about five millions of dollars. Among other things destroyed was the "Old Jail Bell," which had hung and rung in the cupola of that ancient civil pest-house and prison during the American Revolution. There, as already stated, for years it was the fire-alarm, or signal, and was considered especially the firemen's bell, as it could be depended upon at all times. At an early period, when it uttered its warning tones, citizens, with fire-buckets on their arms, might have been seen hastening to the scene of danger and forming into parallel lines, one to pass the full buckets to fill the engines, and the other to return the empty ones for refilling. Most of the New York families had such leather buckets, which generally hung in some prominent part of the hall or entry, ready at hand in case of need." *

The signal-bell rang in the days of John Lamb and pleasant-faced Tommy Franklin, and during Jameson

* Hon. G. P. Disosway.

Cox's and Wyman's and Gulick's administrations. It was cherished by the firemen, and, upon the destruction of the Bridewell, the old bell was placed in the cupola of the Naiad Hose Company, Beaver Street, and was still devoted to its long-established uses. But the great fire of '45 swept away this building, with its venerable bell; and the faithful old public sentinel, sounding its last alarm, suc-



BARNUM'S MUSEUM AND ST. PAUL'S CHURCH.

cumbed to the flaming foe against which it had so many years successfully warned the citizens.

Many fires have occurred since the one of 1845. The Crystal Palace (1858), Barnum's Museum (1865), Harper's Building (1853), the old Irving House and the Academy of Music (1866), and the Winter Garden Theater (1867), have fallen before the destroyer—each involving

heavy losses ; but the city has never since been visited by such wholesale destruction of property ; and it is fervently to be hoped that New York, protected by its present efficient Fire Department, has experienced the last of similar calamities.

Indeed, with the exception of Constantinople, New York has, perhaps, suffered more frequently from conflagrations than any other city in the world. Hamilton said in his time that one could not be twenty-four hours in New York without hearing an alarm of fire. This observation was repeated by a writer who published a small work, in 1837, called *A Glance at New York*, who added that one alarm a day would be a small average, and that it would be nearer the truth to say that the firemen of New York were called out five hundred times a year—a statement which all familiar with New York at that time, and for years before it, can corroborate. Many of these, undoubtedly, were false alarms, raised by boys for the pleasure of running after the fire-engines. We have had no fire of the magnitude of that of London in 1666, which laid waste four hundred and thirty-six acres, destroyed eighty-nine churches, thirteen thousand two hundred houses, and left two hundred thousand people temporarily without homes ; nor like the fire in Hamburg, in 1842, which burned down sixty-one streets and one thousand seven hundred and forty-seven houses ; nor like the Chicago fire, which burned over five acres, and left one hundred thousand of her citizens houseless. But if the frequency of fires in the city, the magnitude of some of them, and the amount of property destroyed, be collectively considered, it will be seen that New York, perhaps, has suffered more heavily from this kind of calamity than any other city of modern times.

Still, it must be admitted that, as a general thing, all of the conflagrations, both general and individual, with

which New York has been visited, have in the end proved of great benefit, by causing more spacious and elegant edifices to arise, phoenix-like, out of the ashes. Perhaps in no other city of either hemisphere is there such a number of magnificent public and private edifices. Take Fifth Avenue, for example, which, although at present the chief of the fashionable promenades, is by no means the only handsome thoroughfare. For a distance of



FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, MADISON SQUARE.

more than two miles one may pass between houses of the most costly description, built chiefly of brown free-stone, some of it elaborately carved. Travelers agree that in no other city in the world can there be found an equal number of really splendid mansions in a single street. At Madison Square, between Twenty-third and Twenty-sixth Streets, it is crossed diagonally by Broadway. At

the intersection, and fronting Madison Park, is the Fifth Avenue Hotel, built of white marble, and said to be one of the largest and most elegant buildings of the kind in the world.

It is therefore, not a little singular that New York, with her traditions and memories, should have so few



UNION SQUARE.

public monuments. True, there are a number of statues ; such, for example, as those of Washington, Lincoln, and Franklin, erected successively in 1856, 1870, and 1872 ; but it is a literal fact that, with the exception of the mural one to the memory of General Montgomery, in the front wall of St. Paul's, and the soldiers' monument in Trinity church-yard, the only public monument that



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT IN TRINITY CHURCH-YARD.



WORTH'S MONUMENT.

can, with truth, be thus designated, is the one to the memory of the late General William J. Worth, of the United States army, erected by the corporation of the city of New York in 1858. It is of Quincy granite, 1858. the apex is fifty-one feet from the ground, and the smooth surface of the shaft is broken by raised bands, on which are the names of the battles in which General Worth had distinguished himself in the War of 1812 and the war with Mexico. On the lower section of the shaft are representations of military trophies in bronze relief. The entire execution and designing of the work is due to Mr. James G. Batterson, who deserves great praise for the admirable manner in which his task was performed. The site of the monument—which is inclosed in a plain iron railing, and surrounded by green turf—is most happily chosen; and, in addition to being a worthy tribute to a beloved and gallant soldier of the Empire State, is a handsome ornament to the brilliant and fashionable locality.

In the same year (1845) the Post-office was removed from the Rotunda in the City Hall Park to the Middle

Dutch Church, where it still (1872) remains. 1845. *Harper's Magazine* for October, 1871, in giving a reliable and minute sketch of the New York Post-office and its traditions, says:

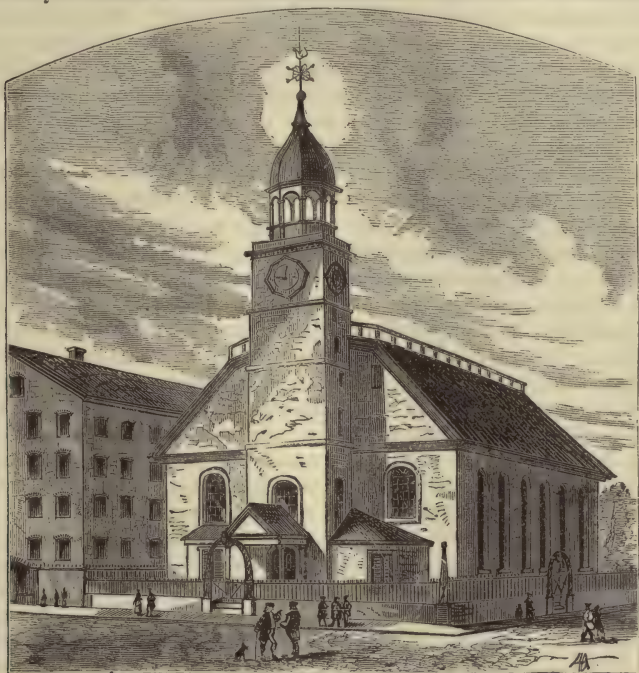
"Immediately after the destruction of the Post-office in the great fire of 1835, it had been removed temporarily to the brick stores in Pine, near Nassau Street; the destruction of such an enormous number of buildings making it impossible to obtain a suitable building in the vicinity of the burned district. In this strait, the city authorities offered the Rotunda in the City Hall Park, erected in 1818, by Vandelyn, the artist, for a studio and the exhibition of panoramic pictures. When it was understood the Government proposed to accept the Rotunda, busy as the merchants were in re-establishing themselves and counting up their losses, they found time to get up very demonstrative indignation meetings and protests against locating a post-office so far up town.

"The Post-office was, however, installed in the Rotunda, and the commercial pressure of 1837, which followed the great fire, diverted the public mind from the location of the Post-office. Illustrative of the pecuniary disaster of the period may be mentioned that, in the 'collapse,' many of the merchants of the day owed the letter-carriers various sums, ranging from fifty to one hundred and

fifty dollars, much of which money was never paid, the debtors being irretrievably ruined. This year the mail time between New York and New Orleans was reduced to six days and six hours. But the people, nevertheless, were impatient for more rapid communication, for we find in a Chicago paper of the time this notice:

“HIGHLY IMPORTANT.—By a foot passenger from the South we learn that the long-expected mail may be looked for in a week.”

“Fortunately for the interests of commerce and the unity of the country, rapid transit of news, cheap postage, and facilities for traveling, were approaching consummation in the erection of railroad lines, with which private enterprise was threading every section of the country. One triumph announced seemed only to create a demand for another, and when Amos Kendall carried



THE MIDDLE DUTCH CHURCH DURING THE REVOLUTION.

out the idea of connecting the non-continuous lines of railways by pony expresses, there was added a new value to the Post-office of New York. It began to assume its present central importance, and the promise of its brilliant future was almost realized, when the firing of guns from our national forts and vessels, with the ringing of bells, and cheers of thousands of exultant men, all joined in welcoming the first appearance of steam merchantmen in our harbor—the ever-to-be-remembered *Sirius* and *Great Western*.

“The inconvenience of having the Post-office so far from the center of business was still complained of, and, to quiet dissatisfaction as far as possible, a letter-delivery was established in the new Merchants’ Exchange, where the

Custom-house is now located, and placed in charge of Jameson Cox, an alderman and ex-chief-engineer. For letters two cents, for papers one cent, extra, was charged, which sums were paid without complaint by the merchants, and the amount thus collected paid to letter-carriers' charges.

"In the year 1826, Mr. Gouverneur had been removed, and James Page, Esq., postmaster of Philadelphia, commissioned to take charge, which supervision was maintained for six weeks, when Jonathan J. Coddington was commissioned postmaster. When the latter assumed the duties of his position the Post-office was in the Rotunda building and in the house of a hook-and-ladder company adjoining, and a 'hose-house on the opposite side of the way.' Nothing could have been more inconvenient, contrary to good discipline, and injurious to expeditious business operations. To remedy these evils, Mr. Coddington built a handsome extension facing toward Wall Street. With this important addition, and other improvements, he brought the entire business (now constantly increasing) under one roof. The mails were received in Chambers Street, the box delivery was on Center Street, while the interior of the Rotunda was devoted to the general delivery.

"The location of the Post-office in the Rotunda seemed to be unsatisfactory to citizens living in every part of the city. An application was therefore made for the establishment of a branch post-office for the receipt and delivery of the mails in the upper part of the city. The reply was, that such an office could only be a branch of the one already existing, and that no compensation could be allowed for services beyond the two cents per letter paid the carriers. It was also doubted if the extent of New York demanded such an addition to its postal facilities. The proposition was also submitted to Mr. Coddington, and was opposed by him and his clerks. The subject was finally referred to the Chamber of Commerce, which recommended that there be established a sub-post-office for the reception of letters at Chatham Square, but not any place for the delivery of letters other than the existing arrangements at the Post-office and by the penny post. Such was the origin of the Chatham Square post-office, which maintained its popularity and usefulness until its occupation was destroyed by the present iron boxes now so familiar on the street corners.

"So much esteemed was Mr. Coddington by the officials at Washington, that the Postmaster-General, under General Harrison's administration, informed him that, though a political opponent of the administration, he might retain his position. One week after this notice President Harrison died, and his successor, John Tyler, promptly requested Mr. Coddington to renew his bonds. On this hint, after some hesitation, he did as requested, and forwarded them to Washington in June. The reply was promptly returned in the form of a commission creating 'John Lorimer Graham postmaster of New York, in place of Jonathan Coddington removed.'

"Mr. Coddington is still remembered among the old clerks of the Post-office, and the old merchants of the city, as one of the best of officers. He tried to learn the details of his position, and took pride in making every improvement that would render his department efficient. He was a man of great personal independence, and, though a decided politician, he would not allow his bias that way to affect his official conduct. On one occasion a committee of ward politicians called upon him, and stated, through their chairman, that he had been assessed fifty dollars for partisan purposes. Mr. Coddington heard the proposition with patience, and then rising from his chair said :

"I refuse to pay any such assessment as this you speak of. I'd have you understand that I am postmaster of New York City, and not postmaster of a ward committee."

"The pressure to get the Post-office 'down town' still continued, and advantage was taken of the fact that the 'Middle Dutch Church' was for sale to procure it for a Post office. There was nothing in the world so unsuited as the building for such a purpose; but the location was desirable, and the merchants went to work to press the matter upon the Government. The property was offered for \$350,000, but the Postmaster-General decided not to give more than \$400,000. Lest the purchase might not be consummated, the merchants in a few hours raised by voluntary contributions the additional \$50,000, and the old church was secured for secular purposes.

"The extravagance and folly of the Federal Government in buying property erected for a church, and attempting to alter it to accommodate a post-office, or in leasing any kind of private property and fitting it up for public service, finds an illustration, but not an exceptionable one, in this 'high old Dutch Church Post-office of New York city.' It may not be out of place to mention to the general reader that this old church was dedicated, in 1732, as a house of Christian worship. Until the close of the century its services were carried on in the 'Holland language,' after that it was alternated with the English language. In the year 1776 the British tore out its pews, and (with the adjoining building, the old Sugar-house) used it as a prison for American patriots, taken and treated as rebels. When no longer needed for this purpose, it served in rainy weather as a school-house for cavalry. When the British evacuated New York the congregation again took possession, removed the pulpit and altar from the eastern side to the northern end, and erected the heavy, formidable galleries, destined eventually to become so conspicuous in the economy of the Post-office.

"Perhaps no building could be invented more unsuited for the purposes to which it has been appropriated. John Lorimer Graham, who had the responsible and difficult task of making it available, commenced by expending on the attempt what was then the large sum of \$80,000. He then issued a printed circular, surmounted by a picture of the old church, dated New York, January 2d, 1845, which read:

"The postmaster has great pleasure in announcing to his fellow-citizens that the *new* Post-office building (112 years old) in Nassau Street, will be ready for occupation in a few days, and respectfully invites, &c., &c., to view the interior arrangements of the establishment."

"It was a grand time when the citizens crowded into this old church to look for the Post-office. The eighty thousand dollars had made no material change; to be sure, the altar railing was gone, but the pulpit remained, and the galleries, left intact, resembled great overhanging amphitheatres. But the Post-office was finally installed; and then commenced that era in its business history that has made it a sort of visible standard, or gauge, of the mighty growth of old Manhatta.

"The inconvenience, the necessarily miserable arrangements, the total unfitness of the place—inherently so by the main design of the building—have been a source of constant discomfort and annoyance, and made the labors of the clerks and the supervision of the executive officers onerous to the last degree. During the first year of the occupation, the space immediately around the build-

ing was still covered with the tablets of what should have been the truly honored dead; for there lay the representatives of a large part of our ancient and best population. The vaults under and around the church gave up their dead when the profane feet of the busy multitude pressed forward toward the church, not for prayer, but from the absorbing interest in the living, bustling world. For a long year the strange spectacle was presented of coffins and mail-bags, of carts and extemporized hearses, jostling each other while engaged in their allotted work; but at last this incongruous mingling of the dead population and the living ended; but the forbidding look of that old castellated church remained.

"The tower, bountifully made of stone, continued, and still continues, to look down sullenly on the bustle beneath, while the strong walls of the church inside, announcing, in Dutch, that 'My house shall be called a house of prayer,' and the rough plastered walls outside, speaking of the wasting storms of nearly a hundred and fifty years, repudiate all harmonious minglings and sympathies with the secular business of distributing the mails.

"But the place is not without its living defenders of old traditionary possession. The mynheers are gone; the Knickerbockers know the place no more; but the rats, descendants of the original stock, keep high revel still, and continue to dispute possession with Uncle Sam and his salaried cohorts."*

It was while Caleb S. Woodhull was Mayor that a terrible riot occurred in Astor Place. It was at this time
1849. that the Native American Party was all-powerful in the city, and the greatest prejudice existed among the populace against any one of foreign birth. Such was the state of popular feeling when, in the autumn of 1848, William C. Macready, a well-known and eminent English tragedian, came to this country to play a farewell engagement. Some hostility existed between him and Edwin Forrest, an equally well-known and eminent American tragedian, arising, as Macready assumed, from the unfriendly course of Forrest toward him while Macready was playing in this country in 1844, and, as Forrest claimed, from the course pursued toward him by Macready while the latter was playing in England, which hostility was greatly augmented by Forrest having hissed Macready, in Edinburgh, for introducing something of his own in the play of Hamlet, in which he was performing the principal character. When Macready was announced

* For a more detailed account, taken from the same source, see Appendix No. IV.

to appear in New York, in 1848, it was anticipated that some opposition would be manifested toward him by the friends of Forrest, but Forrest dissuaded them from any such attempt. Macready went through his engagement without interruption, and, upon his benefit night, injudiciously, in his speech to the audience, referred to the project of a party or faction to excite hostile feelings against him, and of its failure, in language which had the effect of arousing an active opposition to him on the part of the friends of Forrest. He was attacked by a Boston newspaper while performing in that city, and, upon his subsequent appearance in Philadelphia, a riot in the theater was prevented only by the strenuous exertions of the manager and the presence of a strong police force. At the close of this engagement, Macready, in his speech to the audience, referred to the ungenerous treatment he had received at the hands of an American actor, and Forrest replied, in a card in a Philadelphia newspaper, charging Macready with instigating persons to write him down in the newspapers while he was in England, and procuring his friends to go to the theater, to hiss and drive him from the stage; in which card he applied to Macready such epithets as "superannuated driveler," "poor old man," and spoke of the disturbed state of his guilty conscience; to which card Macready rejoined by another, denying the truth of Forrest's statements, and threatening an action for libel. No further attempt was made to oppose Macready, although he continued to be assailed in the newspapers, until his reappearance at the Astor Place Opera-house, in May, 1849, where, upon the first night of his appearance, he was prevented from performing by the hisses and demonstrations of a number of persons acting in concert, who displayed banners, with inflammatory appeals, in different parts of the house. As he persisted in performing, the demonstrations against him became

more violent; chairs and missiles were thrown upon the stage, and he was compelled to desist from his attempt. As the hostility against him was supposed to proceed from a very limited number of persons, who had organized together to drive him from the stage, it elicited strong expressions of condemnation on the part of several of the public newspapers, and forty-eight prominent citizens signed and published a letter requesting him to reconsider his determination not to perform, and assuring him that the good sense and respect for order in the community would sustain him upon the subsequent nights of his performance; in consequence of which letter he was announced to appear on the evening of May 10th, 1849. This letter had a very different effect from what its signers anticipated, and greatly intensified the opposition. It was regarded as a challenge or defiance, by a few representing the upper or wealthier classes, to the less prominent part of the community, and national prejudices and antipathies were aroused by appeals through certain newspapers, prominent among which was a weekly publication denominated *Ned Buntline's Own*, conducted by E. C. Z. Judson, and by the posting and distribution of incendiary handbills throughout the city. Through these means, and from a report, which spread extensively, that the officers and crews of the British vessels and steamers in the harbor would assemble at the theater to sustain Macready, the excitement became general throughout the city, and, a serious disturbance being apprehended, the Mayor advised the managers of the Opera-house to close it for that evening, and abandon any further attempt of a public performance in the city on the part of Macready. The managers, however, insisted upon their right, under their license, to open the theatre and perform, and the public authorities, in recognition of it, took measures to prevent any disturbance of the peace by stationing a

strong police force in and around the Opera-house ; and arrangements were made with the major-general commanding the uniformed militia to have an efficient military force in readiness to sustain the authorities, if necessary. Long before the opening of the Opera-house, large crowds assembled about and in front of it, and upon the opening of the doors the theater was speedily filled by persons having tickets, and without any disturbance or disorder. When Macready appeared the whole audience rose, and, the great bulk of those present being friendly to him, he was received with cheers and the waving of handkerchiefs, mingled with the groans and hisses of the few who were opposed to him. The noise continuing, a placard was displayed from the stage, requesting those in favor of order to remain quiet, which was complied with. About ten or fifteen persons, however, in the parquet, and some in the gallery, continued their opposition by hissing and angry demonstrations, and, as they would not desist, they were arrested by the police. Order was temporarily restored, and the play proceeded, but with occasional interruptions and hisses. Meanwhile the crowd upon the outside of the theater had largely augmented, and a group of young men, about twenty in number, were especially active in fomenting disturbance, conspicuous among whom was the prisoner Judson, with whom many of the young men frequently conferred, and who appeared to be acting as their leader. Judson was heard to say, "It is a shame that Americans should be served so!" and after a conference with three of the young men, in a low tone, Judson called out, "Now, boys, whatever you have to do must be done quickly!" and one of the young men shouted, "Now, boys, for a shower!" to which Judson, in his assumed capacity as a leader, called out, "Hold, boys, until you are all ready!" and immediately a volley of stones was discharged against the walls and windows of the Opera-

house, upon which the police arrested several of the participants, but not without very great resistance on the part of others. In the interior of the house the play was proceeding, when it was suddenly interrupted by a large paving stone, which came through one of the windows and fell among the audience, followed by other stones, smashing the panels of the doors and falling in the lobby and other places. The wildest scene of confusion ensued in the interior of the theater, which was heightened by the cry that it was on fire under the parquet, which proved to be the fact, and through this timely warning it was speedily extinguished. Notwithstanding the activity of the police in making arrests, the attacks upon the Opera-house were continued outside with increased violence. A large number now united in assailing it with stones, breaking the windows and attempting to force the doors at the entrances, which were resisted by the police, and the doors were barricaded from the inside, when a proposition was made, but not carried out, to enter the building from the rear by ladders; a plan devised by the prisoner Judson, who had had ladders brought there for that purpose, with the design of entering the building in that way to put a stop to the performance and drive out the audience. The crowd on the Eighth Street side of the theater, as described by the witnesses, was wild with excitement, and at the front, upon Astor Place, were wrought up to the highest pitch, heaving to and fro like the waves of the ocean, the number of persons being variously estimated at from ten to twenty thousand. Stones and missiles were flying in all directions, and the police, after vainly endeavoring to allay the disturbance, and deserted by the Mayor, who fled from the scene, were compelled to keep compactly together for their own security. The recorder and the sheriff, who were upon the spot promptly, placed themselves at the head of the police and kept them

together, who were now assailed with stones, missiles, and cries of derision from every quarter, in their unavailing attempt, as a body, to disperse the crowd, and some of them were very severely injured.

As it was apparent that the police force was insufficient to protect the building or to quell the riot, which had increased to alarming proportions, the sheriff, with the advice of the recorder, dispatched a messenger for the military. The major-general had ordered the Seventh regiment of infantry, known as the National Guard, and a troop of horse, to assemble at the arsenal, fully equipped, but, owing to the shortness of the notice, a force of but two hundred and seven men, in all, had assembled when the call came for their services; and this body, under the command of Colonel Duryea, and accompanied by Major-General Sandford and Brigadier-General Hall, hastened to the scene of disturbance. Upon entering Astor Place, the troop of horse, which was in front, was assailed by a shower of stones and brickbats, which were so continuous and rapid that nearly every man in the troop was injured. Their horses became unmanageable, and, being thrown into confusion, they individually galloped off, leaving the infantry alone to contend with the rioters. The small body of infantry was speedily wedged in by the pressure of the crowd upon either side, and assailed by opprobrious epithets and paving stones, an ample supply of which was at the command of the rioters, from a large pile in the street, the pavement having been recently broken up to put down water pipes. The military, however, being kept together in good order and efficiently commanded, forced their way through the crowd and cleared the rear of the theater, the rioters retreating before them as they advanced, and, having effectually cleared Eighth Street, a cordon of police was thrown across it, to prevent any further access to it by the rioters. The military then passed

through Eighth Street to Broadway, accompanied by the recorder and the sheriff, and turned into Astor Place, to force back the crowd from that side of the theater, the rioters retreating before them until the military had reached to about the center of the Opera-house; when the crowd, either from the pressure behind, or from the determination to resist, remained stationary, and commenced assaulting the military with showers of paving stones and brickbats, by which nearly the whole of the first platoon were injured, and also the colonel commanding, the recorder, and several others. At this moment a pistol was fired from the crowd, which wounded one of the captains, whereupon General Sandford, and General Hall, who accompanied him, called out repeatedly to the crowd to fall back and disperse, or that they would be fired upon; but were answered only by derisive cries, and by the crowd rushing forward upon the military, during which the commanding general was knocked down, together with several soldiers in the front rank, the whole body being forced back toward the Opera-house, followed by continuous showers of stones. At this juncture the order was given to charge bayonets, and the attempt made, but it could not be done, the pressure of the crowd was so close; the muskets of several of the soldiers were forcibly taken from them by some of the more active of the rioters. The commanding officer now apprised the recorder and the sheriff that it would be impossible for the military to maintain themselves without firing, and the sheriff, with whom that discretion was supposed to be lodged, after repeated calls to the rioters, on his part and that of the recorder, to fall back, or that they would be fired upon, and which was received with defiant shouts of "Fire, if you dare!" gave the order to fire. General Hall suggested to fire over the heads of the crowd, which order was given, and the military fired in that manner. It was followed by a shout,

"They have only blank cartridges! Give it to them again!" and another volley of paving stones followed, by which the recorder and several others were struck, and one or two severely injured. The order was then again given to fire, and to fire low, which was done, when exclamations were heard that men had been shot; and for the first time the mob gave way, and the military advanced, driving the rioters before them. The latter rallied again at the corner of Lafayette Place and advanced upon the military, discharging a volley of stones, by which several of the soldiers were hurt severely, when another order was given to fire, which was executed, and proved so effectual that the bulk of the rioters fell back and dispersed, keeping up, however, for some time, an attack upon the military, with stones and brickbats, until the latter, without firing again, got complete possession of the ground, and order was restored. Twenty-three persons were killed upon the spot by the fire of the military, or died afterward of their wounds, and twenty-two were wounded, independent of injuries and severe wounds received from paving stones by many of the police and the military. Many of the killed and wounded were merely spectators, who had taken no part in the riot, or persons who were passing at the time. A woman walking with her husband, in Broadway, was shot dead; a man was killed instantly by a musket ball while stepping from a Harlem railroad car; an eminent merchant was wounded in the neck by a ball while standing in the Bowery, and another person was severely wounded by a shot in St. Mark's Place, two blocks off from the scene of the riot; a Mr. Gedney was shot dead while looking at the riot from the corner of Astor and Lafayette Places, and his own brother was in the platoon by which the volley had been fired.

A very full investigation of the riot was instituted by

the coroner's jury, who found that the persons killed came to their death from gunshot wounds fired by the military, by the order of the civil authorities, and that, in the opinion of the jury, the circumstances that existed at the time justified the authorities in giving the order to fire upon the mob.*

Quite a number of local events, of considerable interest at the time, occurred about this period. Among these may be mentioned the visit of Jenny Lind to the United States, and her first appearance in Castle Garden on the 1850. 7th of September, 1850; the new municipal regulations imposed by the amended city charter of 1851. 1849; the Grinnell expedition to the Arctic regions; and the arrival of the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth, on the 5th of December, 1851.

On the 14th of July, 1853, the World's Fair for the exhibition of the industry of all nations was opened at the Crystal Palace, in Reservoir Square, in the vicinity of the distributing reservoir of the Croton Aqueduct. "The fairy-like Greek cross of glass bound together with withes of iron, with its graceful dome, its arched naves, and its broad aisles and galleries, filled with choice productions of art and manufactures gathered from the most distant parts of the earth—quaint old armor

* An investigation was also instituted before Hon. John W. Edmonds, presiding justice of the Supreme Court, as a committing magistrate, to inquire into the cause of the riot, by whom it was instigated, aided, or abetted, and, upon the information thus elicited, additional arrests were made. As the recorder, the Hon. Frederick A. Tallmadge, had participated as a magistrate in quelling the riot, his place as presiding judge of the Court of Sessions was filled by the Hon. Charles P. Daly, one of the judges of the New York Court of Common Pleas, at the opening of the June term of the court, 1849.

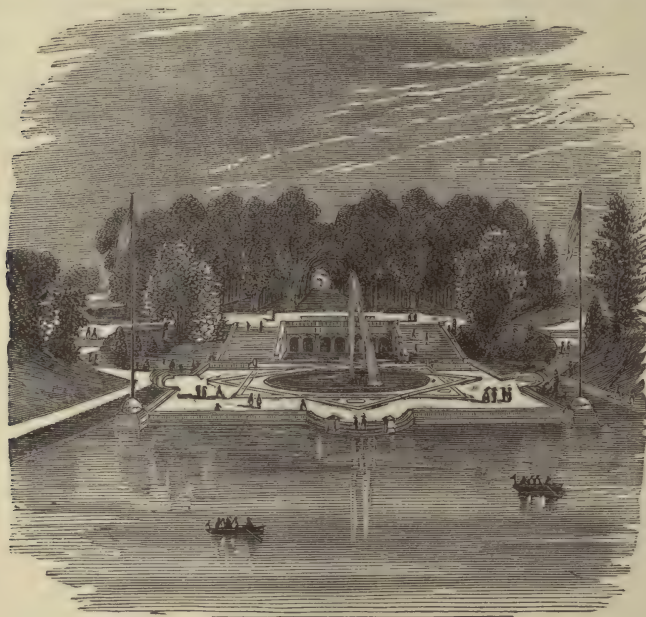
Previous to this riot, it was the general opinion that no one could be prosecuted for a riot, as it was supposed to be the natural effect of political passion. The trial of the Astor Place rioters decided and set at rest forever this question in the affirmative; *vide* the able charge of Chief Justice Daly, in *Judge Edmonds's Select Cases* (not yet published on account of the plates being destroyed by fire)—from which, by the way, this account of the riot is taken.

from the Tower of London, gossamer fabrics from the looms of Cashmere, Sevres china, Gobelin tapestry, Indian curiosities, stuffs, jewelry, musical instruments, carriages and machinery of home and foreign manufacture, Marochetti's colossal equestrian statue of Washington, Kiss's Amazon, Thorwaldsen's Christ and the Apostles, Powers's Greek Slave, and a host of other works of art beside, will long be remembered as the most tasteful ornament that ever graced the metropolis." Beautiful, however, as was this fairy-like palace, it vanished in smoke in the short space of half an hour, on the 5th of October, 1858, and fell, burying the rich collection of the American Institute, then on exhibition within its walls, in a molten mass of ruins.

In the winter of 1855, Canal Street was extended from Centre Street across Baxter to Mulberry Street, at which point it intersected Walker Street. The latter street was at the same time widened twenty-five feet to East Broadway. Park Place and Duane Street were also widened, and the Bowery and Chambers Street extended.

In 1856, that great lung of the city, the CENTRAL PARK, was, for the first time, thrown open to the public. The project of a large park had long been agitated; and even as far back as the beginning of the present century it was proposed to make the Collect Pond the center of large ornamental grounds. But, with the exception of the small parks scattered here and there, throughout the city, nothing definitely was decided upon until the 23d of July, 1853, when the Legislature authorized the purchase of a portion of the present Central Park, at that time bounded by Fifty-ninth and One-hundred-and-sixth Streets and Fifth and Eighth Avenues, about two and a half miles long by half a mile wide, and comprising nearly seven hundred and seventy-seven acres. On the 17th

of November of the same year, five commissioners were appointed by the Supreme Court to appraise the land for the Park. They completed their work in the summer of 1855, valuing the land at \$5,398,695; and in February, 1856, the Common Council confirmed their report and made the purchase. The State Arsenal and grounds were shortly afterward added, at a cost of \$275,000. In 1859, the Legislature extended the northern boundary of the Park to One-



THE TERRACE-BRIDGE AND MALL, CENTRAL PARK.

hundred-and-tenth Street, thus including a high hill east of McGowan's Pass, from the top of which a fine view is obtained of the whole island. In 1864, the Park was again enlarged by the addition of Manhattan Square, a rough and uncultivated piece of land, covering a space of nineteen and a half acres, and bounded by Seventy-seventh and Eighty-first Streets and Eighth and Ninth Avenues. The whole area of the Park was thus increased to

eight hundred and sixty-two and fifty-nine one-hundredths acres—more than twice the size of the largest of the London parks, and eight times larger than all the public parks and squares of New York combined.

“The year 1857 was a disastrous one to New York ; a year of mob rule ; beginning with civil strife and ending with financial ruin. Many defects in the city charter called for remedy, and the growing abuses in the municipal government of New York, proceeding from the ignorant majority that controlled the elections, seemed to demand that certain powers should be transferred from the keeping of the city to that of the State, which was so deeply interested in the welfare of the great American metropolis. It began to be more and more realized that there were two peoples in New York, the property-owners, or *bonâ fide* citizens, who were for the most part respectable, orderly, and law-abiding men ; and the poor and illiterate masses, chiefly of foreign birth, who owned scarce a rod of land or a dollar, yet who ruled the city by their votes, and elected to office only such men as would pander to their vices. Nevertheless, the latter class represented and still represents New York city in the eyes of many ; a most unjust judgment.

“In the spring of 1857 the State Legislature passed several bills relating to New York, and amended the charter in several important particulars. The charter and State elections, which had hitherto been held on the same day, were separated ; the first Tuesday in December being fixed as the date of the former. The Comptroller, as well as the Corporation Council and Mayor, were to be elected by the people. The city was divided into seventeen aldermanic districts, from each of which an Alderman was to be elected by the people once in two years. The Board of Councilmen was composed of six members elected annually from each senatorial district, or twenty-four in

all. The Alms-house and Fire Departments remained unchanged, and the superintendence of the Central Park was given to a Board, to be appointed by the State Government. The most important innovation, however, was the transfer of the Police Department from the city to the State. By the Metropolitan Police Act a police district was created, comprising the counties of New York, Kings, Westchester, and Richmond; and a Board of Commissioners was instituted, to be appointed for five years by the Governor and Senate, to have the sole control of the appointment, trial, and management of the police force, which was not to outnumber two thousand, and to appoint the chief of police and the minor officers. This Board was composed of five members. The Police Commissioners were to secure the peace and protection of the city, to insure quiet at the elections, and to look after the public health. The first members of the Board appointed were Simeon Draper, General James W. Nye and Jacob Chadwell, of New York; James S. T. Stranahan, of Kings County, and James Bowen, of Westchester County—the mayors of New York and Brooklyn being members *ex officio*.

“This was the signal for war. Mayor Wood, who had strenuously opposed the action of the Legislature, announced his determination to test the constitutionality of the law to the uttermost, and to resist its execution; he refused to surrender the police property or to disband the old police; and for some time the city witnessed the curious spectacle of two departments—the Metropolitan Police under the Commissioners, and the Municipal Police under the Mayor—vying for mastery. After exhausting all the resources of the law to evade obedience to the act, the Mayor and municipal government finally caused it to be referred to the Court of Appeals. Before the final decision came, blood was spilled. On the 16th of June

matters were brought to a crisis by the forcible ejection from the City Hall of Daniel D. Conover, who had been appointed Street Commissioner by Governor King, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the former incumbent. The Deputy Commissioner meanwhile claimed his right to hold the office, and a third competitor, Charles Devlin, had been appointed by Mayor Wood, who claimed the appointing power. Mr. Conover immediately obtained a warrant from the Recorder to arrest the Mayor on the charge of inciting a riot, and another from Judge Hoffman for the violence offered him personally ; and armed with these documents, and attended by fifty of the Metropolitan Police, returned to the City Hall. Captain Walling, of the police, at first attempted in vain to gain an entrance with one warrant. Mr. Conover followed with the other, but met with no better success. The City Hall was filled with armed policemen, who attacked the new comers, joined by the crowd without. A fierce affray ensued, during which twelve of the policemen were severely wounded. The Seventh Regiment chanced to be passing down Broadway, on its way to take the boat for Boston, whither it had been invited to receive an ovation. It was summoned to the spot, and its presence almost instantly sufficed to quell the riot. Mr. Conover, accompanied by General Sanford, entered the City Hall and served the writ on the Mayor, who, seeing further resistance useless, submitted to arrest. The Seventh Regiment resumed its journey ; nevertheless the city continued in a state of intense excitement, and nine regiments were ordered to remain under arms. Their services were not needed, however, and the Metropolitan Police Act being declared constitutional by the Court of Appeals on the first of July, the Mayor seemed disposed to submit, and the disturbance was supposed to be ended.

“The city, however, had become greatly demoralized

by this ferment. Amidst the civil strife of the police, the repression of crime had been neglected. An organized attempt seems to have been made by the ruffians of the city to take advantage of the prevailing demoralization to institute mob rule, in order to rob and plunder under cover thereof. The national holiday afforded an opportunity for this outbreak. On the evening of the 3d of July the disturbance commenced by an altercation between two gangs of rowdies, the one styled the "Dead Rabbits" or "Roach Guard," from the Five Points District, and the other the "Atlantic Guard" or "Bowery Boys," from the Bowery. The next morning the Dead Rabbits attacked their rivals in Bayard Street, near the Bowery. The greatest confusion followed; sticks, stones, and knives were freely used on both sides, and men, women, and children were wounded. A small body of policemen was dispatched to the spot, but it was soon driven off, with several wounded, and the riot went on. The rioters tore up paving stones, and seized drays, trucks, and whatever came first to hand, wherewith to erect barricades; and the streets of New York soon resembled those of Paris in insurrection. The greatest consternation and horror prevailed through the city; the Seventh Regiment, which was still in Boston, was summoned home by telegraph, and several regiments of the city militia were called out; but the riot was not quelled until late in the afternoon, when six men had been killed and over a hundred wounded. There was little fighting the next day until about seven in the evening, when a new disturbance broke out in Centre and Anthony Streets. The militia were summoned to the spot, and dispersed the crowd. Several regiments were ordered to remain under arms, but no other troubles occurred.

"This riot aroused the citizens to the danger of the position, and intensified the prejudice against the Muni-

cial Police, which was accused of abetting the rioters. Vigorous measures were taken to organize the Metropolitan Police and secure its efficiency, in spite of the factious resistance which still existed. The rioters were by no means quieted, however, and on the 13th and 14th of July another outbreak occurred among the Germans of the Seventeenth Ward, who had hitherto held aloof from the disturbance, which had been almost wholly confined to the Irish. The riot continued for two days, but was finally quelled by the police without the assistance of the militia, who were under arms, awaiting the signal for action. The peace of the city was not again disturbed, and the elements of disorder were gradually restrained.

“The scourge of civil war was quickly succeeded by that of financial distress. In the autumn of 1857 a great monetary tempest swept over the United States. For several years the country had been in the full tide of prosperity. Business was flourishing, commerce prosperous, and credit undisputed both at home and abroad; the granaries were overflowing with the yield of a luxuriant harvest, and everything seemed to prophesy a continued era of prosperity. In the midst of the sunshine a thunderbolt fell upon the country. The credit system had been expanded to its utmost limits, and the slightest contraction was sufficient to cause the commercial edifice to totter on its foundation. The first blow fell on the 24th of August, 1857, by the suspension of the Ohio Life and Trust Company, an institution hitherto regarded as above suspicion, for the enormous sum of seven millions of dollars. This was followed by the suspension of the Philadelphia banks, September 25th, 26th, succeeded by the general suspension of the banks of Pennsylvania, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Rhode Island. An universal panic was the result; the whole community seemed paralyzed by an utter lack of confidence; the credit sys-

tem fell to the ground, carrying with it the fortunes of half the merchants, and business was prostrated. Failure followed failure. A run upon the banks forced the State Legislature to pass an act, October 13th, 14th, authorizing a general suspension of specie payment by the banks for one year. The city banks, however, resumed payment on the 24th of December. The Massachusetts banks suspended payment on the same day. The panic spread through the United States, and thence extended across the ocean, involving the European nations in the general ruin. The manufactories stopped work throughout the country, thus throwing thousands out of employment and reducing them to a state of utter destitution. A state of terrible suffering ensued. Crowds of the unemployed workmen gathered in the Park, clamoring for bread and threatening to procure it at all hazards, while many more, as needy and less demonstrative, perished silently of cold and starvation. For some time serious danger was apprehended from the rioters, who accused the speculators of being at the root of the evil, and threatened to break open the flour and provision stores and distribute the contents among the starving people. Prompt measures were taken by the corporation to alleviate the suffering and provide for the public safety. Many of the unemployed were set to work on the Central Park and other public works, soup-houses were opened throughout the city, and private associations were formed for the relief of the suffering; but this aid failed to reach all, and many perished from sheer starvation, almost within sight of the plentiful harvests at the West, which lay moldering in the granaries for the want of money wherewith to pay the cost of their transportation. Money abounded, yet those who had it dared neither trust it with their neighbor or risk it themselves in any speculative adventure; but, falling into the opposite extreme of distrust, kept

their treasure locked up in hard dollars in their cash-boxes as the only safe place of deposit. As spring advanced, business gradually revived, the manufactories slowly commenced work on a diminished scale, the banks resumed payment one by one, and a moderate degree of confidence was restored; yet it was long before business recovered its wonted vitality. The failures during the year numbered five thousand one hundred and twenty-three, and the liabilities amounted to two hundred and ninety-one millions seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

"In April of the same year the city government resolved to remove the hundred thousand bodies that filled the Potter's Field, or pauper burial-ground, from the city limits to Ward's Island, where seventy acres had been purchased for the purpose. Previous to 1823 the Washington Parade-ground had been devoted to this use, after which the ground now occupied by the distributing reservoir, on the corner of Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue, was taken for a public cemetery. At the expiration of two years the bodies were removed from both Washington and Reservoir Squares to the new Potter's Field, bounded by Forty-eighth and Fiftieth Streets, and Fourth and Lexington Avenues. This site was granted by the city, in the following year, to the State Woman's Hospital, founded in 1857 by Dr. J. Marion Sims, and subsequently conducted by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, the grandson of the eminent lawyer of that name (whose monument forms one of the prominent features of St. Paul's church-yard), and the grand-nephew of the celebrated Irish patriot."*

During the next few years no events stand out particularly prominent in the city's history. It is true that the destruction of the Quarantine buildings on Staten Island

* Mary Booth's History of New York City.

by the populace in July, 1858, occasioned considerable excitement, but the rioters were soon put down.

1858. In June, 1860, the city entertained the members of the Japanese Embassy; and in the same summer welcomed successively the Prince de Joinville, Lady Franklin, and the Prince of Wales. In 1861 and 1862, the citizens of New York, almost to a man, and without distinction of party, rose grandly to sustain the Union; but, in 1863, the enviable reputation thus gained was sadly tarnished by an event to which, on account of its importance, the next chapter will be devoted.

CHAPTER XI.

THE year 1863, as hinted in the last chapter, was marked by an event which, as has been justly remarked, was the most humiliating of any ever recorded in the annals of New York. The national victories of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, while they gladdened the hearts of loyal citizens, only exasperated the disloyal portion of the community, and urged them to desperate measures. An opportunity for such a course was soon found when the draft, in accordance with a proclamation, issued by the President of the United States on the eighth of May, was begun in the Eastern and Middle States, early in July. This process for obtaining soldiers, however necessary, was known to be distasteful to American citizens, and more or less resistance to its execution was anticipated, but, greatly to the surprise of all, and much, perhaps, to the disappointment of some, the draft was begun and completed in a considerable portion of the country without exciting any violent opposition. There were, indeed, everywhere, from those liable to suffer from its effects, expressions of dissatisfaction, though a general resignation to its necessity.

Even in New York, on the first day of the draft, Saturday, July 11th, there was hardly any manifestation of public discontent. The drawing in the Twentieth Ward

took place, under the guard of a strong police force, at the office of the provost marshal, No. 677 Third Avenue, beginning at nine o'clock in the morning and ending at four in the afternoon. A large crowd assembled in the neighborhood and exhibited great interest in the result, but no desire to interfere with the process. "Everything then went on as quietly as possible during the entire day. The people seemed to take it in more of a jocular than a serious mood, as a smile flitted frequently across the countenances of several. When some familiar name was announced, there was an ejaculation of 'How are you, Brady?' or 'How are you, Jones?' Then there were jocular tokens of sympathy, such as 'Good-by, Patrick,' or 'Good-by, James,' when the drawn name happened to have either of these Christian prefixes to the same."

Such was the prelude, comical in its extremes of good humor, which preceded the tragic week of civic anarchy. During the Sunday which succeeded the first day of the draft, there was evidently great agitation among the poorer inhabitants of the city, who, gathering about the streets in throngs, angrily denounced a compulsory system for obtaining soldiers, that seemed to bear most heavily upon the class to which they belonged. On Monday morning, July 13th, the draft of the Ninth District was resumed. At nine o'clock the doors of the provost marshal's office were thrown open, when a large crowd immediately thronged in. The drawing commenced at half-past ten o'clock. Some fifty or sixty names had been taken from the wheel and announced, when, on the announcement of Z. Shay, 633 West Forty-second Street, a stone was dashed through the window. This was taken as the signal for a general attack by the populace on the outside, which had been gathering since the opening of the day, and now numbered several thousands.

"During the early part of the morning," reports a

journalist,* "the people of the Ninth District, consisting of a large number of respectable workmen and others, were seen to assemble at certain specified spots, and between eight and nine o'clock began moving along the various avenues west of Fifth Avenue, toward their appointed place of general meeting. A large number of workmen's wives, etc., began also to assemble along the various avenues, and, if anything, were more excited than the men, who were armed with sticks, stones, adzes, axes, saws, and some with even old swords. As the assembled people moved along they stopped at the different workshops and factories, and a deputation entered the various buildings to inform their proprietors that they would not be answerable for the safety of their premises unless the same were closed and their men allowed to join them if they so desired. In most cases the request was complied with at once, and the assemblage moved on. They next arrived at their specified meeting place, on an open lot near the Park, and by their concerted action it was evident that there had been some degree of organization in their movements. Having arranged their plans to their satisfaction, they began to move down town again, by way of Fifth and Sixth Avenues, until they reached the vicinity of Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh Streets, along which they proceeded in an easterly direction. When they arrived at Fourth Avenue, along which the New Haven and Harlem Railroad tracks run, one of the principals of the assembled people caught sight of the telegraph wires and poles. It was at once suggested that the authorities might telegraph to Albany for troops. Scarcely were the words uttered when the axes were laid at the feet of the telegraph poles, and down they came. That part of the wires that could not be thus destroyed

* *New York Herald.*

was divided by means of men climbing the poles and throwing slings, stones, etc., until the wires were severed and rendered completely useless. Another branch wire, leading from the railroad to Third Avenue, and that along Third Avenue, were similarly damaged, and then the crowd again moved on to the provost marshal's office."

On the first stone being thrown through the window, the mob on the outside rushed into the building. After having dashed the wheel into pieces, torn into shreds the draft list, and destroyed the furniture of the office, they emptied out a can of turpentine, and setting fire to it, the whole house was soon in flames. The fire extended to three adjoining buildings, as the mob, overpowering the police, would not allow the firemen to extinguish it, and exulted with loud shouts at the conflagration.

The crowd, still increasing in numbers and becoming more excited, now turned to go to the arsenal, where, in the meantime, a detachment of regulars from Governor's Island had arrived and were prepared to defend the building. A small force of only about forty soldiers, being a part of the provost guard, having been sent up from the Park to awe the rioters, came into collision with them in the Third Avenue, near Forty-second Street, and fired, killing and wounding several persons. This, instead of intimidating, aroused the fury of the people, who attacked the soldiers and forced them to fly. As they fled they threw away their muskets, which were seized by their pursuers and used against them. One being overtaken, was "beaten almost into jelly, and fainting from loss of blood and exhaustion, was thrown into an alley-way and left to take care of himself as best he might." Others were seized and mangled to death. In Forty-second Street, a policeman on duty having fired into the crowd and unfortunately killed a woman, was set upon with sticks and stones, and after being thus

cruelly mauled, was shot in the back. The rioters, in the course of their morning's havoc, burnt the Bull's Head Hotel in Forty-third Street and the Colored Orphan Asylum in Fifth Avenue, and tore up a portion of the New Haven Railroad track. In the afternoon they resumed their work of destruction, and after killing and wounding half a dozen of its defenders, destroyed a depot of firearms at the corner of Second Avenue and Twenty-first Street, and burned two private houses in Lexington Avenue, in their rage at the escape of a policeman who had sought refuge in one of them. The draft in the Eighth District, including the Twenty-second Ward, was, notwithstanding the disorder in other parts of the city, persisted in until twelve o'clock, when it was suspended. About four o'clock in the afternoon the mob attacked the enrolling office, No. 1190 Broadway, second door from the corner of Twenty-ninth Street, and after rifling it and the neighboring shops, burnt them to the ground. In other parts of the city there were also riotous manifestations, and some acts of violence. A crowd thronging about the *Tribune* office broke the windows and tore down the doors. Demonstrations were also made against the residences of Mayor Opdyke and others.

The civic and military authorities seemed perplexed how to act. The usual proclamations and orders were issued by the Mayor and the commanders of the United States troops and militia, but nothing effective was done toward re-establishing order in the city and rescuing it from the ruthless sway of the mob. It is true that, in consequence of the call of the President for troops to resist the invasion of the enemy, New York had been deprived of most of its armed defenders;* still, with

* An idea of the deserted state of the lower and business part of the city during the riot may be gathered from this fact. At two o'clock on the after-

unanimity of action and timely precaution, it would not have been difficult to organize the orderly citizens into efficient conservators of the peace.

On the second day, Tuesday, July 13th, the rioters, their audacity heightened by impunity, and their lust of blood and plunder increased by previous license, recommenced their work of rapine and murder. The Governor of the State came to the rescue of the helpless city with a proclamation :

“TO THE PEOPLE OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK—A riotous demonstration in your city, originating in opposition to the conscription of soldiers for the military service of the United States, has swelled into vast proportions, directing its fury against the property and lives of peaceful citizens. I know that many of those who have participated in these proceedings would not have allowed themselves to be carried to such extremes of violence and of wrong, except under an apprehension of injustice; but such persons are reminded that the only opposition to the conscription which can be allowed is an appeal to the courts.

“The right of every citizen to make such an appeal will be maintained, and the decision of the court must be respected and obeyed by rulers and people alike. No other course is consistent with the maintenance of the laws, the peace and order of the city, and the safety of its inhabitants.

“Riotous proceedings must and shall be put down. The laws of the State of New York must be enforced, its peace and order maintained, and the lives and property of all its citizens protected at any and every hazard. The

noon of Monday, the first day of the riot, the writer turned into Broadway from Grand Street, and as far as he could see up and down Broadway, he discovered but one solitary individual.

rights of every citizen will be properly guarded and defended by the Chief Magistrate of the State.

"I do therefore call upon all persons engaged in these riotous proceedings to retire to their homes and employments, declaring to them that, unless they do so at once, I shall use all the power necessary to restore the peace and order of the city. I also call upon all well-disposed persons not enrolled for the preservation of order to pursue their ordinary avocations.

"Let all citizens stand firmly by the constituted authorities, sustaining law and order in the city, and ready to answer any such demand as circumstances may render necessary for me to make upon their services, and they may rely upon a rigid enforcement of the laws of this State against all who violate them.

"HORATIO SEYMOUR, *Governor.*

"NEW YORK, July 14th, 1863."

The rioters gave little heed to words however persuasively uttered, and in spite of the Governor's proclamation, continued to glut their instincts of rapine and cruelty. The State, civic, and military authorities (both Federal and State), the navy, Governor Seymour, Mayor Opdyke, the Police Commissioners, Generals Wool, Brown, and Sandford, co-operated in efforts to protect the city, but found that the forces at their command were barely sufficient to guard the public property. The Custom-house, the Sub-treasury buildings, and arsenals were filled with marines and sailors, the approaches and entrances were covered by cannon, and the halls lined with howitzers from the Navy Yard. The ship-yards, gas-works, and public institutions were guarded by the few militia left in the city, and gun-boats anchored in the East and North Rivers, with their broadsides menacing Wall and other streets, which were thought to be especially exposed to attack. Notwith-

standing these precautions, and the suspension of the draft, which was supposed to have provoked the popular violence, the mob, on the second day of the riot, continued to rage almost without check. The city, thus at the mercy of robbers and murderers, wore an air of gloom and despair. Business was arrested, the stores and shops were closed, and the promenades deserted. The well-dressed women, the fashionable loungers, and the dashing equipages were absent from the streets; and the occupant of every house barricaded his windows and doors, and armed himself with such weapons as he could procure.

Though the whole city was more or less the scene of violence, the most tragic incidents occurred in the Second and Third Avenues and neighboring streets. "Early in the morning," wrote a reporter,* "there might be seen several hundreds of people congregated at each of the corners in the vicinity of Thirty-fourth Street and up to Forty-sixth. There seemed to be no great excitement pervading the masses of persons who were here assembled, but a settled and gloomy quiet hung over their every movement. All canvassed the exciting events which had transpired the day previous with a good deal of sober calmness, and no demonstration of any description took place which might be construed as an outbreak.

"Numbers were armed, but no attack upon person or locality seemed to be determined upon. Several of their friends addressed them, and they listened with comparative quiet. Father Clowrey, the Catholic priest of that district, spoke to them, and requested that they would go to their homes and keep quiet. This advice from the venerated clergyman seemed to be regarded with a good deal of interest, and the crowd, for a few moments, seemed to be deeply impressed with what was

* New York *Herald*.

so feelingly said to them. There appeared to be a general disposition to keep quiet at this moment, and several turned into the adjacent streets, as if to wend their way homeward. Father Clowrey, however, soon went away, and the crowd commenced to clamor and use emphatic gesticulations once more. Propositions were made by several to proceed to different localities and break open premises. But these suggestions seemed to meet with opposition. Some one of the multitude remarked that the police and military were coming up the avenue, as on Monday, and, like a flash of electricity, the whole crowd were moved with the most tremendous excitement, and daring epithets were freely indulged in. 'Let them come on, and we will meet them like men!' were the outcries which were now raised. The crowd rushed into several houses, and took therefrom every article which might in any way be converted into a weapon. Women also armed themselves with whatever they could lay hold of, expressing themselves in the strongest language, both of encouragement to their friends and relatives, and disdain for those who were coming up to disperse them. The crowd was at this time congregated between Thirty-fourth and Thirty-seventh Streets in the Second Avenue, and accessions to their ranks were flocking in from all directions. There was not a single laborer in that locality who did not leave his employment and join the mass, until it must certainly have numbered some ten thousand persons in all. The sight at this time was certainly of a nature to excite fear in the stoutest heart. There was not much clamor or noise of any description, but a settled and determined appearance was the peculiar characteristic of each individual. All seemed imbued with one idea, that of 'resistance,' and no matter what obstacle came in their path, they seemed ready to encounter it.

"At about ten o'clock in the morning a body of troops,

about four hundred in all, accompanied by a number of police, marched leisurely up Third Avenue. The military were composed of Company H, of the Twelfth regiment, under command of Captain Franklin; and about fifty of the Eleventh regiment New York Volunteers, under the command of Colonel H. F. O'Brien. They brought with them two small field-pieces. There were also about four hundred police on the march, led by Deputy Superintendent Carpenter and Sergeant Copeland. They were well armed, and carried their clubs in a firm grasp, as if determined to do their part of the work.

"On arriving at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street and Third Avenue, the entire force marched down the street into the avenue, the military passing up some few minutes before. There was no opposition whatever offered to the military as they filed past; but as soon as the police made their appearance the fight commenced, and in earnest. A shower of bricks came down upon their heads from all directions, and a hand-to-hand encounter immediately followed. The police rushed into the various houses on the route, and, hurrying up stairs, used their clubs against any person, young or old, whom they met. In those encounters it is impossible here to state how many were killed and wounded; but there must certainly have been upward of ten or fifteen clubbed to death.

"This assault did a great deal to excite the people to the highest pitch, and they now fought and acted like men who did not care what they did, or what was the consequence of their acts. The police fought well, but in some cases they acted in a manner calculated to incite the people to increased violence. Several were clubbed to death in their own houses, and the stairs, rooms, and hallways covered with blood, while the furniture, glasses, &c., were broken to pieces. The police evidently got the best of it in this encounter, and succeeded to a great extent in

putting down the disturbance, which was fast spreading from street to street. The police, as they came from the houses after inflicting summary punishment upon all who came in their way, formed again in the streets. Here they took up the line of march, and were proceeding to another vicinity, when a second attack took place; and now the real work commenced.

“There were two howitzers placed in position, supporting which were two companies of the Eleventh New York State Volunteers, under command of Colonel O'Brien, who was on horseback. The military were formed on Second Avenue, at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street, with the crowd on either side of them and a few in front, none expressing the slightest trepidation at the dangerous position in which they were placed. Bricks flew like hail-stones among the soldiers. Colonel O'Brien rode up and down in the center, and then gave the command ‘Fire!’ to those who had charge of the howitzers. Some allege that these pieces were loaded with grape and canister; but however this may be, there were several seen to fall at this time. The two companies of infantry of the Eleventh regiment, which were under the immediate command of Colonel O'Brien, also opened a fire of Minie bullets and committed some havoc among the crowd, which was firmly massed together at this point. Several fell upon the sidewalks and in the middle of the street, and were carried into various houses, where their wounds were attended to.

“The action of Colonel O'Brien, as described by several who were within hearing distance of him during the whole time, is thus described from the commencement of the conflict. He urged on the soldiers to fire into and attack the people in all manner of ways. How true this is cannot be determined; but the fate which he met with is probably one of the most horrible that the present gen-

eration ever witnessed. Colonel O'Brien, as has already been stated, was on horseback, and had the entire command of the military, and it was by his orders that they fired.

"A most heart-rending occurrence took place during this fight. Colonel O'Brien held a revolver in his hand, and was riding up and down between either line of the crowd. He, as it is stated, fired his revolver into their midst, the ball killing a woman and child, which she held in her arms. After several rounds had been fired the people began to disperse, and the police proceeded to another part of the city. Colonel O'Brien and his command, however, remained. The Colonel dismounted from his horse and walked into a drug store.

"Had he taken his departure at this time, there is little doubt that his life would have been saved. Colonel O'Brien stayed in the drug store for some few minutes; it is thought that he went in to get some refreshments. The crowd were around the door at this time. There was scarcely a word spoken, but the lowering glances of a thousand men looked down in vengeful spirit upon him as he stood in the door. He then drew his sword, and with the revolver in the other hand, walked out on the sidewalk in the very center of the crowd. He was immediately surrounded, and one of the men came behind, and, striking him a heavy blow on the back of the head, staggered him. The crowd then immediately surrounded and beat him in a most shocking manner. His almost inanimate body was taken up in the strong arms of the crowd and hurried to the first lamp-post, where it was strung up by a rope. After a few minutes the body was taken down, he being still alive, and thrown, like so much rubbish, into the street. The body lay in the middle of the street, within a few yards of the corner of Thirty-fourth Street. Nature shudders at the appalling scenes which here took

place. The body was mutilated in such a manner that it was utterly impossible to recognize it. The head was nearly one mass of gore, and the clothes saturated with blood. A crowd of some three hundred persons surrounded the prostrate figure. These men looked upon the terrible sight with the greatest coolness, and some even smiled at the gory object. Our reporter walked leisurely among the crowd which surrounded the body, and gazed upon the extended mass of flesh which was once the corpulent form of Colonel H. F. O'Brien. Notwithstanding the fearful process which the soldier had gone through, he was yet breathing. The eyes were closed, but there was a very apparent twitching of the eyelids, while the lips were now and again convulsed, as if in the most intense agony. After lying for about an hour in this position, several of the crowd took hold of the body by the legs and dragged it from one side of the street to the other. This operation was gone through with several times, when the crowd again left the body lying in its original position.

"Had Colonel O'Brien been a man of weak constitution, he would certainly have ceased to exist long before this time. He was, however, a man of great natural strength, and this fact probably kept him breathing longer than would any common person. The crowd remarked this, and watched his every slightest movement with the most intense anxiety. Now and then the head would be raised from the ground, while an application of a foot from one of the crowd would dash the already mangled mass again to the earth. This conduct was carried on for some time; and when our reporter left the body was still lying in the street, the last spark of existence evidently having taken its flight.

"Probably the worst feature of the affray in this neighborhood was the death of the two or three unfortunate women who happened to be on the ground at the

time. One woman's life was saved by the timely services of Dr. E. D. Connery, who extracted a ball from her person. This gentleman's valuable services were brought into requisition in other places where a number of parties had been wounded. These events, of course, inflamed the other women of that ward, and they turned out in large force to aid their relatives and friends when any opportunity should occur.

"At four o'clock everything was comparatively quiet where the real fighting had taken place. An immense crowd, however, still remained. They were not congregated in one solid mass, but were assembled in groups, a few yards apart, of about two hundred each. There was no boisterous discussion. The people conversed in tones of studied ease, and did not make any remarks of a blood-thirsty nature. Every brow had its frown, every lip was compressed, some cheeks were blanched—not with fear, but with intense anger. There was not a word uttered counseling cessation, but a vigorous prosecution of the work in which they were engaged was urged. Each house of business was closed, and private dwellings had their doors and windows properly barred and locked. Darkness was rapidly stealing on, but the crowd still lingered."

The negroes of the city were the especial object of the fury of the mob. Their houses were sacked and burned, and they themselves hunted out, tracked, seized upon and murdered. These poor creatures became so terror-stricken, that those who were able skulked out of the city, and those who were left hid away, and did not venture to show themselves in the light of day.

It was clear, whatever may have been the original motive of the rioters, that it had now degenerated into a lust for blood and plunder. Houses and shops were broken into for no other purpose than to steal their valuable contents. Thus, a throng of men, women, and chil-

dren sacked the clothing store in Catherine Street, of Brooks Brothers, who were not in any respect objects of political odium.

The second day of the riot closed with unabated gloom, and was followed by a night of wakeful anxiety, for the constant tolling of the fire-bells, telling of repeated house-burnings, foreboded a general conflagration.

On the next day, the third of the riot, Wednesday, July 15th, the mob still held the city in its cruel sway. The suspension of the draft was officially announced. Governor Seymour proclaimed the city and county of New York to be in a state of insurrection. Mayor Opdyke hopefully declared that the riot had "been in a good measure subjected to the control of the public authorities," and invited the citizens to form voluntary associations to patrol and guard the districts in which they lived, against the "fragments of the mob prowling about for plunder," and to save "the military and police from the exhaustion of continued movements." He further declared, that "the various lines of omnibuses, railways, and telegraphs must be put in full operation immediately," and promised "that adequate military protection against their further interruption would be furnished on application to the military authorities of the State."

The Roman Catholic Archbishop Hughes addressed his flock, saying:

"In spite of Mr. Greeley's assault upon the Irish, in the present disturbed condition of the city, I will appeal not only to them, but to all persons who love God and revere the holy Catholic religion which they profess, to respect also the laws of man and the peace of society, to retire to their homes with as little delay as possible, and disconnect themselves from the seemingly deliberate intention to disturb the peace and social rights of the citizens of New York. If they are Catholics, or of such

of them as are Catholics, I ask, for God's sake—for the sake of their holy religion—for my own sake, if they have any respect for the Episcopal authority—to dissolve their bad associations with reckless men, who have little regard either for divine or human laws."

The aldermen of New York unanimously voted an ordinance by which \$2,500,000 were appropriated to relieve those who might be drafted for compulsory service.

The city still wore the gloom of the previous days. "General commerce," said a journalist, "appeared to stand still. Storekeepers, in neighborhoods where a multitude of people sacked dwellings, anticipated further attacks. In the principal streets the shutters were kept up, and the proprietors kept their doors ajar, in order to suddenly close them in case of danger. There were few, if any, jewelers' marts open. The precious gems, gold, and trinkets were prudently deemed too costly a temptation to be exposed to apprehended seizure."

The riot still raged. Crowds of excited people gathered in the districts which had been the scenes of violence, and while in all they threatened to resume them, in some they actually did so with increased fury. The Arsenal in the Seventh Avenue, the constant object of the popular menace, had been placed in a state of military defense. Mountain howitzers, brass field-pieces, and picket-guards commanded the approaches, and a body of troops, under Major-General Sanford, encamped within the inclosure and occupied the neighboring streets. Close to the military line, a large crowd gathered from an early hour in the morning and threatened an attack.

"About eight o'clock the first engagement," reported a journalist,* "took place in this part of the city between

* New York *Herald*.

the military and the people. News was received that a large crowd had congregated in the neighborhood of Eighth Avenue and Thirty-second Street. The crowd numbered between four thousand and five thousand men. They had been collected in that vicinity for some time, apparently in doubt where to move. A negro unfortunately made his appearance, when one of the men called him an opprobrious name. The negro made a similar rejoinder, and after a few words the indiscreet colored man pulled out a pistol and shot the man. With one simultaneous yell the crowd rushed on him. He was lifted high in the air by fifty stalwart arms and then dashed forcibly on the pavement. Kicks were administered by all who could get near enough. Some men then took hold of him by the legs and battered his head several times on the pavement. Life was now nearly extinct, and a rope called for. The desired article was in a moment produced, and the black man's body was soon after suspended from a neighboring lamp-post. The passions of the people were now fully aroused, and an assault was made on the neighboring houses to search for negroes. A scene of this kind soon degenerated into one of indiscriminate destruction. Word was passed along to fire the houses and burn the niggers out. At this time the military, consisting of a strong detachment of infantry and one twelve-pounder mountain howitzer, arrived on the ground, under command of Colonel Winslow. The people were too intent on the work of destruction to heed their arrival. The howitzer was unlimbered, and poured a deadly charge of canister into the crowd. Signs of resistance were evinced, and an evident determination to wrest the gun from the hands of the artillerists. The infantry received the order to fire, and again a shower of bullets thinned the crowd. No symptoms were evinced of their retiring, and the howitzer again thundered forth a deadly

discharge of canister. The fire was by this time too hot for the crowd to withstand, and with shrieks and yells they commenced to scatter in all directions. During the whole time the military had been under a strong fire of stones, brickbats, pistol and gun shots, not only from the crowd in their front, but from the housetops. The crowd dispersing, orders were given to the soldiers to return. After cutting down the body of the negro the military commenced to fall slowly back. The crowd at once re-assembled and closed up in their rear. Four separate times, before the crowd would desist from the pursuit, was the order given to the infantry to fire. After considerable difficulty Colonel Winslow and his command returned to the Arsenal, after having successfully carried out the orders they had received.

"Shortly before twelve o'clock, Colonel Magee was ordered to proceed to Thirty-fourth Street, near Sixth Avenue, to rescue eighteen colored men who were momentarily in danger of being assaulted by the people. The Colonel went off with four men, and succeeded in bringing the darkeys to the Arsenal. Nobody hurt.

"During the morning the crowd on Seventh Avenue and Thirty-fourth Street increased in numbers and boldness. The pressure from the rear forced those in front to press too closely on the pickets, who were in momentary danger of being surrounded and deprived of their arms. Brickbats, stones, and occasionally pistol and gun shots were fired at the troops. When the advance was witnessed from the Arsenal, the howitzers were planted to sweep the avenue. A detachment of the One Hundred and Seventy-eighth New York Volunteers, under command of Captain Gandolfo, and Lieutenants Meding and Blackmire, were ordered out to charge on the people. On reaching the crowd a volley was fired over their heads, and a general stampede was the result.

"About one o'clock another disturbance took place in Thirty-third Street, between Sixth and Seventh Avenues. A large crowd had assembled and commenced sacking some of the houses in that vicinity. Captain Doles, of General Hunter's staff, who had volunteered his services, was ordered to proceed to the scene of the disturbance with a detachment of the Twentieth New York Artillery, armed with rifles. The crowd dispersed on the appearance of the military, who then had orders to right-about-face and return to quarters. The people then commenced to hoot them. A shower of brickbats, stones, and other missiles were fired at them. In the *melee* a number of negroes rushed by to take refuge in one of the houses. This sight maddened the crowd, and a rush was made to intercept the darkeys. Captain Doles ordered his men to fire a volley into them, which was done; but the crowd still pressed on; the soldiers became enraged at their persistence, and, without waiting for orders, another volley was fired. This was an unfortunate occurrence, as one of the shots wounded a fireman who was at the time busily engaged in cleaning some hose.

"About two o'clock information was received at the Arsenal that a large number of muskets were secreted in a store on Broadway, above Thirty-third Street. Colonel William Meyer was ordered to proceed to the spot, with a detachment of thirty-three men belonging to Hawkins's Zouaves, for the purpose of seizing the arms to prevent their falling into the hands of the people. Colonel Meyer conducted his command through Thirty-fifth Street, across Sixth Avenue, thence to Broadway and Thirty-second Street. The premises were entered, and, in spite of a large and constantly increasing crowd, the arms were brought out. An Irishman, passing at the time with his cart, was pressed into the service, and obliged, much against his will, to convey them to the Arsenal. The

people followed the cart and its escort for some distance; but no forcible demonstration took place. The party returned to the Arsenal after an absence of about forty minutes, and reported the successful conclusion of their mission.

"Many times during the day a scattering fire was heard from the pickets. The troops then sprang to arms, while the volunteer citizens were placed in position to support the artillery. The guns were wheeled round to command the threatened point, and everything seemed to indicate an immediate and desperate attack. In most instances, however, the demonstration was quelled by the discharge of a volley into the air, when the crowd, which in many instances was largely composed of women and children, instantly disappeared after firing a few stones at the soldiers.

"At five o'clock Colonel Sherwood's battery of rifled six-pounders and a strong force of infantry, under command of Colonel Meyer, were ordered to the corner of Twenty-seventh Street and Seventh Avenue, to quell a serious disturbance which had broken out at that point. On arriving there, they found the people busily engaged in rifling and gutting the stores and private houses. Flames were issuing from the windows, and the scene resembled closely many similar ones which our citizens during the last few days have been called to look on. Suspended from a lamp-post was the body of a black man who had been hung up a few minutes before. The firemen made their appearance on the ground at the same time as the military. The people who had been engaged in the work of destruction retired behind the firemen, thus placing a barrier of our brave firemen between themselves and the military. It was this circumstance only which prevented the discharge of the rifled field-pieces. From the housetops the usual salute of brickbats and stones

was showered down on the military. Several citizens stepped up to Colonel Meyer and informed him that men were stationed on the housetops, with rifles in their hands, ready to fire on his men. The Colonel thereupon ordered his men to keep a sharp lookout, and if any shots were fired from the housetops, to deliver a volley instantly. At this time Judge McCunn appeared on the scene, and entreated the Colonel 'to spare those innocent people.' The Judge informed the Colonel that he had, by authority from Governor Seymour, been using his influence to quell the disturbance. Colonel Meyer replied that he, as a military man, had but to obey orders, and if the people attempted to advance or fire on his men, he should certainly order it to be returned by a volley. The infantry and artillery then slowly retired, and had hardly reached the Arsenal ere the disturbance broke out with renewed violence, and word was brought to General Sandford that two more negroes were dangling in mid air from the lamp-posts.

"The pickets brought in a large number of prisoners, dirty, ragged, and bloody in appearance, but sullen and determined in demeanor.

"The colored folks in the Twentieth Ward suffered very severely. Numberless were the atrocities perpetrated on them. They were hunted from their houses by the score. When caught, they were hung up to lamp-posts, or beaten, jumped on, kicked, and struck with iron bars and heavy wooden clubs. At one time there were between fifty and sixty of these people in the Arsenal. Many of them were horribly maimed and disfigured. No respect had been paid either to sex, age, or condition. One woman was burned out of her house who had only been confined on Tuesday. * * * Many affecting scenes took place between different members of the same family who had given each other up as lost, and met unexpectedly in the Arsenal. One poor fellow had been obliged to run for

his life, and in about an hour his wife arrived in deep distress; but when she saw her 'old man' alive and all right, except a ghastly wound on the head, her joy was boundless, and could find no better vent for it than by flinging her arms around her husband's neck."

"Between seven and eight o'clock P. M.," says a newspaper reporter, "about one hundred soldiers, dressed in citizens' clothes and accompanied by a portion of Hawkins's Zouaves, who were in uniform, with one field-piece, marched up the First Avenue. The crowd, at the time, were congregated in the street, corner Nineteenth Street, not doing anything very obnoxious. While the soldiers were orderly marching along, all at once the military were fired upon by some man of the crowd in the rear. The soldiers turned and killed the man who had fired.

Thursday, July 16th, opened more cheerfully. Several of the militia regiments which had been absent on service had returned to the city, and its inhabitants felt more confident of security. The mob, though somewhat awed by the arrival of fresh troops, was still defiant and occasionally resisted the soldiers, who, however, succeeded, after several severe encounters in which many lives were lost, in establishing their ascendancy.

On Friday, the 17th day of July, Mayor Opdyke proclaimed:

"The riotous assemblages have been dispersed. Business is running in its usual channels. The various lines of omnibuses, railway, and telegraph have resumed their ordinary operations. Few symptoms of disorder remain, except in a small district in the eastern part of the city, comprising a part of the Eighteenth and Twenty-first Wards. The police is everywhere alert. A sufficient military force is now here to suppress any illegal movement, however formidable."

The Federal Government, in the meantime, had pre-

pared to vindicate its contemned authority. Major-General Dix was relieved of his command at Fortress Monroe and ordered to New York, as commander of the Department of the East in place of General Wool, and General Brown was superseded by General Canby in the command of the United States troops in the city and harbor. A large force was, at the same time, ordered to New York, and soon some thirty thousand Federal soldiers occupied the city and neighborhood, when public halls were turned into barracks and parks into camping-grounds. With its authority thus fortified, the Government disclaimed all responsibility for the suspension of the draft, and declared its determination to prosecute it. The civic authorities, too, became less disposed to conciliate the violations of the law, and Mayor Opdyke vetoed the aldermanic ordinance. The supervisors of the State and county, however, made a compromise by voting a large sum to relieve the families of conscripts and to pay bounties to volunteers. The President of the United States, after a disputatious correspondence with the Governor of New York, agreed to modify the quotas, but refused to postpone the draft until a decision might be obtained in regard to its legality. The draft accordingly took place in New York during the month of August, without the least attempt to resist it.

The exact number of persons killed in this riot is not known. The police estimated it in round numbers at over one thousand. The mob and the negro population were naturally the greatest sufferers, the losses of the military and police force being comparatively slight. The city subsequently paid about one million five hundred thousand dollars as an indemnity for the losses sustained during the riot.*

* The greater portion of the account of this riot has been derived from *The War with the South* (published by Virtue & Yorston), which, in turn, was mostly taken from the accounts of newspaper reporters who were on the spot, and in most instances eye-witnesses of the incidents they describe.

THIS is the history of the DRAFT RIOT so far as can be ascertained, for in all probability its secret history, as well as the real instigators who, from behind the curtain, pulled the wires, will never transpire. But a foul blot upon the fair escutcheon of New York must ever remain the "Draft Riot"—a riot which differs in every particular from those which have been narrated in preceding pages. Unlike the "Negro Riot," the city was in no apparent danger from the torch of the incendiary; unlike the "Doctors' Riot," the graves of relatives had not been despoiled; unlike the "Election Riot," the excitement of a political canvass could not be pleaded in extenuation; unlike the "Flour" and the "Bread Riots," people were not clamoring for bread; unlike the "Stone-cutters' Riot," no trade or interest was threatened by supposed destruction; unlike the "Five Points" and the "Astor Place Riots," the pride of nationality was not touched; unlike the "Police Riot," there was no prospect of persons being thrown out of employment; unlike the "Quarantine Riot," there was no fear that the seeds of a dire contagion would be scattered over a community. The "Draft Riot" was in no respect like any of these, but was gotten up simply to gratify shameful, wanton, and wicked passions, and ended in a crusade against an inoffensive race who had done their murderers no harm. Utterly unprovoked, and without the shadow of excuse or palliation, the "Draft Riot" stands out, and shall forever stand out, black and hideous in the city's history.

CHAPTER XII.

THE year 1865 was marked by the substitution of a paid for a volunteer Fire Department. The history of this branch of municipal organization, from the time of its origin in the early Dutch period up to the present day, is replete with so much interest that it has been deemed best to wait until the present year before considering it as a whole.*

In 1662, an incident occurred of no ordinary importance. This was the importation by New York city of two fire-engines from London. There was no subject upon which, at that time, the inhabitants of the city felt a deeper interest than the most effectual means of extinguishing fires; for the loss of property by conflagrations was a calamity to which the city, from its first settlement, had been peculiarly exposed. The ground upon which it was originally built was very irregular. Great inequal-

* The exceedingly interesting account of the origin and history of the Fire Department, to which the present chapter is devoted, is taken from Chief-Justice Daly's address delivered in 1871, and entitled *The Origin and History of the New York Fire Department*. This address has never been printed; and I cannot sufficiently thank Judge Daly for his kindness in allowing me the use of it for this work. Without this chapter the history of the city would be very incomplete. This address also contains such a vast amount of classical and curious information in regard to the fires in ancient times, and the mode of extinguishing them, that it is to be hoped that the author will allow it to be published in pamphlet form. The address is given *verbatim*.

ity of surface was produced by hills or elevated ground, the communication between which was interrupted by natural obstructions; for when the water did not find its way through the valley in streams, it collected between the elevated ground in numerous places, in ponds and marshes. These difficulties presented formidable obstacles even to the hardy race that founded the city, so that little effort was made at the outset to level it.

The houses were at first huddled together in close proximity to the fort which had been built near the site of the present Battery, for the common protection, and were afterward distributed here and there, as the interest and convenience of each proprietor dictated. As the settlement grew larger, and streets and lanes became requisite to facilitate communication, they were necessarily narrow, crowded, and short, with but two exceptions,—the Hooghe Straat (the present Pearl Street), which ran along the water, and the Heere Straat (the present Broadway), which, following the ridge of an ascending hill, extended in a straight line from the Fort to the City Wall, or Wall Street. A city so irregularly distributed, from the difficulties of its natural situation, presented numerous obstructions to that ready communication and rapid action which are so necessary in a time of fire; in addition to which, the houses, for many years, were built exclusively of wood, the roofs were thatched with reeds or straw, and the chimneys were also of wood. Exposed during the long heat of the summer to the action of the sun, they ignited quickly and burned rapidly; while, during the winter, the cold at that period was usually so intense that it was necessary to keep huge logs blazing in the great open Dutch fire-place, which carried up through the wooden chimney a large volume of heat, making it in time exceedingly combustible; so that the catching on fire of a chimney, or the burning-down of a building, or of many, was a very

ordinary occurrence.* The means for extinguishing fire, moreover, were very inadequate. There was no want of water. The little settlement was surrounded on three sides by the bay, the East and North Rivers; and a stream deep enough for market-boats to ascend, extended through the middle of it, flowing in from the bay up through the center of the present Broad Street as far as Exchange Place; in addition to which there was generally a well or cistern in the garden of each house.

But, though water was abundant, the transportation of it quickly and in sufficient quantity was no easy matter. It had to be carried by hand; and as it was many years before any public regulation was established to secure a prompt supply of it in such emergencies, it may be imagined a scene of confusion must have ensued when tubs, pails, or other means of conveying water had to be hastily improvised to stay the progress of a fire. To remedy this, measures were taken in 1648. Four firewardens were appointed by Governor Stuyvesant and his council, whose duty it was declared to be to prevent all accidents by fire; to visit all around, and see that every one kept his chimney clean by sweeping; and, in case any one was found to be deficient, to demand immediately a penalty of three guilders—about \$1.30; and the ordinance further declared that if any house was burned through the carelessness of the occupant, he was to be subjected to a fine of thirty guilders—about \$11; from which fines a fund was to be created for the purchase of leather buckets and hooks and ladders in Holland.

It might naturally be supposed that a sense of common danger would have made every inhabitant vigilant to guard against the occurrence of such calamities, and that a regulation of this nature would have met with very general approval. But our Dutch ancestors were pro-

* *Vide* account of the "Negro Plot" in the first part of this work.

verbially slow. They were exceedingly averse to any change which interfered with their personal habits, or settled mode of conducting their affairs; and, when such changes were sought to be brought about by the instrumentality of law or ordinances, they were very intractable and difficult to manage.

Householders did not co-operate with the authorities in giving effect to a regulation so manifestly essential to the public safety. On the contrary, the firewardens experienced the greatest difficulty in performing the duty of inspecting chimneys, the Dutch housewives being especially belligerent and abusive. The records of the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens aver that Magdalen Direks was brought before it; and it was proved, by her own confession, that, as she passed the house of Firewarden Litschoe, then the principal tavern-keeper, and a very considerable personage, she and her sister called out, as that important individual stood in his own doorway, "There is the chimney-sweep;" and the worshipful court gave it as its judgment that such things could not or ought not to be tolerated, and fined Magdalen two pounds Flemish. But it was not confined to the women. Even a man of law, Solomon La Chair, afterward a notary and a very prominent official, was brought before the court for abusing the firewardens by calling them chimney-sweepers. "It is not seemly," says the court, "that men should mock and scoff at those appointed to any office—yea, *especially* to such a necessary office;" and Solomon was accordingly mulcted.

But it was not, it seems, even in the power of the court to uphold the firewardens. So many indignities were heaped upon them that the office became undesirable, its duties were gradually relaxed, and the ordinance fell into neglect.

As these four firewardens were the pioneers in the

important duty of saving the city from conflagrations, it may be well to mention who they were. The first, Martin Krieger, kept a famous tavern immediately opposite to the Bowling Green, during the early part of the Dutch period. He was afterward, when a municipal government was established, one of the two first Burgomasters; was subsequently a member of Governor Stuyvesant's council; and, down to the capture of the city by the English, he filled many important offices. The next, Thomas Hall, was an Englishman, who had been taken prisoner by the Dutch, and, being released upon parole, concluded to remain in New Amsterdam, where, in course of time, he became a man of wealth and influence, filling many public stations. He was the owner of a large farm in the vicinity of Spruce and Beekman Streets, which afterward passed into the hands of William Beekman, the ancestor of the Beekman family. The third, Adrian Wyser, was at first one of the officials of the Company by whom New Netherland was founded, and afterward a member of the Executive Council. The last, George Woolsey, was an Englishman, who came here and became the agent of Isaac Allerton, one of the principal Dutch traders, and who afterward became the proprietor of a plantation in Flushing.

It has been stated that the ordinance which led to the appointment of these four firewardens fell into disuse; and, as a consequence of the neglect of the precautionary measures it was designed to enforce, the number of fires greatly increased. At length, in 1657, after nine years had gone by, another ordinance was resorted to, the preamble of which discloses the perilous condition of things, by the passage that "fires were apprehended, even to the entire destruction of the city." The authorities were now earnestly aroused. Energetic measures were adopted. All thatched roofs and wooden chimneys were ordered to be

taken down within four months, under a penalty of twenty-five guilders (\$10) for every month's delay; but so difficult was it even then to enforce this indispensable regulation, that the execution of it was postponed—first for four months, then for a year, and afterward for ten years. The difficulty of complying with it was, in fact, very great. There was a want of material for the covering of roofs, and the getting-out of stone for the chimneys was a laborious and troublesome process. Bricks and tiles were first imported from Holland in 1659, no doubt in consequence of this very ordinance. In the previous year, 1658, the subject of being prepared for the occurrence of fire was also taken into consideration, and it was decreed that for every house, whether large or small, one beaver, or its equivalent, eight guilders (\$3), should be paid, to raise a sum of money to procure from the fatherland one hundred and fifty leather fire-buckets, and for the making of some fire-ladders and fire-hooks. The preamble to this ordinance sets forth that it is customary, in all well-regulated cities, to have fire-buckets, ladders, and hooks in readiness at the corners of streets, and in public-houses, in time of need; and that it was then especially necessary in New Amsterdam, as the houses were chiefly of wood, there being but a small number built of stone. But the raising of money then by tax was a very slow process. It probably came in so tardily that the project of sending to the fatherland was given up hopelessly, for the all-sufficient reason that the Amsterdam merchants were not in the habit of fulfilling the orders of the little municipality which bore the name of their city on the other side of the Atlantic, unless they had some better assurance for payment than its promises. The hooks and ladders were made in the city, and were distributed about in different places; but the most essential things of all, the leather buckets, were wanting. The Worshipful

Court of Burgomasters and Schepens now bestirred themselves. The shoemakers of the city, who were then seven in number, were summoned to meet the city authorities on the 1st of August, 1658, to consider the grave question of the possibility of making the buckets in the city. Four of them attended. The first one to whom it was proposed declined the arduous undertaking. The second declared that he had no material. The third ventured to make one hundred for six guilders two stivers a piece, or about \$2.50; and the fourth was brought to engage to make the remaining fifty upon the same terms. Six months further passed, when at *last*, on the 20th of January, 1658, the one hundred and fifty buckets were brought to the Stadt House, or City Hall, which then stood upon Pearl Street, facing Coenties Slip; and being regularly numbered, the first fifty were deposited in the City Hall, and the remaining portion were divided in lots of ten and twelve, and placed at the residences of nine of the principal inhabitants.

The next step was the establishment of public wells—a measure dictated not only by a regard for the public safety in time of fire, but also for the public health. Before the completion of that great work, the Croton Aqueduct, the water required for domestic purposes was probably worse than that of any other city of equal extent in the world. That obtained from the wells of individual proprietors, which were the chief source of supply for the first forty-four years, was so bad that even horses refused to drink it. In the year now under consideration, the first public well was dug in front of the Fort, upon the site of a natural spring; and affording, as it did, a supply of comparatively wholesome water, it became a great resort of the inhabitants during the remaining period of the Dutch occupation.

This year (1658) and the preceding one were especially

distinguished by energetic measures for the improvement of the city. The Dutch burghers were now in reality aroused. In addition to these precautionary measures for the extinguishment of fires, a rattle watch was established, consisting of eight men, the duty being imposed upon each of the citizens in turn. The city was surveyed and regulated. Streets were for the first time paved with stone—one of them, Stone Street, still retaining the name that was then given to it. With the exception of Stone Street, the pavement extended only to the width of ten feet from the front of the houses, the center of the street being left without pavement, for the more easy absorption of the water, as there were no sewers. Names were also given to many of the streets; and, in 1660, a brick-yard was established in the vicinity of the present Park; and though the enterprise was not profitable to its projectors, it led to the use of brick in the construction of houses. And the progress must have been very rapid; for Denton, who visited the city ten years afterward, in 1670, records the fact that the houses were then mostly of brick or stone, covered with red and black tiles, giving to the city, he says, "a pleasing aspect, when seen from an elevated height."

This active movement for the improvement of the city was, no doubt, to be attributed to the fact that the inhabitants had obtained from the States-General in Holland, four years previously, what they had long petitioned for,—a municipal government, and with it the enjoyment of those local privileges to which they had been accustomed in the cities, towns, and villages of their fatherland; or, to express it in different words, the inestimable right of local self-government. They had been ruled exclusively before this by a governor and by a council selected by him, who administered affairs with special reference to the interest of a trading corporation

in Amsterdam, by whom New Netherland was founded as a commercial speculation; and though the inhabitants were nominally under the protection of the Dutch Government, they were so far away that they were completely subject to the will of governors, who were at times capricious, in some instances grossly incompetent, and generally arbitrary. Such a government was not in harmony with the interest of the individual citizen. It retarded progress by taking away all desire for it; and when the inhabitants were released from its restraint by the establishment of a municipal body, elected by themselves, which was alike a court of justice and a representative council clothed with the power of municipal government, the effect was speedily felt in the active movement and public spirit which dictated the improvements to which allusion has been made.*

The English appear to have been particularly vigilant in the adoption of precautionary measures against fires, and it would seem that there was every reason for them to be so. When they repossessed themselves of the city, in 1674, it contained three hundred and twenty-two houses; and eight years after, the number is put down at two hundred and two,—a diminution which cannot be accounted for in any other way than by the frequent occurrence of conflagrations.† One of their first

* For an account of the judiciary in the Dutch period, written by Judge C. P. Daly, see Appendix VII.

† In the early part of the Middle Ages, the dwellings of the common people in most countries of Europe were of timber; and, from this cause and the want of efficient means to extinguish conflagrations, fires were of frequent occurrence, and were among the most dreaded of calamities. There are records of the destruction of whole towns, the efforts of the inhabitants being utterly powerless to arrest the progress of the flames. This condition of things gave rise to a custom which prevailed throughout Europe, and in many countries was enforced by law, by which, at the ringing of a bell at sunset in summer and eight o'clock in winter, all the inhabitants of a city, town, burgh, or village, raked the fire together upon the hearth, and put over it a brass cover, of a shape adapted to the purpose, which was called a *curfew*. The bell tolled for a quar-

public measures of this description, in 1677, three years subsequent to the re-occupation, was to order the construction of six public wells,—the principal part of the expense of which was imposed upon the inhabitants of the streets where they were severally located. This is the earliest measure recorded for assessing the cost of public improvements upon the owners of growing property,—a policy which has ever since been adhered to, though the fairness or justice of it may be questioned. In 1687, seven additional public wells were ordered to be made in different streets. Eight pounds was contributed by the city for each well. The residue of the expense was imposed upon those found to be chiefly benefited by its establishment in their vicinity; and they were debarred from the use of it until they had paid their proportionate part. These wells were placed in the middle of the street, and the water was raised by the old Egyptian method of a balance-pole and bucket, a mode still in use in many parts of the country. All these were known by popular names, as *De Remiers* well, *Janson* well, *De Kay*

ter of an hour, to admonish every one that the time had come to put on the curfew, to extinguish the lights in each household, and for all to retire to rest. It was called the "curfew bell," and at the sound of it every occupation ceased, and all merriment was hushed: there was a solemn seriousness about it that recommended it as a fitting image to the poets. There are frequent references to it in Chaucer and in Shakespeare, and all will remember the opening line of Gray's celebrated Elegy,

"The curfew tolls the knell of parting day."

The poets made use of it legitimately; but it is a curious fact that English historians, and even legal writers, ignorant of its origin, and the fact that it was simply a precautionary regulation against fire, have perpetuated the belief that in England it was a badge of tyranny imposed, after the Conquest, by the Normans upon the Saxons, to make them feel the extent of their subjugation. Even so celebrated a writer as Blackstone, after declaring that England at this period was governed under as absolute a slavery as it was in the power of a warlike and ambitious prince to impose, enumerates as one of the proofs of it, that in cities and towns all company was obliged to disperse, and fire and candle had to be extinguished at eight at night, at the sound of the melancholy curfew; whereas the custom, or regulation, had existed long previously, in Saxon times, and has been traced up to the days of Alfred.—*Judge Daly's Address.*

well, &c.; and the water procured from most of them would in this day be regarded as very bad. Kalm, a Swedish traveler and naturalist, who visited the city in 1748, seventy years afterward, says: "There is no good water to be met with in the town; but a little way out there is a spring of good water, which the inhabitants take for their tea and kitchen purposes. Those, however, who are less delicate upon this point make use of the water from the wells in the town, although it is very bad. The want of good water bears heavily upon the horses of strangers who come into the town, for the animals do not like to drink the water obtained from the wells." The spring of good water to which Kalm refers, was the famous tea-water pump, a little west of the present line of Chatham Street, opposite Roosevelt Street, which was still in use forty years ago, standing in the middle of a large grocery-store,—all who dealt with the grocer having free access to it, and others, it is presumed, for a pecuniary consideration. In fact, down to the time of the completion of the Croton Aqueduct, the water-vender was one of the features of the city. With a hogshead mounted upon a cart, he traversed the streets, morning and afternoon, supplying his customers with pure and wholesome water at a small charge per pail.

Another important measure was introduced by the English in 1658, during the period of their first occupation, which was the lighting of the city by night; and, as the method adopted was a very primitive one, it is here given in the language of the ordinance: "Every seventh house in all the streets shall, in the dark time of the morn, cause a lantern and candle to be hung out on a pole, the charge to be defrayed equally by the inhabitants of the said seven houses;" and upon very dark nights every inhabitant was required to have a lighted candle in his window.

Another of these measures was the employment of a

regular night-watch, composed of men who were paid for their services by the city, instead of imposing that duty, as the Dutch had done, upon all the citizens in turn. The watch was set at nine o'clock in the evening (when the city-gates were shut and locked), and was kept up until day-break. It was maintained, however, only during the winter months—that is, from the beginning of November to the end of March, that being the period when the greatest danger from fire was apprehended. At the ringing of the bell of the Fort at nine o'clock, a sergeant-major, with his halberd, proceeded, followed by the watch, to each of the city-gates, which he locked for the night. He then stationed each man at his particular post, and, to secure the vigilant discharge of his duty, each watchman was required to go, once every hour, through that part of the city which was allotted to him, and with a bell to proclaim the time of the night and the state of the weather,—a regulation which, no doubt, secured a vigilant discharge of the watchman's duty. But it must have been somewhat disturbing to all but sound sleepers to have had their slumbers broken at regular intervals by the loud ringing of a bell and a hoarse voice announcing such information as, "Past two o'clock, and a dark, cloudy morning." This practice was borrowed from Germany. In the German burghs or towns, it was at first the custom to station their guardians of the night in the steeples of churches or other elevated places; and, as a security against their going asleep, to require them every hour to proclaim the time of the night. When this was changed to a regular patrolling of the streets, the custom of calling the hour was continued probably for the same reason; but, among the musical people, this duty was relieved by a very poetical feature, for the German watchman accompanied the calling of the time of the night by singing the verse of a song inculcating some precept of the Christian religion, the

words of which were so arranged or varied as to adapt it to the particular time of the night. A translation of a verse of one of these watchmen's songs is here presented as a specimen :

“ Hark ye, neighbors, and hear me tell
Ten now strikes on the belfry bell.
Ten were the holy commandments given
To man below, by God in heaven.
Human watch from harm can't ward us ;
Yet God will watch and guide and guard us.
May he, through his heavenly might,
Give us all a blessed night.”

But, notwithstanding these precautionary measures, the want of efficient means for extinguishing fire was severely felt; and a stringent ordinance, passed in 1686, records the fact of their frequent occurrence, and of the great damage done from the lack of efficient means to arrest a fire after it broke out. This ordinance enacted that every house having two chimneys should be provided with a fire-bucket, and that those having more than two fire-places should have two buckets. This, however, did not suffice; and it was enacted, in 1696, that every tenant, under a penalty, should procure the necessary number of buckets, and deduct the cost of them from the rent. The practice of having every house supplied with fire-buckets now became general, and was continued long after the introduction of fire-engines. If a fire broke out at night, the watchman gave the alarm with his rattle, and knocked at the doors of the houses, with the cry, “ Throw out our buckets;” the alarm being further spread by the ringing of the bell at the Fort, and by the bells in the steeples of the different churches. When the inmates of a house were aroused, the first act was to throw out the buckets into the street, which were of sole-leather, holding about three gallons, and were always hung in the passage close to the door. They were picked up by those who were

hastening to the fire, it being the general custom for nearly every householder to hurry to the fire, whether by day or by night, and render his assistance. As soon as possible, two lines were formed from the fire to the nearest well or pump; and when that gave out, the line was carried to the next one, or to the river. The one line passed up the full buckets, and the empty ones were passed down the other. No one was permitted to break through these lines; and if any one attempted to do so, and would not fall in, a bucket of water, or several, were instantly thrown over him. Each bucket was marked with the name or number of the owner; and, when the fire was over, they were all collected together, and taken in a cart belonging to the City Hall. A city bellman then went round, to announce that they were ready for delivery, when each householder sent for his buckets, and hung them up in the allotted place, ready for the next emergency.

In 1677, the city contained three hundred and sixty-eight houses. In 1693, the number was estimated at five hundred and ninety-four. In 1696, it was put down as seven hundred and fifty; and when the two fire-engines arrived from London, in 1731, the population of the city, by an enumeration made that year, was 8,628; and it must have contained 1,200 houses. Up to that time, there was no means for extinguishing fires except the conveying of water to it in buckets, and the use of ladders and fire-hooks. The buildings, however, were not very high. Originally, they were chiefly of one story; and few at this time exceeded two—the first three-story house, which is still standing in Pearl Street, opposite Cedar Street, having been built by a member of the De Peyster family about the year 1690.

It seems to us at the present day a very simple matter for the corporation to have ordered two fire-engines from London; but it was a momentous affair in 1731. In the

first instance, an act of the provincial legislature had to be passed to enable the city to raise money for the term of three years to purchase the engines. This having been done, the Common Council, on the 6th of May, 1731, resolved to purchase, in the language of the record, "two complete fire-engines, with suction leather-pipes and caps, and all materials thereunto belonging, for the public service, to be the fourth and sixth series of Mr. Newsham's fire-engines." A committee of three aldermen was appointed to carry out the resolution; and they contracted with two merchants, Stephen Delancey and John Moore, then the principal mercantile firm of the city, to import at the rate of one hundred and twenty per cent. on the foot of the invoice, exclusive of commission and insurance, the money to be paid within nine months after the delivery; which shows that the merchants of that day knew how to charge for their advances, especially when the city was the paymaster.

Thomas Newsham, the person from whom the two engines were to be forwarded, was then one of two nail-makers in London, the other being a maker named Foroke. Each of them claimed to have surpassed all others in the construction of what is termed in their advertisement, "constantly steamed engines." Newsham, however, was the more successful, and vanquished his competitor. He had invented nothing new, for all the essential properties of the fire-engine had then been discovered, and the superiority of his machine consisted simply in the ingenious mechanical adaptation of principles already known. In form it resembled the machine in use when engines were worked by hand. Indeed, Newsham's engine, with very little modification, continued in use in London down to 1832, and in this city after that period. The old engine which Colonel Myers has secured to be preserved in this city as a relic is Newsham's engine; and in form and

structure it is in no respect different from the kind made by him in 1740. He made two kinds. One of this structure, and another called a Treddle, the treddle being a platform placed above the body of the machine, upon which twelve men could stand, six abreast, who, by treading alternately on each side of the fulcrum of the lever, imparted to it the requisite ascending and descending motion. This treddle-engine, Newsham claimed, had thrown a stream of water over the Royal Exchange, in London, to an elevation of one hundred and sixty-five feet, in the presence of many thousand spectators; and being the one of the greatest power, it was the kind ordered by the corporation of New York.

Ewbank, a competent authority in hydraulics, says that Newsham was certainly mistaken; that the height of the jet from his engine could not have been more than fifty feet; and that Ewbank is right, is to be inferred from the fact, that, when Trinity Church was on fire in 1753, the stream from the engines did not reach the steeple, which had ignited in several places. "We observed with universal terror," says a writer in a newspaper of the day, "that the engine would scarce deliver the water to the top of the roof," a height of about sixty feet; "and we want," says this writer, "at least one engine of the largest size, which will throw water one hundred and seventy-five feet high, discharging two hundred gallons in a minute, to cost about sixty-five pounds sterling;" indicating by this passage that there were then (1753) engines of that power.

The two engines arrived in December, 1731. A room was fitted up for them in what was then the New City Hall, at the corner of Nassau and Wall Streets. A committee of two aldermen was appointed to have them cleaned and put in order for use, and immediate use was soon found for them. A paragraph in the *Boston Weekly*



(In the year 1730.)

This is a true picture of V. new Engon

Constantine

Engon



This is a fair copie of y^e Engen arrived
 from London and now in y^e City hall
 7 feete wide on y^e board. and 9 feete in
 worke poole. 13 feete long in y^e whole.
 manned by 12 tugmen eleven buckett
 men and 1 pike man

(In the year 1730.)

Newsletter of January 6th, 1732, gives, under the head of news from New York, an account of a fire which occurred in the city on the 7th of December preceding. It is in these words: "Last night, about 12 o'clock, a fire broke out in a joyner's house in the city. It began in the garret, where the people were all asleep, and burnt violently, but by the aid of the two fire-engines, which came from London in the ship *Beaver*, the fire was extinguished, after having burnt down the house and damaged the next."

Some person, little apprehending that it would descend as a memorial to our day, made a rough pen-and-ink sketch of one of these engines, which, though rude and badly drawn, is sufficient to indicate its structure, and the manner in which it was worked. The sketch, having been put in the hands of a mechanical draughtsman, he has skillfully reproduced it in a proper drawing, which will convey an exact representation of what may possibly have been the first fire-engine in America. By the resolution of the Common Council, the engine was to be complete, with suction-pipe and all materials thereunto belonging. The suction-pipe was then known, and both Newsham and Foroke state in their advertisements that their engines feed themselves "with a sucking pipe;" but, if we judge by this pen-and-ink sketch, these engines had no suction-pipe, or the use of it had been given up, as persons are represented in the act of passing buckets of water by hand to supply the engine.

Beneath this pen-and-ink sketch is the following description of the drawing: "This is a fair copie of ye ingen, arrived from London, and now in ye City Hall, seven feete wide on ye board and nine feete on workepoole, thirteen feete long in ye whole, manned by twelve tug-men, eleven bucket-men, and one pipe-man."

The experience of the fire of the 7th of December

had doubtless pointed out the necessity of putting them in charge of some competent and skillful person; and accordingly, on the 21st of January following, the Mayor and four aldermen were appointed a committee to employ workmen to put them in good order, and to engage persons by the year "to keep them in repair, and to work them when necessary." Anthony Lamb was accordingly appointed "overseer," or, as the office was afterward called, chief-engineer, at a salary of £12 a year; and he and the persons employed by the year under him may be said to have been the first regularly organized Fire Department.*

The room fitted up for these two engines in the City Hall would seem not to have been sufficiently commodious; and accordingly, in 1736, the Corporation ordered a convenient house to be built, "contiguous to the watch-house in Broad Street, for their security and well-keeping." This building, the first engine-house in the city, was in the middle of Broad Street, half-way between Wall Street and Exchange Place. The watch-house stood at the head of Broad Street; and immediately behind it, in the middle of the street, this engine-house was built, as appears from an indication of it upon a map of the city in 1742, made by David Grim.

Lamb held the office of chief-engineer until 1736, when he was succeeded by Jacob Turk, a gunsmith, who appears to have been an ingenious man; for, in the year

* Anthony Lamb was an Englishman, who had come to the city and established himself in business as a mathematical-instrument maker and general worker in wood, ivory, and brass. He kept for many years a well-known establishment at the sign of the Quadrant and Surveying Compass, in the vicinity of Old Slip, where he fabricated, repaired, and sold surveying and nautical instruments, and many other things, and at the same time practiced as an oculist, from which combined occupation he realized a substantial fortune. He was the father of General Lamb, of Revolutionary memory, one of the principal leaders in the formation of the Sons of Liberty in 1776.—*Judge Daly's Address.*

after his appointment, the city voted him £10 to enable him to complete a small fire-engine which he was making as an experiment. In this, however, it seems, he was not alone; for one William Lindsay advertises in the *New York Gazette*, May 9th, 1737, a fire-engine made by him, which, he says in his advertisement, will deliver two hogsheads of water, in a continuous stream, in a minute.

The voluntary Fire Department was established in the city in 1738, under an act of the Colonial Legislature, and lasted for one hundred and twenty-seven years. A high compliment, and one that was, no doubt, deserved, was paid to the city in the preamble to this colonial act, in these words—"The inhabitants of the City of New York, of all degrees, have very justly acquired the reputation of being singularly and remarkably famous for their diligence and services in cases of fire;" and it was, no doubt, this fact which led to the institution of the voluntary system. This act empowered the Corporation to appoint a certain number of freemen, or freeholders, not to exceed forty-two, to be selected in equal proportion from the six different wards of the city, who were to be known thereafter by the designation of "The Firemen of the City of New York," who, in consideration of their voluntary service, were to be exempt from serving as constables, surveyors, or jurors, or in the militia, except in case of invasion or other imminent danger. This statute was passed in 1737, and in the following year the Corporation selected five firemen from each ward, or thirty in all, and passed an ordinance for their regulation, or government. The firemen, divided into companies, chose their own foreman, assistant, and clerk, from their own number. The firewardens wore a hat, the brim of which was black, the crown white. The city arms were blazoned on its front. They also carried a speaking-trumpet, painted white, with "Warden," in black letters.

When a building took fire in the night, notice was immediately given by the watchmen to the members of the Corporation, firewardens, and bell-ringers. They also called out "Fire," and the inhabitants placed lighted candles in their windows to aid the engines in their passage through the streets. Watchmen neglecting their duties were liable to a fine of one hundred dollars. When a chimney took fire the occupant of the house was fined five dollars. The same fine was imposed upon carpenters who did not carefully remove their shavings at the end of every day's work. A person using a lighted lamp or candle in a store-house, unless secured in a lantern, forfeited ten dollars. Jacob Turk became the head of this new organization; and that he was an efficient superintendent, or chief-engineer, may be inferred from the fact that he continued in the office for twenty-five years. Among other things, he introduced the well-known leather cap worn by the firemen to the present day.

Turk was succeeded in 1761 by Jacobus Stoutenbergh, who was, like Turk, a gunsmith. He was one of the thirty firemen originally appointed in 1738, and he continued to be chief-engineer down to the time of the Revolution. When he was appointed, in 1761, the city had largely increased, and, in consequence, the force in the following year (1762) was augmented to two assistants and sixty men. After the breaking-out of the Revolution, it was converted into a military organization, consisting of two battalions, commanded by Stoutenbergh, and was composed of one adjutant, one captain, five lieutenants, and one hundred and thirty-four men. It retired, necessarily, as a part of the military, with the retreat of the American army from the city in 1776; and the extent of the ravages of the dreadful conflagration which followed immediately after the entrance of the British troops was mainly owing to the want of firemen in the city.

The Fire Department was reorganized after the Revolution; and, in 1793, the Legislature granted an act of incorporation by which the firemen of the city were "constituted and declared to be a body politic in fact and in the name of the Fire Department." This was the origin of the system nearly seventy years ago. This act continued until April, 1810, and was renewed from time to time until the Common Council appointed a "chief-engineer, with a salary of eight hundred dollars per annum," to whom was confided the sole control of this department. He reported twice a year to the Common Council the condition of the engines, buckets, houses, and apparatus. He also reported all fires and their accidents, with the number of buildings destroyed or injured, the names of the sufferers, with the probable cause of the burning, &c. The firewardens were also appointed by the Common Council, but none were eligible until they had served as firemen five years. They acted as overseers at all fires; and, during the months of June and December, examined all fire-places, chimneys, stoves, ovens, and boilers, and, if found defective, ordered the owners to repair them; and if neglected, a fine of twenty-five dollars was imposed. They also examined all buildings; and would often order hemp, hay, gunpowder, and other combustible articles to be removed to safe places, under a penalty of ten dollars. The Fire Department then consisted of twenty engines, two hook-and-ladder companies, twenty-two foremen, thirteen assistants, and three hundred and eighteen men; and, in 1825, Mr. Cox, the chief-engineer, reported forty-two engines in good order, five hook-and-ladder trucks, and one hose-wagon, with 10,256 feet of good hose: also, two hundred and fifty-five buckets, and twenty-eight ladders and thirty hooks. The total number of men belonging to the Fire Department was 1,347.

The voluntary system was, upon its introduction, a most desirable one, and continued to be so for more than three quarters of a century. For alacrity, intrepidity, skill, and courage, the men who composed it would compare with any body of firemen in the world. At its institution and for many years it consisted almost exclusively of the most influential and prominent citizens, who discharged their arduous labors at a great sacrifice of time, and frequently of health, from a high sense of public duty; and the example they set infused into the whole community a zeal and willingness to lend their aid and assistance upon the breaking-out of a fire, almost without precedent in the history of cities. The effect upon the rising generation was especially marked, and the young were made to feel that to be a fireman was an honorable and enviable distinction. For a long while, "No. 5," on Fulton Street, and "14," near St. Paul's Church, were considered the "crack companies" of the city,—the first to reach a fire and among the last to leave it; and many a race they had. But in course of time this was changed, and the effect of the institution upon the young was as injurious as it had been formerly beneficial. The body grew large and formidable. It became a power, and resisted for many years every attempt to introduce new and improved methods for the extinguishment of fires. Steam fire-engines were introduced in London in 1832, with a marked increase of efficiency and economy; but it took nearly thirty years before they could be introduced in New York. Horses had long been used in London to transport the engines more quickly; but the voluntary firemen of New York persisted in the habit of dragging their engines to the fire by hand to the last, thereby diminishing their alacrity and lessening their physical strength. When the city was embraced within moderate limits, the occasional duty of acting as a fireman was not a very

onerous one; but, when the city was expanded miles in extent, it exacted an amount of time which few were able to give who had their own business to attend to; and, consequently, this class was gradually withdrawn from the department, which was filled by those who could give more time to it. The increasing extension of the city demanded, moreover, a constant augmentation of the force of the department; and, as it increased in numbers, it degenerated in quality. The engine-houses became loitering-places for the idle and the young, and at which the latter learned little except to become rude in speech and imperious in manner. Thus was brought forth and fostered a character very closely resembling the *gamin* of Paris, familiarly known as the "b'hoy," who seems now to be disappearing with the causes that produced him. The rivalry between companies engendered animosities; and street brawls among the firemen at a fire, occasionally expanding into street riots, in which free use was made of the brickbat and the paving-stone, were not of unusual occurrence until the system had reached the point when grave men propounded the inquiry of how to get rid of it. The remedy was found in substituting for it a body of picked men, permanently engaged and regularly paid for their services, and by the general introduction of steam fire-engines, or, as they are called, "steamers." This was effected in 1865, by the creation and chartering by the Legislature of the present Metropolitan Fire Department, with Charles E. Pinckney president, and that fine old fireman, Philip W. Engs, treasurer. The consequence of it has been increased efficiency in the extinguishment of fires, a large diminution in the number of men requisite for that purpose, and an entire cessation of the demoralizing influences to which reference has been already made. In 1863, the voluntary department consisted of 4,122 men. The present department (1871)

consists of 599 men, or about one seventh of the former force.

The new act allows twelve steam fire-engines and hook-and-ladder companies,—the engines to have one foreman, one assistant, an engineer, stoker, driver, with seven firemen. Of the hook-and-ladders, each one has a foreman, one assistant, a driver, and nine firemen. Their pay is fixed at \$3,000 *per annum* to the chief-engineer; assistant, \$2,000; district engineer, \$1,500; foreman, \$1,100; assistant, \$900; engineer of steam-engine, \$1,080; stokers, drivers, and firemen, \$840 each, superintendent of telegraph, \$1,800; telegraph-operators, \$1,000 each; battery boy, \$500; line-man, \$1,000; and bell-ringers, each \$800. The department are uniformed, and the number of their engines has increased to fifty-six, and the hook-and-ladders to twenty-five.

How different the Fire Department now from the one of former years, when men were the horses to drag the ropes of the machine, and their strong arms the *motive* power to work them! Now we have in their places horses to pull the engines, and the mighty giant, steam, to force the water upon the raging fiery element. Still, the little old-fashioned hand fire-engines did wonderful service in their day; and, indeed, the noble bearing, bravery, endurance, and success of our New York firemen had a world-wide fame.*

* In Appendix No. VIII. will be found an interesting letter from Colonel T. Bailey Myers to the author, giving an account of the Firemen's Lyceum, organized by him, as Trustee, for the use of the Department, and as a means for the improvement of the men.

CHAPTER XIII.

PREVIOUS to the year 1802 no special effort had been made to establish an institution for art in the city. In that year, however, the idea of a "New York Academy of Fine Arts" was first mooted, which, in 1808, culminated in one being chartered under the name of the "American Academy of Arts;" Robert R. Livingston, president; John Trumbull, vice-president; and De Witt Clinton, secretary—Trumbull being the only artist. "The first exhibition was held in Greenwich Street, near Morris, in a building formerly used as a circus. In 1825, an association was formed by the artists of the city under the name of the New York Drawing Association, which was afterward organized under the name of the National Academy of the Arts of Design, with S. F. B. Morse as the first president. The first public exhibition of the new Academy took place in May, 1826, in the house on the south-west corner of Broadway and Reade Street. The room in which the first exhibition was held was in the second story, and was lighted with gas—six burners in all for the whole exhibition—which consisted of one hundred and seventy pictures."* Let the reader contrast these humble beginnings with the present delightful receptions,

* *Mary L. Booth.*

For a detailed history of the National Academy of Design from the finished pen of T. Addison Richards, see Appendix No. X.

which are attended by all of the wit, culture, and beauty of the city, and which are held in the elegant building on the north-west corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third Street.



NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

The building itself has a front of eighty feet on Twenty-third Street, and of ninety-eight feet and nine inches on Fourth Avenue. "The main entrance is on the former front, level with the second story, and reached by a double flight of steps. This second and principal story is thus divided: A wide hall extends from the entrance nearly the whole length of the building. In this are the stairs leading to the third story. To the right hand, on entering, is a range of four large rooms, which occupy all of the Fourth Avenue side. These rooms are lighted by the eight windows shown in the engraving—forming an arcade which extends from the entire depth of the longer façade—and by the three windows of similar design on Twenty-

third Street. The grand staircase leading to the upper galleries is a feature of the building. They are wide, massive, and imposing in effect. Exhibition galleries occupy the whole of the third story, which is lighted from the roof. The interior of the building has been handsomely fitted up at great expense. Most of the woodwork is of oak, walnut, ash, and other hard woods, oiled and polished, so as to show the natural color and grain. The rooms of the second floor, except the lecture-room, are finished like the parlors of a first-class house. Each of the four large rooms on Fourth Avenue has an open fire-place, with a hearth of ornamental encaustic tiles, and rich mantel-piece of oak. The windows are fitted with plate-glass sliding sashes, and the rooms communicate through a series of plate-glass sliding-doors. The vestibule at the main entrance has an ornamental pavement of variegated marbles, and the floor of the great hall is walnut and maple in patterns. The design of the exterior was copied from a famous palace in Venice; and, being the only instance of this style of architecture in the city, or we believe in the country, it possesses a peculiar interest. It is one of the most brilliantly decorated edifices in the country. The double flight of steps leading to the main entrance—rendered necessary by the circumscribed limits of the lot on which the building stands—has been skillfully made an ornament rather than a defect. It is beautifully carved, and underneath it is an elegant drinking fountain, radiant in color and other exquisite embellishments. The walls of the lower story are of gray marble, marked with intervening lines of North River blue-stone, and the entire elevation is thus variegated in blue and gray and white. The cost of the building was one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars.” *

* *New York Illustrated.*

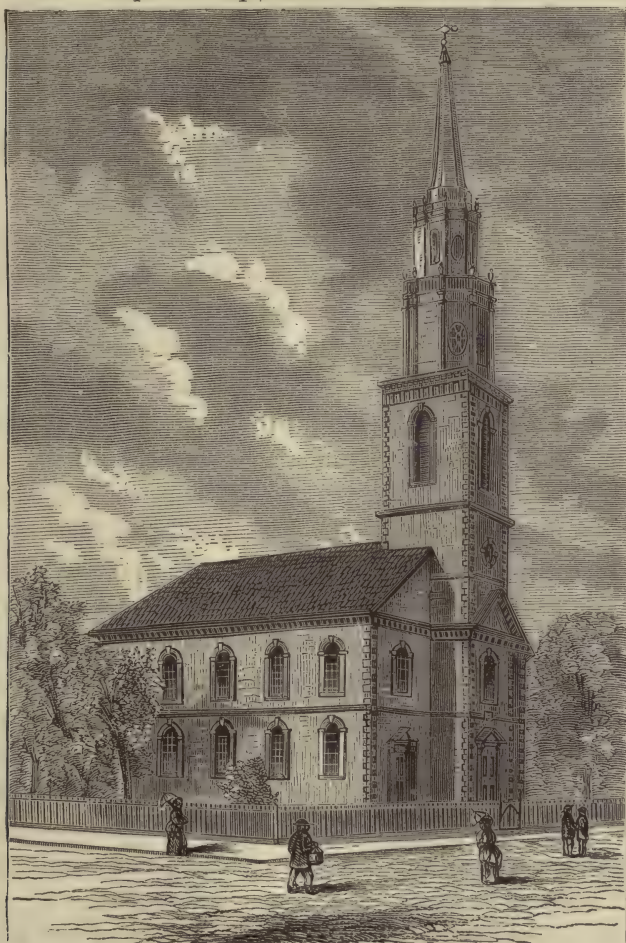
In August, 1865, the OLD WARREN MANSION was torn down, its beautiful lawns covered with brick, and its massive locusts cut up and given to the winds.* This

mansion, which stood near the intersection of
1865.

Charles and Bleecker Streets, was built by Sir Peter Warren about 1740. Although, when demolished, in the heart of the city, yet at that time it stood in the open country with its lawns reaching down to the North River—long before even the first cottage had been built in the village of Greenwich. It is indeed safe to say that around no other house did there cluster so many associations which to New Yorkers should be especially dear. Admiral, afterward Sir Peter Warren, K. B., the hero of Lewisburg, is scarcely known to the present generation; and yet aside from his being so long identified with the naval glory of England, he was in our colonial history the great man of an era, and at one time, during the administration of Clinton, exercised more influence in the Colonial Government than even the Governor himself. At that time, when the extreme limit of our city was Wall Street, the house No. 1 Broadway, by the Bowling Green—now the Washington Hotel—was built by Sir Peter as his town house, in distinction from his country seat—the house of which we are now speaking. In 1748, when the small-pox was raging in this city, the Colonial Assembly, to get out of reach of the contagion, accepted Sir Peter's tender of his country seat and adjourned thither to escape the plague by being in the country! It indeed seemed

* Other landmarks, it is true, had previously been demolished. The OLD BRICK CHURCH, erected in 1768 on the triangular piece of ground between Park Row, Beekman, and Nassau Streets, and used in the Revolution, first as a prison and then as a hospital for prisoners, had given place, in 1856, to the "Times Building," and the ATLANTIC GARDEN, formerly "Burns' Coffee House," and the "Faneuil Hall" of New York, had been also purchased and destroyed by the Hudson River Railroad Company; but neither of these ever possessed the personal reminiscences of the Old Warren Mansion.

really cruel to cut down those ancient trees, planted by the Admiral's own hand. A tree, like a tooth, is very easily removed, but is a long time in growing; and it is thus that a Spanish peasant feels when, with religious



THE OLD BRICK CHURCH.

feeling, he stoops down by the wayside and plants the pit or seed of the fruit which he has been eating. It were to be wished that Americans had more veneration for the ancient traditions of their own country and for the ves-

tiges of the past. A few individuals occasionally have this feeling, and in a large measure; but as a nation we have no love for the past, and hence old landmarks, pregnant with hallowed associations, are continually being removed to make room for "modern improvements," until it is to be feared that soon oral tradition will be all that will be left to inform the rising generation of what once was. It is true that more attention is now paid to our past history than formerly by historical societies; but they are powerless in very many instances to arrest the hand of vandalism. The practice of the old country in this respect is far different. An old abbey or castle, or even an old tavern, is guarded with zealous care; the government—if private liberality is in fault—pays out large sums to keep them intact; and the people, even the lowest, feel a personal interest in the preservation of some relic which their village may perchance boast of. Especially is this difference in feeling between the old world and the new seen in the care with which all the mementoes of a battle-field are preserved. In Germany, for example, while the most ignorant peasant residing in the vicinity of any of the battle-fields of the thirty years' war will tell you accurately and truthfully where this and that point of interest is; where the battle raged the hottest and where the turning point was reached; a well-to-do farmer in America, residing on the battle-field itself, will be unable to point out a single place of interest—and he will do very well if he knows that there was a battle fought on his farm at all. Even at this very time two farmers, living in the vicinity of the scene of the famous battle of Saratoga, are busily advocating their claims to living upon the particular spot upon which the famous charge of the British Highlanders was made—and yet the farms lie a mile distant from each other! Chancing, moreover, to visit, a year or two since, the ruins of Fort

Ticonderoga, on Lake Champlain, the writer was pained to find that the farmers in the vicinity had for several years past been in the habit of pulling down the ruins and drawing them off for the purpose of building fences. But it is not too late to prevent the removal of the few old landmarks that yet remain among us. In the densely settled parts of the city where they stand there is great need of breathing-places, and why, therefore, cannot our city government buy the spots and let them remain as little parks? The public certainly would feel much better satisfied with this expenditure of the public funds by the City Council than voting silver services or costly badges.

In the same spirit of vandalism the crumbling remains of those who—some of them for nearly a century—had slept beneath the tower of the OLD NORTH DUTCH CHURCH,*

* This edifice, standing at the north-west corner of Fulton and William Streets, New York, is one of the antiquities of the city, being now over a century old. In 1767 the two churches then used by the Protestant Reformed Dutch Church (since known as the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church) were found insufficient to accommodate the increasing congregations, and the Consistory decided to erect a third place of worship. They resolved that "the church should be erected on the grounds of Mr. Harpending; that it should be one hundred feet in length and seventy in breadth; that it should front *Horse and Cart Lane*, and be placed in the middle of the lot." The grounds thus referred to were given by John Harpending, an influential member of the church, who had died at an advanced age in 1722. His coat of arms can still be seen suspended over the pulpit; it has on it implements belonging to the currying business, his trade having been that of a tanner and currier. The motto which it bears, "*Dando Conservat*," is significant of the spirit which actuated the donor in the distribution of his wealth. The part of William Street on which this church stands was then called "*Horse and Cart Lane*," from a tavern near by, which had for a sign the picture of a horse and cart.

The corner-stone of the North Dutch Church was laid July 2d, 1767, by Isaac Roosevelt, one of its elders, and the dedication was preached by the Rev. Dr. Laidlie, on the 25th of May, 1769. The cost of the building was £12,000.

The main walls are constructed of uncut stone, stuccoed and painted. The door and window dressings and molding are of freestone, now badly damaged by the rough usage through which the building has passed. On the columns in the interior of the church can be seen the initials of the generous contributors toward the erection of the church. The original pulpit was removed during the Revolution by the British. Some time after the war an American gentleman, attending service in a country church in England, was astonished

were removed in 1866 to Greenwood Cemetery. In the majority of cases, however, the silver plates once attached to the coffins (mingled with fine dust) were the only remains. The dust was separated as carefully
1866. as possible, placed in boxes, and conveyed to Greenwood. Still, in the chaotic state in which the ashes of the dead lay complete accuracy was impossible; and perhaps the dust of persons who, while on earth, cherished bitter animosity toward each other, is destined hereafter to repose in the closest commingling in the same casket.

The Consistory at the time expressed the intention (which has since been carried out) to dispose of only a part of the land upon which the building stands; and should that edifice be torn down, they wish the community to be assured that it is their present intention to erect on part of its site a spacious and elegant chapel, in which preaching will be continued each Sabbath, and the regular noon prayer-meeting upon every day of the week—so long as they have control.

Thus much to explain the intentions of the Consistory. We add our unqualified condemnation of the movement. It is a disgrace to the age and to the city that old churchyards are thus invaded by the demands of commerce, and the repose of the dead violated, because the city has grown. Old grave-yards ought to be venerated as holy ground. Men should no more consent to such changes than they would consent to sell the bones of their own fathers and mothers for knife-handles. If the church is deserted and congregations cannot be maintained, then let

to recognize in it the pulpit of the North Dutch Church. During the Revolution this church was used as a place for storage, and as a hospital by the English. It was also used by the latter as a prison, and at one time contained eight hundred American prisoners. The lower part was stripped of the pews, pulpit, etc., and the marks of ill-usage can still be seen on the pillars. The engraving shows the church as it appeared before its wooden steeple was destroyed by fire, which occurred about two years ago.

it stand as a memorial, or in its place build a durable monument to the old and good men of New York who sleep beneath it. But let them sleep! Our condemnation applies to all the removals of down-town churches and



OLD NORTH DUTCH CHURCH.

church-yards which have taken place or are now going forward. There is no excuse for it, nor any palliation of the offense against propriety. If the Consistory intend to build a chapel in place of the North Dutch Church, let

them build it; but let not a spade-full of the dust of the fathers be sold for gold.

In the spring of 1867 the STUYVESANT PEAR-TREE, then



THE STUYVESANT PEAR-TREE

1867. in its two hundred and twentieth year, put forth blossoms for the last time. This tree was planted on Governor Stuyvesant's farm in 1647, and stood at the

corner of Third Avenue and Thirteenth Street, where it was cherished by all familiar with its history as the last visible link which connected the present generation directly with the time of the Dutch dynasty.*

In 1868 the widening of the Bloomingdale road into the new Boulevard, by the Park Commissioners, caused the removal of still another venerable landmark. This was an old house on Broadway, between 1868. Seventy-fifth and Seventy-sixth Streets, which possessed greater historical interest than was generally known even to those living in its immediate vicinity. It was here that Louis Philippe, of France, taught school during his residence in America, and the room in which his classes were held remained until the building was torn down, in nearly the same condition as during his occupancy of it. This quaint old house was erected some time previous to the Revolution, although no accurate record of its age can be found. The original deed of transfer was executed in 1796, but the house is known to have been considerably older than this, as it was standing several years previous to the sale of the farm.

It was a low two-story frame house with brick ends, covering a space fifty by eighty feet square, substantially built and habitable, though it had not been occupied for the past thirteen years. A steep, sloping, shingle roof extended from the eaves of the porch in front to the extreme rear kitchen, with dormer windows to light the upper rooms. In the interior, on either side of the central hall, were parlors and sitting-rooms, with low ceilings and narrow doorways. The wood-work in the rooms was finished with an elaborate care not seen in the houses of this class at the present day. There were corner cupboards with

* Since the fall of the tree, however, a promising shoot from the ancient stock has taken its place, and shows a hardy vigor which may yet enable it to rival its progenitor in age.

carved and paneled doors, quaintly ornamented window casings, immense fire-places, surbases finished with a profusion of molding, and doors that seemed to have been put together like a Chinese puzzle. The stairs were narrow and steep, turning squarely at each platform, instead of winding, as in more modern houses. Around the fire-place in the school-room of the exiled King was a row of blue and white Antwerp tiles, ornamented with pictures from the New Testament, with the chapter and verse to which they referred indicated in large characters beneath. These were probably the last that remained in New York of the historical Dutch tiles that were once so fashionable. This venerable mansion, which was probably the oldest in the city, was formerly the homestead of the Somerindike family, who once owned nearly all the surrounding part of the island not included in the extensive Harsen estate.

The beginning of 1869 was marked by the occurrence of five separate events. These are, first, the removal of yet another landmark—the old NEW YORK HOSPITAL; * second, the blotting out of the beautiful St. John's Park, by the erection of the huge and unsightly

* The New York Hospital was founded, as stated in a former chapter, in 1770, during the administration of Governor Dunmore, and was then a mile in the open country. It is a question whether the authorities of New York, in consenting to the removal, have not made a very serious mistake; and also, whether the number of elegant iron stores erected on its site at all compensate for its loss. Aside from any sentimental reasons why it should have been allowed to remain, there is one which should have been conclusive against it, viz.: that the lower part of the city is thus left destitute of any place to which injured persons can be brought for relief. Situated, as it was, in the most bustling portion of the city, this Hospital received more casual patients than any other. Women and children run over in the press of the street; laborers injured while employed in the new buildings constantly going up in the vicinity; warehouse porters bruised or sprained while handling packages and casks;—all invariably found in it a comfortable asylum, and received the best of medical and surgical attendance. Now, however, the nearest hospital is Bellevue, more than three miles distant from the Battery—a long way to carry a patient prostrated, it may be, with sun-stroke or broken bones. We do not

freight depot of the Hudson River Railroad; third, the extension of Church Street from Fulton to Morris Streets, and the opening of Pearl Street through the Hospital grounds; fourth, the tearing down of numerous old and dilapidated buildings, and the erection in their places of costly and imposing business and private structures; and



HUDSON RIVER RAILROAD FREIGHT DEPOT.

fifth, the removal of the courts and civil offices from the City Hall to the New Court House.

The extension of Church Street removes many objectionable places, breaks up a number of dens of iniquity, and puts in their stead some really fine structures. Directly in the rear of Trinity Church the "tumble-

know how efficient police-surgeons may be as a rule, but we do know that in some instances they live miles away from the precinct to which they are attached, and if, as it is said, the station-houses are unprovided with medical appliances, a physician, called in hurriedly in an imminent and deadly crisis, may find his best efforts frustrated for want of proper means.

down" "rookeries," which formerly stood in that vicinity, have given place to a block of nine elegant stores. The entire building, which is built of iron, painted white, is six stories in height and tastefully ornamented. The north end, fronting on Trinity Place, is occupied by the United States Government as a bonded warehouse—while the other stores, which are mostly occupied by shipping merchants, will compare favorably with any of similar character in New York.

CHAPTER XIV.

ARCHITECTURE is one of the crowning glories of a city, and nothing more strongly indicates the cultivation of a people than refinement in this beautiful department of science. "Order is the first law of nature," 1869. and the utter disregard hitherto paid to all established orders of architecture in this country is one reason, probably, that we have become such a disorderly people! The taste of the Greeks in the arts has contributed more to their glory than their deeds of arms. The chisel of Phidias carved for him a name of more true renown than the sword did for Alexander; and the name of Sir Christopher Wren will live as long in English history as that of the Duke of Wellington. Every patriotic Gothamite, therefore, should rejoice at each successive improvement in architectural taste among us.

In this respect the present year, as hinted at toward the close of the last chapter, marks an era in the history of the city. There is not space to speak in detail of each of the new buildings which were finished or were building during this year—among the latter of which may be mentioned the Grand Central Depot, opened in 1871, and the new Post-office, not yet completed.* Great changes were

* This structure, now (1872) building at the southern end of the City Hall Park, will, when completed, add another to the many magnificent structures which adorn the city. It is to be built of granite, marble, and iron, at a cost of \$3,500,000, which amount has been appropriated by Congress.

The style of architecture is the pure French Renaissance. It will be three

noticeable throughout the city, but especially so along the line of Broadway. This great thoroughfare will ever be improving; and property owners will not be satisfied until its entire length presents an even and unbroken front of brown stone or marble. Passing by the many structures erected in 1867 and 1868, such as the Park and other banks,* the *Herald* Building and others, the following buildings are successively reached, viz.: the Merchants'

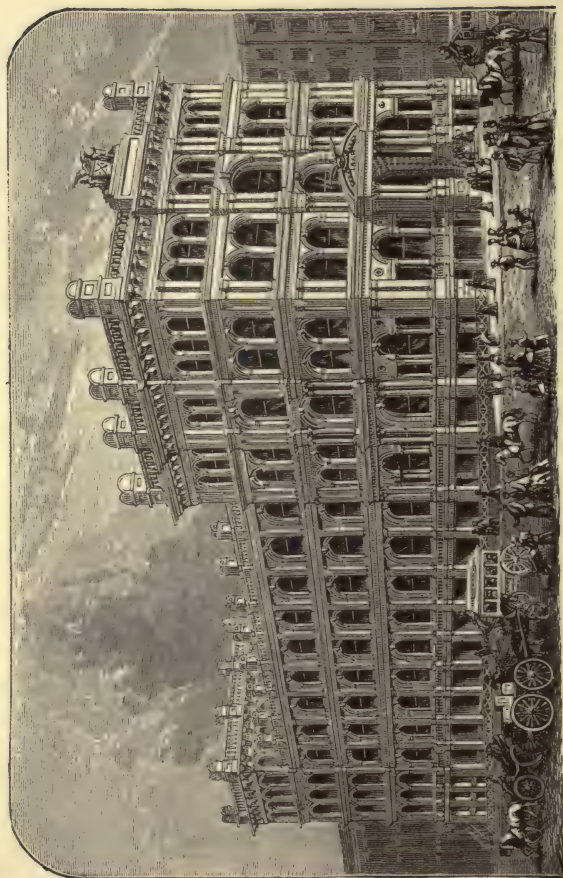
stories high, surmounted by a Mansard roof, marked by a center pavilion four stories in height. The pavilion in front will be 160 feet high, and the building facing the City Hall will be 320 feet in length. The first story will be 22 feet high, composed of arched openings, supported upon square piers; the second will be 18 feet high, and the third, 16 feet. The style of the building is that of the Tuileries and the Hotel de Ville. The building will display the following statues: America, Commerce, Industry, Washington, Franklin, Justice, History, Peace, Strength, Truth, Genius of the Arts, Virtue, Honor, Literature, Mechanics, Genius of Science, Agriculture, and Navigation. The public corridor will be 25 feet wide and 600 feet in length, with entrances from Broadway and Park Row. The building can be completed, it is claimed, in two years. Clocks are to be placed at various points around the building for the accommodation of the public.

In his annual report (January, 1872) Mr. Mullett, the architect, speaks of it as follows:

"The progress of work has been not only gratifying, but its cost has been kept within the amount of the estimates. The first story is now nearly completed. An idea of the immense amount of work that has been done may be formed from the following statement of materials used and labor expended to the present time, viz.: 2,476,960 bricks; 15,701 barrels cement; 144,087 feet cube granite; 2,689 yards rubble masonry; 5,206,442 pounds of wrought and cast iron; and the magnitude of the undertaking, from the fact that there are now engaged at Dix Island 1,002 persons in the preparation of the granite alone, of whom 704 are employed in cutting the granite for the Government, and 298 in quarrying the stock and otherwise for the contractors. Three hundred and twenty-seven thousand one hundred and sixty-nine and one-half days' labor have already been expended in cutting and boxing the granite after it has been quarried; and it is estimated that three hundred thousand days' labor will be required to complete that branch of the work alone."

* The more prominent banks of New York include the Bank of New York, corner of Wall and William Streets, the Mechanics' Bank, the Merchants' Bank, the Manhattan, the Bank of Commerce, Nassau Bank, &c. The banks of New York are daily becoming more important in an architectural point of view.

The American Exchange Bank, 128 Broadway, corner of Liberty Street, is a splendid building of Caen stone.



NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE CO.'S BUILDING.

Exchange Bank, a few doors south of Warren Street; the elegant stores on the grounds of the old New York Hospital; the Ninth National Bank Building, between Walker and Lispenard Streets; the large iron building on the site of the well known Costar property, which has a frontage of seventy-five feet on Broadway, and extends back two hundred feet to Mercer Street; and the iron store of A. T. Stewart, occupying an entire block, until, in Union Square, we come to two fine iron buildings on the former site of Dr. Cheever's Church. But perhaps the two most costly buildings which deserve especially to be noticed are those of the Equitable Assurance Company and the New York Insurance Company. The building of the former Company, at the corner of Broadway and Cedar Street, is probably the strongest and most solid structure in the United States. The building is of Concord granite, and

The Bank of Commerce, in Nassau Street, facing the Post-office, is one of the finest marble edifices in the city. Its capital is \$10,000,000.

Duncan, Sherman & Co.'s Banking House is built of brown stone, and stands on the corner of Nassau and Pine Streets; it cost \$150,000. Adjoining this is another splendid establishment—the Continental Bank.

The Bank of the Republic is situated at the corner of Broadway and Wall Street; it is a noble edifice, built of brown stone; its entire cost is estimated at about \$175,000. Its capital is \$2,000,000.

The Metropolitan is also built of brown stone, and is located at the corner of Pine Street and Broadway; its cost is stated at \$160,000.

The Bank of the Commonwealth, 15 Nassau Street, is a beautiful brown stone structure of elegant proportions.

The Bank of America is one of the old established banks, situated 46 Wall Street. Its capital is \$3,000,000.

On the corner of Wall and William Streets is another fine edifice, the Bank of New York, recently built with brick and brown stone facings. Its capital is \$2,000,000.

The Bank of North America, 44 Wall Street, has a capital of \$1,000,000.

Broadway Bank, corner of Broadway and Park Place, is a massive brown stone building; its cost is stated at \$127,000.

The Park Bank, 214 and 217 Broadway, is a recent establishment, with a capital of \$2,000,000.

The Phenix Bank, 45 Wall Street.

The Shoe and Leather Bank, corner of Broadway and Chambers Street, has a capital of \$1,000,000.

The Union Bank, 34 Wall Street, has a capital of \$1,500,000.

the successive stories are in the doric and composite orders, surmounted by a balustrade, dormer windows, and a double-pitched French roof. The elevation of the building is one hundred and twenty-five feet from the sidewalk, and it is readily discerned above all other houses in approaching the city from the ocean. Over the main entrance is placed an allegorical group, representing the Guardian Angel of Life Insurance stretching an arm of protection over the widow and fatherless. The cost of the structure was one million five hundred thousand dollars.



EQUITABLE BUILDING.

The New York Insurance Company's building, on the corner of Broadway and Leonard—the site formerly occupied by Appleton & Co., and more recently by S. B. Chittenden & Co., until the latter were burned out—is also an ornament to the city, and cost, exclusive of the ground, one million of dollars. It is in many respects like the Equitable; but though very strongly built, it lacks that massiveness that is apparent in the walls and solid stone pillars of the other.

White Street has also been built up rapidly, and so valuable has it become that lots now sell readily for \$50,000 to \$60,000 each; and it would scarcely be credited—

at least by a Rip Van Winkle—that three hundred feet nearer Broadway will make an average difference of \$6,000 or \$7,000. A very fine building was erected on this street the present year, intended for the straw-goods trade, at a cost of \$50,000 for the building and \$55,000 for the lot. It is chiefly of iron, and measures 25 x 100 feet.*

In this connection it will be interesting to quote an article which appeared in the *Historical Magazine* for February, 1868 :

"BROADWAY, PAST AND PRESENT.—We have received a communication which gives some interesting facts concerning the territory of Broadway. Our correspondent, who lived in New York in 1800, says :

'It occurred to me a few days since, when I noticed in your columns the advertisement of sale at auction, by E. H. Ludlow, of the plot of ground on the corner of Broadway and Canal Street, that it might interest some of your young readers, and those who have, within the past ten years, made our city their residence, to learn a few facts about the early territory of Broadway. The above plot, which the owners, I am told, have refused to sell for four hundred thousand dollars, I know was purchased by John Jay, the grandfather of the present owners, for the sum of one thousand dollars, and had he or his son William lived a century beyond this they would never have sold it. In their day they never believed in selling real estate ; so it was with the late owner of the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street, Benjamin Stevens. He purchased that lot for one thousand dollars. The corner of Broadway and Broome Street was bought by a barber for five hundred dollars, and remained in the hands of his heirs until within a few years. The Jay lot above referred to is held under lease by Patrick Dickie, at a rent of two thousand dollars per annum, and for which he receives from the occupants about sixty thousand dol.

* In order to show the immense percentage paid on investments made in real estate, we give an authentic table of the value of a few of the buildings referred to in the text, and the rents that are expected for them by their owners :

<i>Buildings.</i>	<i>Cost.</i>		<i>Rent Expected.</i>
Marble Store.....	\$50,000	....	\$13,000
Iron Store.....	95,000	....	25,000
Factory	45,000	....	10,000
Store, Iron.....	110,000	....	28,000
Store	70,000	....	18,000
Store.....	70,000	....	16,000
Store.....	125,000	....	35,000

By which it appears that the rental averages a little more than twenty-five per cent. on the outlay.

lars. It may not be generally known that the site where Stewart's store stands, on Broadway and Reade Street, was formerly occupied by a hotel known as Washington Hall, and that it was so far from the business center of the city that country merchants would not go out to it, and every one failed who kept the hotel. The lot owned by Gemmel, the watchmaker, on the corner of Broadway and Duane Street, was sold in 1812 for fifteen hundred dollars down. It was the first house built in the city with an under cellar. About fifteen years since, when walking up Broadway with one of our old Irish residents, he mentioned that he had seen lots sold since his arrival in New York, on Broadway, for one thousand dollars, which were then worth about seven thousand. He lamented his neglect in not availing himself of the chances of making a fortune in Broadway property, which he had suffered to pass. The same lots to-day are worth one hundred thousand dollars; yet I am told by those who know, that lots in London, situated with equal business advantages to lots on Broadway, in the most favorable locations, are worth in London quite double the present value on Broadway. All owners of Broadway property should bear in mind that there is but one Broadway in the world, and they have only to learn themselves, and to teach their heirs, to *wait*; and while waiting they will get a large interest upon present values, and in twenty years from to-day the values will be double; and it is more than probable they will be increased to more than three times the present prices they are selling at."

The following account of an auction sale, held the 11th of January 1872, and clipped from the New York *Tribune*, is also in point:

"A large attendance of wealthy real estate owners attended the sale conducted by Messrs. Muller, Wilkins & Co., under direction of the executors of the late Daniel Devlin. The property comprises four first-class marble stores and lots on the north side of Canal Street, 227 feet east of Broadway, known as Nos. 261, 263, 265 and 267 Canal Street, and two five-story stores and lots on the South side of Howard Street, connecting with the Canal Street property—lot on Canal Street 100 x 110, lot on Howard Street 49.8 x 100. By direction of Mr. Devlin's will the property was sold at auction. The executors offered the whole in one lot, and, after languid bidding by a few prominent capitalists, it was sold to Mr. E. S. Higgins for \$363,000. The stores are now rented, on a lease expiring May 1st, for \$55,000, and are sublet for \$72,000.

"Adrian H. Muller sold, by order of the Supreme Court, under direction of W. W. Goodrich, referee, one-third interest in the two blocks of ground on the north side of Sixty-first Street, and commencing at Eighth Avenue. The property was struck off at \$65,000, and was purchased by the parties in interest.

"Messrs. Arnold, Constable & Co. have recently purchased two lots on the north-east corner of Eighty-third Street and Fifth Avenue for \$95,000, paying \$55,000 for the corner lot and \$40,000 for the one adjoining."

Before closing the record of this year allusion should be made to the elegant buildings of the Young Men's

Christian Association, Booth's Theater, and the Grand Opera-house.

The Young Men's Christian Association of New York City was organized July, 1852, and incorporated April, 1860, for the "Improvement of the Spiritual, Mental, Social, and Physical Condition of Young Men." The Association seeks to accomplish the purposes of its organization by the employment of the following agencies, namely: Free Reading-Rooms, a Free Circulating and a Free Reference Library, Sunday Evening Sermons, Free Lectures at Rooms, Prayer Meetings, Bible Classes, Social and Musical Meetings, Readings, a Literary Society, and a Musical Society; by aiding in the selection of good boarding-places; by obtaining, as far as possible, situations for those who are out of employment; by visiting and relieving those who are sick and in want; by introducing strangers to fit persons for friends and acquaintances, and to suitable church connections; and by the use of every other means in harmony with the name it bears, that may tend to cheer, aid, and guide young men, especially such as come from country homes or foreign lands.*

It was soon found, however, that the general rooms of the Association, which were situated at 161 Fifth Avenue, were entirely too small to accommodate the constantly increasing influx of young men. Accordingly, in 1868, a very valuable plot of land on the south-west corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third Street was purchased, at a cost of one hundred and forty-two thousand dollars, for the erection of a building worthy of the work to which the Association had devoted its energies. The

* "Hundreds of young men," writes Mr. McBurney, the Secretary, to the writer, "from all parts of our own land, as well as from Europe, come to us for advice on temporal and spiritual things. We are careful not to make public the cases which come under our notice, so that young men may come to us with full confidence when in difficulty. Many who have been thus quietly helped are now holding prominent positions in the city."

vigor and good judgment with which the Association conducted its work gave to it the full confidence of the very best men in the city (its real estate is held by a Board of Trustees, composed of such men as Stewart Brown,



YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION BUILDING.

Robert L. Stuart, James Stokes, Charles C. Colgate, Robert Lenox Kennedy, Jonathan Sturges, and others), and the result was that in the summer of this year the building



BOOTH'S THEATRE.

was completed and thoroughly furnished at a cost of about three hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The building itself stands directly opposite the Academy of Design, on the south-west corner of Fourth Avenue and Twenty-third Street. It is acknowledged to be one of the finest specimens of the Renaissance order of architecture in the city. The roof is of the steep Mansard pattern, presenting towers of equal height at each corner of the building, and a larger tower (windowed) over the entrance (on Twenty-third Street), which is simple and elegant. The dimensions of the building are one hundred and seventy-five feet on Twenty-third Street, eighty-three feet on Fourth Avenue, and ninety-seven feet at the rear. The material is New Jersey brown-stone and the yellowish marble from Ohio in almost equal parts, though on account of the latter composing the trimming material the brown stone gives the building the controlling air. The building contains twenty-five apartments in all, including gymnasium, library, lecture-rooms, offices, etc. Besides this general building, the Association has rooms at 76 Varick Street, One Hundred and Twenty-Second Street and Third Avenue, and at 97 Wooster Street, for colored young men.

“Branching off along the same street, to the west of Fifth Avenue, will bring us to Booth’s new theater, on the corner of Sixth Avenue and Twenty-third Street. The building is in the Renaissance style of architecture, and stands seventy-five feet high from the sidewalk to the main cornice, crowning which is a Mansard roof of twenty-four feet. The theater proper fronts one hundred and forty-nine feet on Twenty-third Street, and is divided into three parts, so combined as to form an almost perfect whole, with arched entrances at either extremity on the side for the admission of the public, and on the other for another entrance and the use of actors and those employed

in the house. There are three doors on the frontage, devised for securing the most rapid egress of a crowded audience in case of fire, and, in connection with other facilities, said to permit the building to be vacated in five minutes. On either side of these main entrances are broad and lofty windows; and above them, forming a part of the second story, are niches for statues, surrounded by coupled columns resting on finely-sculptured pedestals. The central or main niche is flanked on either side by quaintly-contrived blank windows; and between the columns, at the depths of the recesses, are simple pilasters, sustaining the elliptic arches, which will serve to span and top the niches, the latter to be occupied by statues of the great creators and interpreters of the drama in every age and country. The finest Concord granite, from the best quarries in New Hampshire, is the material used in the entire façade, as well as in the Sixth Avenue side. The interior—probably the most complete and elegant in the world—is equally deserving of notice. It is subdivided, architecturally speaking, into four heights. The first and lowermost embraces the parquet, circle, and orchestra seats, for the accommodation of eight hundred persons. The second tier is thrown into the dress-circle; the third constitutes the family circle; and the fourth embraces the gallery, or amphitheater. There is something of the French model suggested by the general effect of the interior, but there are many graceful and pleasing originalities. The stage is fifty-five feet in breadth, seventy-five feet in depth, fifty in total height, and is set in a beautiful ornamental framework, so as to give the effect of a gorgeously framed picture to the *mise en scène*. The boxes are tastefully arranged on either side of the stage; and all of the interior divisions and subdivisions unite in their construction the latest and most improved appliances for celerity and ease in the manifold operations of the entire company.

Taken from a point embracing the Sixth Avenue and Twenty-third Street façades, the glittering granite mass, exquisitely poised, adorned with rich and appropriate carving, statuary, columns, pilasters, and arches, and capped by the springing French roof, fringed with its shapely balustrades, offers an imposing and majestic aspect, and forms one of the architectural jewels of the city.

“The Grand Opera-house is an imposing and elegant structure, and occupies the block on Eighth Avenue between Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth Streets. It is estimated to have cost nearly half a million of dollars. It fronts one hundred and thirteen feet on the Avenue, and ninety-eight feet on Twenty-third Street, and is eighty feet high from the base to the cornice. It has a basement and four floors—the former being occupied by a warming apparatus, and as a general store-room for the theater. The main entrance to the theater is twenty-one feet wide, and leads up a passage eighty feet long into a vestibule forty-five by seventy-two feet. Thence the visitor passes up the main staircase, twelve feet wide, which conducts him directly into the dress-circle. The upper stories, which are divided into the family-circle and the amphitheater, have their entrance on Twenty-third Street. The parquet and orchestra are arranged in the usual manner—the former occupying the elevation of the inclined plane. The stage is seventy-two by seventy-six feet, which, including the proscenium, makes a total depth of eighty-four feet. It is capitally adapted for setting elaborate scenes and spectacles, the ground beneath being excavated to the depth of twenty-five feet. The scenery is so arranged as to descend through the stage and slide at the sides in the usual way. The exterior of the building is a good specimen of the Italian order of architecture. At the top, over the main entrance, is a statuesque group representing

Apollo and Erato. Below this are medallions of Shakespeare and Mozart; and on either side of the window below are large figures representing Comedy and Tragedy. Emblazoned coats-of-arms brighten the main entrance on either side. One of the most praiseworthy features of this noble theater is the ease with which the audience can make their exit from the building in case of fire—there being no less than seven exits leading directly to the streets, and all readily accessible. The front of the theater, on Eighth Avenue, is of solid marble, with ornamental cornice; and the interior is lighted by chandeliers in a dome thirty feet in diameter.”*

Indeed, it needs no prophetic vision to foretell that soon New York will have justly entitled herself to the name of the CITY OF PALACES. In fact, only two things are now apparently required to enable the keystone to be placed upon the edifice begun by our Dutch ancestors, viz., a good municipal government, and a safe and rapid means of transit from the upper to the lower portions of the island. From the peculiar topographical situation of New York—it being, in effect, a long and narrow peninsula—the population, unable to spread itself out on each side, is either obliged to reside on the opposite banks of two rivers, or is forced into the upper portion of the island—either of which alternatives is extremely inconvenient to the business community. To lessen this inconvenience various schemes have been devised, such as an “arcade railroad” underneath Broadway, or a horse-car railroad on the surface of the same thoroughfare. There was also this year a pneumatic railroad started underground, at the corner of Warren Street and Broadway, which has been carried as far as Murray; while an elevated railroad, on iron pillars, was com-

* *New York Illustrated.*

pleted on Greenwich Street from the Battery to Thirtieth Street, though the cars are not yet making regular trips. Neither of these plans, however, meet all the requirements of the case, and it is evident that a mode of transit fulfilling all the conditions of success has yet to be invented. It cannot, however, be doubted that, with the fertility of expedients which New-Yorkers have always shown to meet any exigencies that might arise, this desirable consummation is only a question of time.

The opening of the year 1870 saw the old charter abolished by the Legislature, and a new one given to the city. The change first had its origin in the members of the Tammany organization sep-^{1870.} arating into two bitter opposing factions called respectively the "Old" and "Young" Democracy—the former being led on the war-path by Wm. M. Tweed, and the latter by Sheriff O'Brien. After much angry disputation, both in this city and in the halls of the State Capitol, the "Old Democracy" triumphed, and carried through the new charter. While the fate of that instrument was in abeyance, the excitement ran high, and many old and staunch Republicans united, or more properly espoused, for the time being, the cause of the "Young Democracy," whose watchword professed to be "thorough reform in all departments of our corrupt city government." Indeed, so important did it appear that the old charter should be retained, or rather that the new one should be defeated, that the president of the Union League Club, Hon. Jackson L. Schultz, hastily called a meeting on the evening of the 2d of April, at which a committee of fifteen, with the Hon. Horace Greeley as chairman, was appointed to proceed to Albany at the earliest possible moment, and "protest emphatically against the passage of the charter now before the Senate, unless it is essentially amended." But although

the committee performed their duties faithfully, even to opposing it on the floor of the Senate, their efforts availed little; and although a few modifications were introduced into it, yet the Central Park Commission, with their powers, were changed; and the NEW CHARTER was given to the city substantially in its original shape.*

* The old and new departments compare as follows:

<i>New.</i>	<i>Old.</i>
Finance.	Finance.
Law.	Law.
Police.	Police.
Public Works.	Croton Board.
Charities and Correction.	Street Department.
Fire.	Charities and Correction.
Health.	Fire.
Public Parks.	Health.
Buildings.	Central Park.
Docks	Buildings.

The number of these departments remains the same, though two old ones are consolidated, and one entirely new one created.

The direct power of the people in the election of public officers under the new charter, and as formerly exercised, compares as follows:

<i>Under New Charter.</i>	<i>Under the Old System.</i>
The people elect—	The people elected—
Mayor.	Mayor.
Corporation Counsel.	Corporation Counsel.
Aldermen, who are also Supervisors.	Comptroller.
Assistant Aldermen.	Aldermen and Assistants.
School Officers.	Supervisors.
Judicial and County Officers.	School Officers.
	Judicial and County Officers.

It will thus be seen that the sum of these changes shows a very considerable loss in the people, even if the various commissioners and other officers were appointed by a Mayor elected for that purpose. But when it is remembered that the appointments are all made by an official about retiring from office, to be succeeded by a Mayor who can exercise no control whatever over any of these executive departments, it will be apparent that the City Government, instead of being more democratic than under the old system, is in reality a great deal less so.

At the present time of writing, however (January, 1872), the presumption is, that the "new charter" will be entirely abolished by the present Legislature now in session; the State election held on the 7th of November, 1871, having returned a majority of members to both houses pledged to its repeal.

The main peculiarity of the new charter, stripped of all of its verbiage, appears to consist in two things, viz. . first, that the various commissions which ruled so many departments of the city government and were appointed by the Governor of the State, instead of being elected by the people, are retained, *with this difference*, that the appointing power is vested in the Mayor of the city of New York; and secondly, that the old system of choosing inspectors of election is re-established, while the registry law is also retained.

CHAPTER XV.

THE year 1871 will always be memorable from the occurrence of three events—one of pleasant and two of painful memories. These were: first, the ORANGE RIOT; second, the noble manner in which the city of New York responded to the request of the sufferers of the GREAT CHICAGO FIRE for relief; and, third, the culmination and exposure of the gigantic frauds, and the downfall of the “TAMMANY RING.” 1871.

The Orange Riot, which at one time promised to be as disastrous in its effect upon life and property as the “Draft Riot” of the Civil War, occurred on the afternoon of Wednesday, the 12th of July. Numerous threats having been made by the Roman Catholics against the Orangemen should they turn out in procession in honor of the victory won by the Prince of Orange at the battle of the Boyne, the Mayor issued a proclamation forbidding the parade. This step, however, at once aroused such an outburst of indignation, irrespective of party—not only in the city but throughout the country—that Governor Hoffman hastened to issue, on the morning of the day, a counter-proclamation, guaranteeing the safety of all Orangemen who should join in the celebration. The procession accordingly formed at the head-quarters of the Orangemen, on the corner of Twenty-ninth Street and

Eighth Avenue, and began its march under the escort of four militia regiments, the Seventh, Ninth, Twenty-second, and Eighty-fourth, and a large force of policemen. Scarcely, however, had the procession begun its march, when it was attacked at the intersection of Eighth Avenue and Twenty-sixth Street, both with missiles and fire-arms, hurled and discharged from the street and neighboring housetops. The Seventh Regiment, followed by the Eighty-fourth and the Ninth, thereupon, acting under general though not specific orders, began firing on the crowd by sections, and with such effect that the mob were quickly dispersed. As is almost always the case on such occasions, several innocent persons were unavoidably killed. Still, it is believed that the promptness with which the military opened fire was the means of preventing a vast amount of bloodshed. The number of those who were killed in this riot was sixty-two.

On the morning of Sunday, the 6th of October, the citizens of New York city were startled by the news which flashed along the telegraphic wires that a terrific fire was raging in a sister city. Nor were the emotions to which this intelligence gave rise dissipated when, on the next day, and the next, news came that the fire was still burning with increasing fury, and on the day following the further intelligence that, although the fire had been extinguished by a providential rain, yet it was not until five square miles of Chicago had been reduced to ashes, one hundred thousand people rendered houseless, and several hundred persons burned to death.

In response to the cry for help that went up from the stricken city, instant and abundant relief was sent from every part of the Union. Wherever the news was carried it awakened the best impulses of human nature. The General Government sent thousands of tents and army

rations. Societies and private citizens sent money, clothing, and provisions. Railroad companies dispatched special trains laden with these gifts. From Canada and from Europe came expressions of sympathy and proffers of assistance. Foremost among all in the good work was New York city. On Monday and Tuesday, while the fire was in progress, nearly all business was suspended. Crowds surrounded the bulletin boards of the newspaper and telegraph offices; men meeting with men could talk of nothing save the great and—as all considered it—national calamity; and although there was scarcely a person whose business was not more or less injured by the fire, yet when the event was spoken of it was to express heartfelt sympathy with the sufferers—personal considerations were cast entirely aside.

As soon as the extent of the disaster was known, meetings were held for the purpose of raising contributions in money and clothing in aid of the victims; collections were taken up at the different churches; the proprietors of the *New York Tribune* offered any Chicago newspaper the use of a duplicate set of type and presses; A. T. Stewart gave individually fifty thousand dollars; and wagons went through the streets bearing large placards, with the words: "WE TAKE CONTRIBUTIONS FOR THE CHICAGO SUFFERERS." Public and private liberality walked hand in hand. In less than two weeks the handsome amount in money and material of nearly three millions of dollars was raised and forwarded to Chicago. The City of New York had acquitted herself nobly.

Although it had long been known by the citizens of New York, and the people throughout the country generally, that immense frauds were being perpetrated by certain persons ycleped "members of the Tammany Ring," yet it was not until the early summer of this year that

the people were fully aroused, both to the alarming state of affairs and to the necessity of bringing the guilty parties to justice. Accordingly a vigorous attack upon the "Ring" was first made by the New York *Times*, which, in a series of able editorials, exposed, by the publication of the exorbitant sums paid for different articles furnished the city government and other documents, the iniquitous proceedings by which the tax-payers of the city had been robbed of their money. There was the record of millions paid away for work that never was done, supplies that never were furnished, chairs and carpets that never were seen in any of the city or county offices. There were warrants drawn in favor of men who had no existence, and indorsed to the order of particular friends and instruments of the "Ring." There were proofs of the most daring forgery as well as of wholesale robbery. The whole country was aroused. Even Europe rang with the scandal.

At first the leaders of the "Ring" contented themselves with replying either by gibes or by the *argumentum ad hominem*—referring to alleged frauds in the departments of the Federal Government. At length, however, the sledge-hammer blows dealt day after day in the columns of the *Times* began to tell, and the "Ring" leaders, relinquishing their former tactics of treating the accusations lightly, and as a thing to be settled merely by a pert repartee, resorted to various quibbles. The Mayor, for example, stated that he had acted "ministerially," and had, therefore, "no personal responsibility." He also said that his name had been forged to duplicate bills, while the other officers of the municipal government, following the same line, assumed an air of entire ignorance regarding their alleged fraudulent practices.

Meanwhile the disclosures of corruption and malfeasance in office were of so astounding a nature that the

people were at length aroused to the importance of vigorous measures, and joined in a general demand for some action that would lead to the deposition of the men who had violated their oaths of office and betrayed their high trusts, chief among whom were mentioned A. Oakey Hall, Mayor; Peter B. Sweeney, President of the Commission of Public Parks; William M. Tweed, Commissioner of Public Works; and Richard B. Connolly, Comptroller of the City and County of New York—public officers commonly known as the “Ring” rulers of this city.

In obedience to the popular demand the following call was issued and published in the public newspapers:

“A meeting of citizens and tax-payers, irrespective of party, to consider the present condition of the city finances in view of the charges of corruption that have been made in respect to them, and to take such action as the public safety may require, will be held at the Cooper Union on Monday, September 4th, 1871, at 8 P. M. Hon. Wm. F. Havemeyer will preside. Hon. Edward Salomon, Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt, Hon. James Emott, Hon. Oswald Ottendorfer, Hon. Edwards Pierrepont, Hon. Thomas A. Ledwith, and others, have accepted invitations to address the meeting. All persons opposed to the corrupt administration of city affairs are respectfully invited to attend.

In response to this call Cooper Union was crowded on the evening of the 4th of September in every part, and long before the hour announced for the opening of the meeting thousands of citizens were obliged to return to their homes, unable to obtain admission.

At eight o'clock, James M. Brown, Esq., of the firm of Messrs. Brown Brothers & Co., bankers, called the meeting to order, and nominated for chairman the Hon. William F. Havemeyer, ex-Mayor of the city of New York. The organization was completed by the election of two hundred and twenty-seven Vice-Presidents and fifteen Secretaries. These were chosen from among the most distinguished citizens of New York city.

At this meeting, after the subject for which it had been called had been ably presented by speakers of both

parties, Joseph H. Choate, Esq., reported a series of resolutions, which were unanimously adopted, and are appended, and a committee of seventy citizens and tax-payers was chosen in accordance with the recommendation therein contained.

THE RESOLUTIONS.

"Resolved, That the tax-payers and citizens of New York have learned with astonishment and alarm that the funded and bonded debt of the city and county has been more than doubled within the last two and a half years; that the acknowledged indebtedness of the city and county is now upward of \$113,000,000, being over \$63,000,000 more than it was when the present Mayor took his office, and that there is reason to believe that there are floating contingent or pretended debts and claims against the city and county which will amount to many millions of dollars in addition, which will be paid out of the City and County Treasury, unless the present financial officers are removed or their proceedings arrested.

"Resolved, That the distinct, precise, and emphatic charges in regard to the use and expenditure of this enormous sum, and the fraudulent misappropriation of the public money, which have been made against the present city and county officials, have been met by these officers with contemptuous denials of any power to interfere, with flippant evasions, with studied concealment of a large part of the public accounts, and with attempts to garble and confuse the residue, and by the other parties implicated with an utter silence, which is a confession of their guilt.

"Resolved, That the facts and figures already disclosed compel us, as they must all honest and reflecting men, to the conclusion that enormous sums of money have been wrongfully taken from the public treasury; that millions of dollars have been paid to a few firms and individuals for work never performed and materials never furnished, and this with the procurement or connivance of persons now holding the principal offices of trust and profit under the present charter; that exorbitant rents are paid for military armories and offices, and in several instances in rooms which do not exist or are not occupied. That the long and continued concealment of the accounts of the city proper furnishes ground to believe that these accounts will disclose facts, if possible, yet more astounding, and will show that the same men who have squandered or stolen hundreds of thousands of the tax-payers' moneys are still engaged in similar frauds and speculations.

"Resolved, That the public officers directly arraigned at the bar of public judgment for these offenses, are William M. Tweed, now Commissioner of the Department of Public Works, some time President of the former Board of Supervisors, and afterward one of the 'Interim' Board, who had notoriously a controlling influence in the first of these Boards and shared in the acts of the other, and who from his relations to parties in whose name bills were presented, and to whom they were ordered to be paid, is open to the suspicion, not only of having planned the swindle, but of having shared the plunder; Richard B. Connolly, the present Comptroller, and A. Oakey Hall, the present

Mayor, who were also members of the 'Interim' Board which sanctioned the payment of several millions of dollars, contrary to law and right, but who also signed the warrants and consented to the payments which they confess they had the power to expose, if not to arrest; and unless these officers can meet the charges by other evidence and on different pleas than have yet been furnished in their behalf, the credit of the city of New York and the material interests of its citizens will demand that they quit or be deprived of the offices which they have dishonored and the power they are abusing.

"Resolved, That we have a right to, and do, demand a full and detailed exhibit of the public receipts and expenditures for the past two years and a half, and of the real and pretended liabilities of the city and county of New York, including its funded and its floating debt. This demand is not simply to show whether the men who have used money of the city and created its now enormous debt, can produce vouchers or accounts for every payment, or whether the books of the Comptroller will balance, but what is the total amount which has been collected from taxes, received from revenue and borrowed upon the credit of the city; and what has been done with the money, to whom it has been paid and upon what considerations and pretense, in every instance.

"Resolved, That the citizens of the city have also a right to know, and are determined to ascertain, who are and have been on the pay-rolls of the City Government, what pay they receive and what services they render, as well as who have actually profited by the enormous payments of bills or accounts, obviously exceeding any value received by the city; who are represented by the fictitious names alleged to appear in these accounts, and to what extent any members of the present City Government are concerned, in real partnerships or under fictitious names, in the plunder of the public treasury.

"Resolved, That any legal remedy which is now available to citizens at large to fully ascertain and disclose frauds charged upon the city and county officers, and to recover the money wrongfully taken thereby from the public treasury, should be resorted to, and that if no such remedies are found to exist, then the law should be altered so as to enable citizens and tax-payers, under proper restrictions and regulations, to call officers intrusted by them with power and money to legal account, and to invoke the arm of justice to discover fraud in public officers and to prevent or redress the dishonest appropriation of public money.

"Resolved, That we appeal to the next Legislature of the State to repeal the charter and laws by which the present rulers of the city have obtained and perpetuated their power, and to give to the city of New York a form of government such as shall be devised or approved of by our wisest and best citizens, and shall enable us to secure an honest and efficient administration of the laws.

"Resolved, That the citizens of this city are earnestly entreated to make the reform of their own government the one controlling issue at the next election, to support no man for office, and especially for the Legislature of the State, no matter what may be his party name, who is not known to be both honest and incorruptible, and determined and distinctly pledged, so far as he is able, whatever may be the consequences, to reform the city of New York; and that our fellow-citizens throughout the State are entreated to join us in the effort to redress evils which concern them hardly less than ourselves.

"*Resolved*, That the public credit, character, and the business interests of this great and growing city imperatively demand that its citizens be kept fully and constantly informed of the issue of any public stock, bonds, or other evidences of debt binding the real or personal property of the city or its citizens; and further, that legal provision should be made for preventing any such issue not especially authorized, or exceeding the amount specifically appropriated for that purpose (by means, if necessary, of officers to be elected by the people of this city, in such manner as to secure the representation of the whole people, the minority as well as the majority).

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of the community are due to the public newspapers who have contributed to enlighten the public mind and to form and give utterance to public opinion upon these issues, and especially to the *New York Times*, for its fearless and searching investigation and exposure of the public accounts and of the conduct of the present officers of the city.

"*Resolved*, That an Executive Committee of seventy members be appointed by the President of this meeting, whose duty it shall be to take such measures as shall be necessary or expedient to carry out the objects for which we are assembled, to demand a full exhibition of all the accounts of the city and county, and an explicit statement of all the persons to whom, and the pretenses upon which the large payments of the past two years and a half have been made; to enforce any remedies which now exist to obtain this information if it is refused, and to recover whatever sums of money have been fraudulently or feloniously abstracted; and also to impress upon the Legislature and Governor of the State such measures of legislation and action as may be necessary or proper to enforce the existing laws, and to supply their defects, and to remove the cause of the present abuses; and finally, to assist, sustain, and direct an united effort, by the citizens of New York, without reference to party, to obtain a good government and honest officers to administer it; and the said committee are hereby authorized to call upon all citizens interested in good government to contribute such funds as may be needed to execute the powers intrusted to them, and also to fill vacancies and add to their number."

The Committee of Seventy, which, like the Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, was also composed of men of character and position, soon afterward met and organized by the selection of the following officers:

HENRY, G. STEBBINS, *Chairman*.

WILLIAM F. HAVEMEYER, *Vice-Chairman*.

ROSWELL D. HATCH, *Secretary*.

EMIL SAUER, *Treasurer*.

A Committee on Address was appointed, of which Major J. M. Bundy was chairman, who reported "AN APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK," at a special meeting of the Committee of Seventy, held in

the rooms of the Chamber of Commerce on Saturday, September 23d. The Address was unanimously adopted, and ordered to be printed for general circulation, together with the resolutions adopted at the meeting in Cooper Union on the evening of September 4th, and the speech delivered thereat by the Hon. Robert B. Roosevelt, M. C.*

The appeal read as follows:

"On the 4th of this month the people of the City of New York assembled at Cooper Institute to give expression to the almost universal indignation that has been growing daily deeper against corrupt municipal officials. As this expression was deliberate and not spasmodic, it was not completed by the proceedings of the most earnest and enthusiastic meeting held in this city since 1861. Our best citizens, of both parties, felt that the hour had come when all lawful means must be used to redeem the city from plunderers and to restore her drooping credit. As the most effectual method of carrying out their purpose a Committee of Seventy was appointed, which now, as part of its work, addresses the people of this State, and calls upon them to do their share toward effecting a thorough and complete reform.

"What we have done here is known through the public press. What may and should be done elsewhere we propose to suggest, and from the stand-point of the wholly non-partisan movement which we represent. And at the outset we must say, that from the time of our appointment to the present this Committee has not misrepresented the sentiment of the meeting which called it into being.

"Some of the members of this Committee have been known by reputation to every intelligent voter of this State for many years, and their words will not be doubted when they say—as do all the Committee—that they have in all their deliberations faithfully represented the non-partisan spirit of the great body of citizens who conferred on them the high honor of serving as their spokesmen and agents. Not one word has been uttered in our most confidential intercourse that could be construed into proof of the slightest desire to use the power of this Committee for any partisan end. We should have been not only false to a most sacred trust, but untrue to the inspiration that has daily come to us in the earnest support of both Democrats and Republicans, had we failed to realize the nature of the righteous revolution which has brought us to the front.

"We have not so failed, but have given all the aid in our power to the honest members of the party which is dominant here, and which is peculiarly humiliated by scoundrels who have misused an honored party name as a cover for their villainies.

"We appeal to citizens of both parties to save us and the State from the possibility of another such degradation as has fallen on all of us, from Montauk

* For this speech see Appendix No. XI. This speech should be read in connection with the text.

Point to the westernmost and northernmost corners of New York. It lies easily in your power to so assert the honest manhood that ought to prevail in both parties, that no such Legislatures as those of the last few years will be possible during the rest of this century. No private business, no partisan end, can be so important to any right-minded citizen as the plain duties that are thrown on him by recent deplorable revelations. Unfit nominations for the Legislature cannot succeed, and are not likely to be made, in any district where honest men are alive and awake to the issues of this campaign. The money that has been accumulated from the spoils of the metropolis will be poured out like water to procure the election of purchasable legislators, but it will be spent in vain wherever the people are aroused by a few earnest leaders. All the wealth of our city could not bribe a thoroughly awakened people or divert them from their purpose. Whether aroused by the treason that is bold and armed, or by the meaner and fouler treason that makes the ballot a farce, law an instrument of fraud, and courts of justice a snare, the people are equal to the demand, and their loyalty and honesty are sure to conquer.

"A free and active and prosperous people like ours will endure many evils in their government; but there is no power on earth that is so irresistible or so fatal to wrong-doers as the public opinion which is finally sure to be roused by successive and growing enormities.

"The fountain can rise no higher than its source. When the people are apathetic, and demagogues and selfish schemers make a business of politics, there is no force to sustain our officials above the low level of indifference and easy morals. But the moral power of ten actively righteous men in every Assembly district would so raise the tone of local politics that no bad man could get his head high enough above the surface to command the support of either party.

"Official corruption has grown up as the result of the necessarily enormous expenses of a gigantic war, of an inflated currency, of the magnificent chances offered to private ambitions, of stock and gold gambling, and a universally spread passion for sudden wealth and idle display. It is an evil which has afflicted both parties and dragged them down from the high principles that gave them origin. Honest and earnest patriots will feel the common woes and humiliations that have been brought on us by the representatives of both parties, and will be enkindled to a doubly bitter hatred of the Achans that are in their own camp, and that have dragged their own banners in the mire of corruption.

"In this city, where one political party has had unchecked rule for so many years, and where millions could be stolen from the tax-payers without imposing extra burdens that were felt as onerous by so wealthy a constituency, it is not strange that prevailing corruption should have broken out in aggravated forms, nor that all the evil elements in our community should have finally been combined into an apparently irresistible phalanx. No such mass of bad material was elsewhere to be found waiting such a masterly alliance of corrupt leaders to develop all its resources of evil. Ignorance furnishes ready tools of a combination that included a political craft worthy of a depraved Macchiavelli, an adroitness of advocacy that was effective in spite of occasional buffooneries, a coarse brutality of power that awed and inspired ruffians and low natures, and a sort of cunning that was the sublimation of the skill of the sneak-thief. Given these elements, opportunities, and leaders, and the natural

result was the Ring, which, until lately, has robbed and stolen itself into power, which has bought Legislatures, controlled governors, corrupted newspapers, defiled courts of justice, violated the ballot-box, threatened all forms of civil and religious liberty, awed the timid rich, bribed the toiling masses, and cajoled respectable citizens, and which has finally grown so strong and reckless as to openly defy the intelligence and virtue which it believed to be inert, voiceless, and powerless to stay its aggressions or to assert the supremacy of honesty and justice.

"But you of the country must help us. This is your city, as truly as it is our own. We are your factors and business agents. If we are overburdened with taxes, you have to pay us the more for doing your business. The corruption of our municipal government could not have grown to its present gigantic proportions had our leaders of the Ring not found active support and willing material in bribable members of the Legislature elected by the rural districts. You must help us in our effort to purify our political life, and the one efficacious manner by which you can come to our relief is to elect honest men only to the next Legislature. If our city is disgraced by a senator who domineers among weaker villains by mere grossness and magnitude of scoundrelism, he has found willing tools among the false representatives of districts where one year of his stealings would be regarded as enormous wealth.

"There is no occasion for advice from this Committee as to the details of the great fight against all forms of official corruption which has made such cheering progress in this city. If the feeling which prevails among all our good citizens shall be shared by those who are further removed from the evils which at first appalled and then stung us into activity, earnest hearts will find ready means to incarnate honest purposes in noble actions, and to redeem the fair fame of our State for generations to come. We have tried to define the issue as it has pressed on us. If we have succeeded, and if you feel, as we do, that it is now the honest manhood of the State that is on trial, no combination of political tricksters can repress or even direct the swelling tide of popular indignation and resolve. In its presence all ordinary political issues will sink out of sight, and next November will witness a vindication of the manhood of the people of New York, as proud and momentous in its consequences as that which was attested when the State rose as one man at the call of a different form of patriotism.

"The cause of self-government is deeply involved in this campaign. Of what use was it for tens of thousands of our best and bravest to lay down their lives on distant fields, if our government—municipal, State, and national—are to fall into the hands of tricksters and thieves? Where is the demoralization to end that has made such appalling progress in the city of New York? Will even the local governments of the interior long withstand the inroads of corruption, when weak and bad men see it glittering with diamonds, reveling in private palaces, gaudy in equipages, and the master of the means of luxurious vice, in the metropolis of the State? How long will it be safe for you to intrust your business to a community that you will not help to rid of thieves, and where successful villainy sets dangerous examples to men of easy consciences, infirm purpose, and eager ambition? When the confidence that underlies all profitable human intercourse is sapped, in so far as concerns the relations between rulers and ruled among a quarter of the population of the

State, where and how is the process of decay and disease to stop? What other relations of trust between man and man will be long held sacred?

"We appeal especially to the vast reserve force of voters through whose criminal indifference to their political duties the shame and disgrace that we are now enduring has come upon us. At least one-third of the best classes of our people are habitually absent from the polls. The forces of evil are active, crafty, and resolute. They are already visible all over the State, in the shape of combinations to purchase votes for the Ring with offers of local benefits. We believe that the temper of the people is such that it will render all these schemes futile and disastrous to their authors. The honest people of this State have never before had such inspiration to redeem themselves from all the wiles of corruptionists and to teach them a lesson that will be remembered for generations to come. Never has the proud motto of our State been more appropriate than it will be if we do our duty this fall. In our glorious resurrection of public virtue the humiliations of the past will be forgotten as a hateful dream, and every institution of our society and politics will feel the elevating influences of revived confidence in honesty and justice."

Thus the matter rested until the morning of the 11th of September, when it was discovered(?) that the Comptroller's office at the City Hall had been broken open during the preceding night, and all the vouchers abstracted, to the number of more than thirty-five hundred, from their place of deposit.* The news of this robbery at once aroused such a storm of indignation from all classes, without distinction of party, that Mayor Hall, in a letter, immediately requested Mr. Connolly to resign his office of Comptroller. To this request, the latter returned a peremptory refusal, assigning as a reason, that for him to take such a step without impeachment, and a trial, and a conviction, would be tantamount to an acknowledgment of guilt. The day following, however, acting upon the advice of a prominent Democrat, viz., William H. Have-meyer, he appointed to the office of Deputy-Comptroller, Andrew H. Green. This appointment gave great satisfaction to the community, who now, for the first time, since the skein of corruption had begun to unravel,

* It may strike the reader as singular that, when about a hundred thousand dollars had been paid for safes for the new Court-house the vouchers were kept in a *glass-case*—from which place they were abstracted as mentioned in the text.

breathed more freely. Not only was Mr. Green a distinguished member of the Democratic party, but he had formerly and for a long time held the responsible position of Comptroller of the Central Park Commission, during which period, although daily handling large sums of money, his record was unsullied. Against him, suspicion, with her hundred tongues, had never whispered the slightest charge of venality. Soon after his assuming the duties of his office, he instituted an investigation into the "voucher robbery"—an investigation which resulted in the discovery of their charred remains in an old ash-heap in the attic of the City Hall. The supposed agents in this affair were arrested, indicted, and committed for trial without bail, but up to the present period remain untried. But Deputy-Comptroller Green did not stop here. He quickly lopped off the fungi which had been clinging to the city treasury in the form of *sinecure* offices; reduced all expenditures to the lowest point consistent with a safe administration of the finances; brought order out of chaos; and very soon saved large sums to the city.

Almost the first action of the Committee of Seventy was to procure an injunction from Judge Barnard, restraining, for the present, the payment of all moneys out of the city treasury. This order, however, was subsequently modified, so as to allow the payment of the laborers on the public works, and the progress and completion of permanent works, such as the receiving and distributing reservoirs, and the laying of mains, but forbidding the use of the moneys raised for such purposes for the ordinary expenses of the department. At the same time some of the largest banks—such was the confidence felt in the integrity of Andrew H. Green—advanced nearly a million dollars with which to meet the more pressing claims against the city, and enable the wheels of government to roll more smoothly.

The next step of the Committee was to present the Mayor for indictment before the Grand Jury. Here again the "Ring" endeavored to suborn justice, for it was presently discovered that the jury had evidently—as the technical phrase is—been "packed," from the foreman down, with relations and personal intimates of the person to be indicted. Upon this fact being brought to the notice of Judge Barnard, he immediately dismissed the jurors and ordered another "panel." The new "panel," however, failed, from lack of sufficient evidence, to bring in an indictment against the Mayor.

Proceeding in the work they had undertaken, the Committee next called upon the Governor of the State, and requested him to appoint Charles O'Connor to assist the Attorney-General in prosecuting the most prominent officers of the city government for malfeasance in office. In reply, the Governor stated that he had no power to take such action, but he would recommend that course to the Attorney-General. Thereupon the latter wrote a letter to Mr. O'Connor, empowering him to act for the State, and to employ such associates as he might deem proper. Hon. William M. Evarts, Wheeler H. Peckham, and Judge Emott were thereupon chosen by Mr. O'Connor as associates.

Mr. O'Connor and his associates at once went actively to work. On the 26th of October, William M. Tweed was arrested on the affidavit of Mr. Samuel J. Tilden, and held to bail in the sum of one million of dollars.*

* Divested of all legal forms, the facts set forth by Mr. Tilden in his affidavit were as follows: By the City Tax-Levy of 1870, section 4, the Mayor, the Comptroller, and the President of the Board of Supervisors were made a special Board of Audit, to decide upon all outstanding claims against the county of New York. Instead of auditing the claims, the Board delegated the duty of auditing the bills to Auditor James Watson, and directed the payment of whatever bills either Mr. Tweed or Mr. Joseph B. Young should certify as correct. The bills were collected, amounting to \$6,312,541.37, and were paid accordingly; the whole amount going to the immediate personal friends and

Meanwhile the State election for members of the Legislature, State officers, and Judges of the Supreme Court of the city took place on the 7th of November. Perhaps never in the city's history—excepting the ones held in 1768 and in the spring of 1800, when New York city decided the fate of John Adams*—had an election taken

associates of Mr. William M. Tweed, nearly the whole of it upon vouchers which were indorsed by Andrew J. Garvey, James H. Ingersoll, under the style of "Ingersoll & Company," or "E. A. Woodward." As each set of warrants was paid, Mr. E. A. Woodward, who acted throughout as the confidential agent of Mr. Tweed, deposited to the account of Tweed in the National Broadway Bank his share of spoils. When the warrants were paid to Ingersoll or Garvey, they uniformly made a payment of a large part of the money to Woodward; and a large part of this again was immediately deposited to the credit of Mr. Tweed. As this was done again and again, on twenty-six different days, and as all the transfers were made by drafts upon the same bank, the evidence was absolutely complete that Tweed shared in the proceeds of these fraudulent vouchers, audited and indorsed by him; and the amount of stolen money thus directly traced from the public treasury to the pockets of this one person, through the transactions of this *ad interim* Board alone, is no less than one million of dollars.

* The election of 1800, alluded to in the text, was probably the most bitter, personal, and hotly contested election that New York city has ever witnessed—and it was on this occasion that the remarkable spectacle was presented of Hamilton making speeches at the polls, and Burr dictating the Republican legislative ticket. The contests between the Federalists and the Republicans in the charter elections had gradually increased in bitterness, and the Federalists began gradually to lose ground. Thus, in the election of the preceding spring (1799), the Sixth and Seventh Wards were carried by the Federalist party; and, elated by their success, the victors put forth renewed efforts in the election of this year. "To evade the property qualification, requiring every voter to be a landholder, an association of thirty-three young men purchased a house and lot in the Fifth Ward, jointly on the principle of a Tontine, and having thus rendered themselves eligible according to law, presented themselves at the polls as Republican voters. The same scheme was adopted in the Fourth Ward by a club of seventy-one members. The election returns showed four wards for the Republicans and three for the Federalists; the Fifth Ward being carried in favor of the former by a majority of six, and the Fourth Ward by thirty-five. This result was at once contested by the Federalists, on the ground of illegal voting by the Tontine Association, and, on being submitted to the decision of the retiring board, the majority of which belonged to that party, was pronounced null and void, and the balance of power restored to the hands of the Federalists. The State election having been decided in favor of the Republicans by the election of ex-Governor George Clinton, Edward Livingston, the brother of the well-known Chancellor of that name, received the appointment of Mayor of New York," and the vote of *one* majority in the

place that was attended with more acrimony or greater excitement. Turning, as it did, on the frauds of the Tammany Ring, all classes of citizens, irrespective of party, were aroused. Merchants, almost to a man, closed their stores; and thousands who had not voted for years exercised on this occasion the right of franchise. Republicans and Democrats united to crush one of the wickedest conspiracies ever aimed against municipal integrity and life. The result was an overwhelming defeat of the "Ring." General Franz Sigel was elected Register by a majority of twenty-five thousand votes. All of the anti-Tammany judges were elected; and only one (Wm. M. Tweed) of the five Tammany Senators was successful. Of the twenty-one Assemblymen sent to the Legislature by the city, Tammany elected but seven; while all the anti-Tammany Aldermen were elected but two. Of the twenty-one Assistant Aldermen chosen, a majority were pledged to reform.

Tammany, however, did not yield without a desperate struggle. All her old tactics of "ballot-stuffing," and intimidation at the polls, with which she was wont to be successful heretofore, were employed. "In this city," says the *New York Tribune*, in commenting upon the election, "the frauds on election day in Tweed's district are understood to have been enormous, and the intimidation of voters was without parallel in recent years. It is no exaggeration to say that the ballots for O'Donovan Rossa were kept out of the boxes by sheer ruffianism; and in many precincts it was literally unsafe to vote against the 'Boss.' Anti-Tammany voters were beaten and driven away from the polls, and there seems to be ground for charging that some of the police were in collusion with the assailants. If Tweed were allowed to take his seat in the

electoral college, consequent upon the result of the New York State election, gave the Presidency to Jefferson instead of to Adams.

Senate on the strength of an election like this, the principles of free republican government would receive a worse blow than from the theft of twenty millions of dollars.”*

The effects of the election were soon apparent. Members of the Ring who, up to this time, had been defiant, became crestfallen; several of the most prominent of them

* To the same effect, Mr. Melville D. Landon, a perfectly credible journalist, wrote the next day after the election, in the *Commercial Advertiser*, as follows:

“The disgraceful scenes, the ruffianly assaults, the dishonest repeating, fraudulent voting, and final surrender of the ballot-boxes in this Tweed ward cannot be described. I am not writing about what I heard or read in the newspapers, but I state what I saw with my own eyes.

“I saw drunken men come into the second voting precinct—not with Republican votes, for such a man would have been assaulted in three minutes, but with the ticket of the Committee of Seventy, including O'Donovan Rossa, and lay them on the ballot-boxes.

“I saw Edward Coppers, a low, vulgar scoundrel, acting as inspector, snap these votes off, and before the eyes of Michael Costello, the only Republican who dared to stay in the room, deposit Tweed votes.

“I saw four policemen, among whom was a contemptible scoundrel of the name of Francis O'Rourke, connive at these frauds.

“I saw thief after thief come in, whom Mr. Costello knew to be voting fraudulently, and their votes were received by their associate thief, Coppers, and deposited unchallenged.

“I saw brave Michael Costello challenge one brutal repeater, and then I saw five scoundrels assault him, and drag him to the ground, while four policemen stood by and saw it done.

“Then I saw Francis O'Rourke march this innocent brave Republican challenger to the station-house, and falsely accuse him of assault, when he knew he was telling a villainous lie.

“Then I saw Michael Costello in a cold, damp, stone cell, looking, like a felon, out of an iron gate.

“Shall this scoundrel police officer, Francis O'Rourke, go free—shall he still remain on the police force?

“After this I saw the ballot-boxes in the hands of thieves and repeaters. Every Republican vote was rejected unless it was disguised. Only Tweed votes were received.

“After this, H. G. Leask, of the ‘Committee of Seventy,’ sent Patrick Elliff to take Michael Costello's place. He was assaulted and driven away from the polls, and Mr. Leask's son was also abused and struck. The mob of thieves and roughts now attacked Mr. Leask's store, which was defended by police.

“To this the writer proposes to testify when Wm. M. Tweed asks for his seat in Albany next winter. This morning I see this voting precinct gave 346 votes for Tweed and only 42 against him, when it cast 48 Republican votes for Woodford in 1870.”

hastened to hand in their resignations of important positions which they held; and, finally, on the 20th of November, Richard B. Connolly resigned his office as Comptroller in favor of Andrew H. Green, who was at once appointed to the vacancy by the Mayor.* With this memorable election the curtain fell upon the play which Tammany had so long kept upon the political boards, to rise again under very different management.

On the 25th of November ex-Comptroller Connolly was arrested on substantially the same charges as his colleague in public office, William M. Tweed, and was also held to bail in the same sum; but, not so fortunate as the latter, he was unable to obtain the requisite amount of bail, and, on the 29th of November, was committed to the Ludlow Street Jail, where he remained until the last day of the year. On the 16th of December the Grand Jury indicted William M. Tweed for felony. On his way to the Tombs, however, he was rescued by a writ of *habeas corpus*; and, upon being taken before Judge Barnard, was released on

* Undoubtedly, one of the principal results of the election will be the creating of a new charter for the city. In framing one, the leading idea, says the *New York Times*, should be so "to reduce the profits of office-holding, that the professional politicians and place-hunters will be forced to abandon their corrupt and corrupting avocation. Every officer under the City Government should receive a fixed salary, and in no case should he be allowed to pocket any of the fees connected with his office. So far as possible all fees should be abolished, and, wherever they are collected, they should be promptly turned over to the City Treasury. As for the subordinate offices, such as clerkships and the like, it would be well if they could be made permanent and independent of political changes. Civil service reform is now agitating the minds of the best men in the country of both parties, and is looked forward to as the cure for the worst evils of our politics. The Republican Party now administering the National Government has taken the initiative in this much-needed reform. Why should not the same party, which will have entire control of the next Legislature, second the efforts of their representatives in the General Government, and anticipate them in making a practical trial of the experiment? No better place could be found to test the virtues of civil service reform than the City of New York; for nowhere else have the evils of the old system wrought such wide-spread corruption, and produced such demoralization of political parties as here."

the trifling sum of five thousand dollars bail. At length, on Friday, the 29th day of December, Mr. Tweed, forced to the step by the power of public opinion, resigned his office of Commissioner of Public Works, George Van Nort, a gentleman of large experience and high standing, being appointed to fill the vacancy. On the same day that this resignation was sent in, Mayor Hall was prohibited by a writ from Judge Brady from reappointing or recognizing the old Common Council; while, to complete the final downfall of the "Ring," William M. Tweed, spurned by nearly all of his fair-weather friends, was ejected from the position of Grand Sachem of the Tammany Society—Augustus Schell being elected to his place by acclamation.*

Upon the assembling of the Legislature at Albany on the 1st of January, 1872, the Committee of Seventy forwarded a petition to the Senate praying for the expulsion

of Wm. M. Tweed from his seat in that body; and
1872.

here, at the present time of writing (February 1st, 1872), the matter rests. The "Tammany Ring has been broken into fragments." Tweed is under heavy bonds to answer for various charges; Connolly and other subordinate, though probably not less guilty, leaders, keep out of the public view; James Fisk, Jr.,† is in his grave—

* As an illustration of the unstableness of power and influence, especially when not founded upon principles of rectitude, the reader can compare the position held by Mr. Tweed now (1872) with the one held by him only a few months since, when, at the wedding of his daughter, nearly \$100,000 worth of gifts was presented to the latter by her father's political and personal admirers. At the close of Appendix No. XI. a partial list of these presents is given, both as a curious bit of history and as a "sign" of the "times." No propriety is violated by this publication, since the list was printed at the time, purposely, by the family in nearly all of the city papers.

For the act of incorporation of the Tammany Society see Appendix No. XII.

† On Sunday, the 7th of January, 1872, James Fisk, Jr., died from the effects of a pistol shot received at the hands of Edward S. Stokes, on the afternoon previous, in the Grand Central Hotel.

It may, at first, seem singular that Fisk is mentioned in the text in connec-



HARPER & BROTHERS' BUILDING

having come to a violent end by unlawful means; and the names of the chief actors in the Tammany frauds are literally a "by-word and a hissing" to the "ends of the earth."* What further course will be taken, and with what results, cannot now with certainty be stated. Already, however, a good work has been performed; and the probabilities are, that if the Committee push matters with the same energy they have up to the present time evinced, the members of the "Ring" will be brought to justice, and forced to disgorge their ill-gotten gains. Then shall the City of New York, it is to be hoped, be as distinguished for the purity of her government, as she now is for her liberality, her influence, and her wealth.†

tion with the Tammany leaders. Investigation, however, points to him as having, with the "Erie Ring," been thoroughly identified with them in sundry ways. At least such is the prevailing public opinion, shown by the fact that his death is universally accepted as another sign of the utter disruption and ruin of the "Tammany Ring."

* Chief among the causes which undoubtedly led to the overthrow of the "Tammany Ring" were the caricatures or cartoons which appeared from time to time in *Harper's Weekly*. The effects of these, by bringing the leaders of the "Ring" into justly merited ridicule, cannot, perhaps, be over-estimated. Indeed, in all ages, before the invention of printing, and since, "picture writing" has been one of the most effectual weapons for moving and directing public opinion. Every one will perceive the power of these methods of giving expression to suppressed opinion, especially upon the ignorant multitude, by reflecting what has often been the effect of a good caricature upon his own mind.

† Before closing the record of this year allusion should be made to the "Westfield disaster." The *Westfield*, which was a ferry-boat plying between the city and Staten Island, exploded her boilers just as she was on the point of leaving Whitehall Slip on Sunday, the 30th of July. One hundred and six persons were killed, and one hundred and fifty injured, many of them for life.

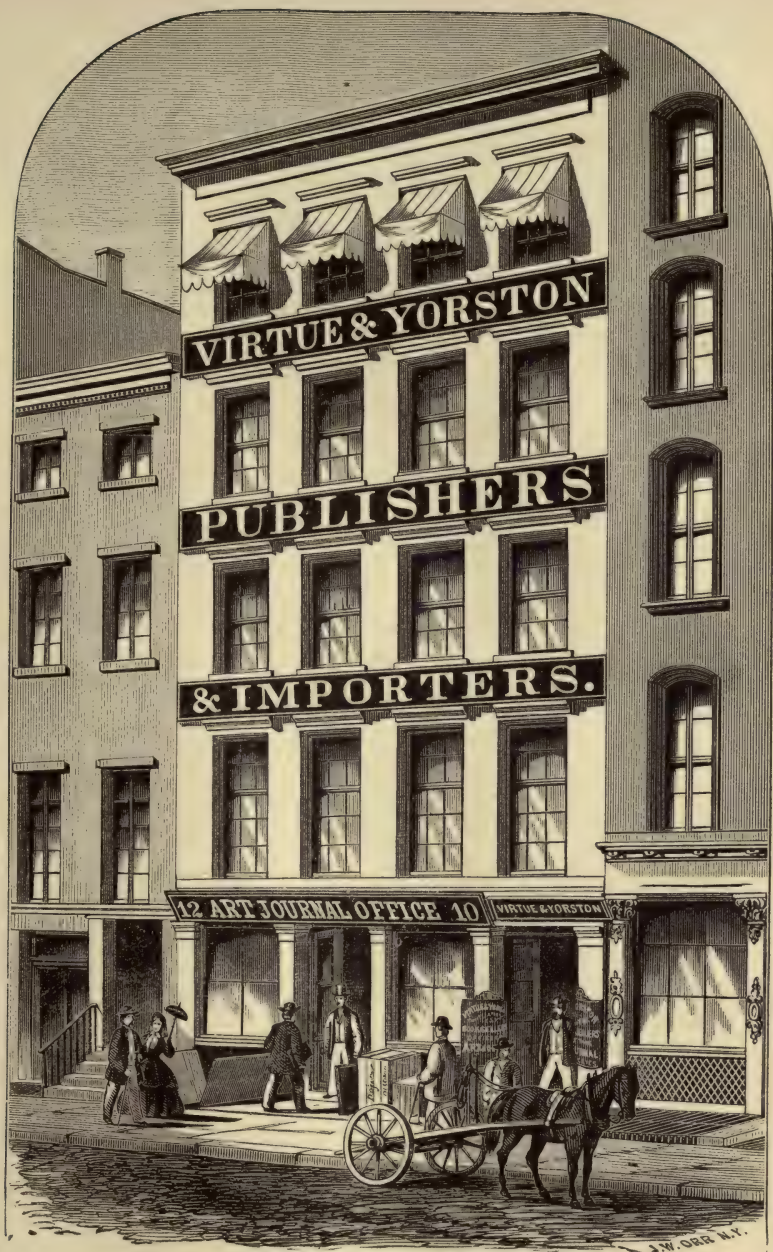
CHAPTER XVI.

THE History of New York City has now been brought down to a period within the recollection of almost the youngest inhabitant. The limits of this work will
1872. not permit me to speak at length of the causes which have led to the commercial and local prosperity of New York ; the part taken by her publishing-houses in the dissemination of much that is good and beautiful and true in American literature ;* the position won for

* Chief among these may be mentioned the house of *Virtue & Yorston*, which, though a branch of the great house of *Virtue & Co.*, London, can with propriety be called thoroughly *American*, from the fact of its having been instrumental, more, perhaps, than any similar house, in making the public familiar with American scenery. On this account a brief sketch of this firm belongs to the history of the city.

The house of *Virtue & Yorston* was first established in New York, in 1834, under the name of *R. Martin & Co.*, and, in 1835, opened at 69 Barclay Street. Thence it was removed to Broadway, between Maiden Lane and Liberty, and, shortly after, to 26 John Street, where—Mr. Martin retiring—it became *G. Virtue & Co.* Upon the business being removed, in 1863, to 12 Dey Street (see engraving on opposite page), where it still remains, the name of the firm was again changed to the present one of *Virtue & Yorston*. Mr. Yorston, the junior partner, having long been connected with the establishment of *G. Virtue & Co.*, in England, was peculiarly fitted for his work. He had also, for a series of years, extensively canvassed for those books which have given this house a world-wide reputation (among these, *Views in Switzerland*, and the *Vernon Gallery*), and was thoroughly conversant with the wants of the American public.

It has been said that the house of *Virtue & Yorston* has always been peculiarly American. It was while the firm was established on Broadway that Bartlett prepared and finished his sketches for the great work of himself and N. P. Willis upon the scenery of the United States and Canada—books which



VIRTUE & YORSTON'S BUILDING

her in letters by Sands and Halleck and Bryant and Bancroft; her School of Painting, fostered in its earlier days by Trumbull, Jarvis, Henry Inman* and Ingham, and in its later ones by Church, Bierstadt, Page, Richards, Huntington, Elliott, Kensett, and others equally distinguished; her School of Sculpture, represented by Brown, Thompson, and Ward; the nature and extent of her benevolent institutions,† and the character of her "merchant princes." Wealth *in itself* is no evidence of a city's prosperity, and therefore I do not refer to those of her rich men who are distinguished for that alone, and whose names will readily suggest themselves to the reader. But we, as citizens, do take pride in pointing to men whose immense wealth is guided and controlled by the principles of evangelical religion. Of this latter class are Marshall O. Roberts, William E. Dodge, S. B. Schieffelin, Moses H. Grinnell—and others of similar character—men who are distinguished alike for their christian virtues and purity of life, and for their unparalleled business success. While, moreover, I have been compelled, as a faithful historian, to recount a few events that must ever remain foul

still remain the best authorities on the subjects of which they treat. This house, also, was the first to inspire the American public with a taste for handsomely illustrated works. *The Great Civil War*, *The Battles of America by Sea and Land*, illustrated with fifty-one steel engravings, and *The History of the United States*, with ninety steel engravings, are familiar to all lovers of American history. Among the works which have been introduced by them, and which have tended greatly to cultivate a taste for art in this country, may be mentioned "The Art Journal," one of the most superb works that have ever been published; "Scenery and Antiquities of Ireland," with one hundred and twenty engravings on steel; "Ireland, its Scenery and Character," illustrated with over six hundred engravings; "Piedmont and Italy;" "Switzerland;" "The Beauties of the Bosphorus;" "Scotland;" "Gems of European Art;" "Royal Gems from the Galleries of Europe;" "The Wilkie Gallery;" "The Vernon Gallery;" and "The Turner Gallery."

* For Personal Reminiscences of Inman see Appendix No. XIII.

† For a full account of the aims and nature of the benevolent institutions of New York City, the reader is referred to a book exclusively devoted to that subject, published by E. B. Treat & Co.

blots upon the otherwise bright escutcheon of the city, I would far rather dwell upon pleasanter themes—the founding of the INSTITUTION FOR THE DEAF AND DUMB,* and the SOCIETY FOR THE REFORMATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENTS—the establishment of that noble work, the YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION—the course taken by the city during the late civil war, in which she led the van in every movement having for its object either the support of the Government or the relief of its brave defenders†—the dinner given to Charles Dickens, under the auspices

* "Colonel Stone," writes Harvey P. Peet, the President of the New York Deaf and Dumb Asylum, to the author, "entered with characteristic zeal into the effort to build up a superior institution for the deaf and dumb in New York. To his influence is due, in large measure, my selection for the position of principal, and I ascribe *much* of the success which crowned my labors to his ready sympathy and encouragement, and his intelligent and zealous co-operation. From the time I became principal of the institution, in 1881, to his death in 1841, he was *the* man, of all others, on whom I most relied for aid in urging the claims of our institution on the people of our city and State. He was constant in his attendance at our public exhibitions, ever ready and felicitous in suggesting tests of the acquirements of the pupils, and ever prepared with appropriate anecdotes to be related by signs and translated into written languages, so that it always seemed that much of the popular interest of those occasions was owing to him. The editor of a journal of wide circulation and extensive influence, especially among the more wealthy and benevolent classes, he was eminently successful in his appeals to benevolence—and that because of the confidence generally felt both in his goodness of heart and in his discrimination.

"As a director of this institution, his quick intelligence and sound judgment enabled him to appreciate the value of suggestions for improvements, and his influence with the Board could always be relied on to secure their adoption, at the same time that his rare good sense preserved him from the error of some men of undoubted philanthropy, who, in a similar situation, have thought that theories formed in the closet might be made to overrule a life-long professional experience. He was a liberal donor to the library of the institution, and his newspaper was always sent free for the use of our teachers and pupils. His example and influence, moreover, obtained for it frequent donations of books and periodicals. The value of such gifts to an institution like ours needs no comment."

† Chief among these was the Great Metropolitan Fair, held in the city in the spring of 1864, for the benefit of the United States Sanitary Commission, and which netted \$1,000,000 for the relief of the soldiers—a sum exceeding that produced by all other fairs, for the same purpose, in the country.

of the Press, on the 18th of April, 1868—the erection of the statue to Samuel F. B. Morse in the Central Park, in 1870—the generous welcome extended to the Russian Duke Alexis by the citizens of New York, in the winter of 1871—and the unveiling of the Franklin statue in Printing House Square, on the 17th of January, 1872. The details of these events, however, are too well known to need recapitulation here. A brief retrospective glance,



DEAF AND DUMB ASYLUM.

or rather a comparison between old and modern New York, will therefore conclude this history. Nor, perhaps, can this be done better than by giving at length a few of the closing passages of Dr. Osgood's admirable address, delivered before the New York Historical Society, on the occasion of its sixty-second anniversary, in November, 1866 :

“ In 1796 taxes were light, being about one-half of one

per cent.; and in that year the whole tax raised was £7,968, and the whole valuation of property was £1,261,585—estimates that were probably about half the real value, so that the tax was only about one-fourth of one per cent. A man worth \$50,000 was thought rich, and some fortunes reached \$250,000. Mechanics had a dollar a day for wages, and a genteel house rented for \$350 a year, and \$750 additional would meet the ordinary expenses of living for a genteel family—such as now spends from \$6,000 to \$10,000, we have good reason to believe, from such authority as Mr. D. T. Valentine, Clerk of the Common Council. A good house could be bought for \$3,000 or \$4,000, and flour was four and five dollars a barrel, and beef ten cents a pound.

“There were great entertainments, and men ate and drank freely—more freely, apparently, than now—but nothing of present luxury prevailed in the high classes; and how rare the indulgence was, is proved by the common saying, that ‘the Livingstons give champagne,’ which marked their case as exceptional. Now, surely, a great many families in New York besides the Livingstons give champagne, and not always wisely for their own economy or their guests’ sobriety.

“These homely items give a familiar idea of old New York in 1801. We must remember that it was then a provincial city, and had nothing of its present back-country connection with the West, being the virtual capital of the Hudson River Valley rather than that of the great Empire State. Buffalo, Syracuse, Utica, and the noted cities of Western New York were but names then, and Albany was of so little business note that the main communication with it was by dilatory sloops, such as Irving describes after his slow voyage in the craft that he long waited for, and which gave him ample time to study the picturesque on the Hudson, with such food for his humor

as the Captain's talk in Dutch to his crew of negro slaves. What a contrast with a trip now in the *St. John* or the *Dean Richmond*—marine palaces that float you, as in a dream by night, through the charmed passes of the Hudson to Albany!

* * * * *

"The New York churches were strong; but the clergy were little given to speculative thinking, and no commanding thinker appeared among them, such as abounded in New England. They kept the old creeds and usages with a strength that awed down dissent, and with a benign temper that conciliated favor. Latitudinarian tendencies were either suppressed or driven into open hostility with the popular creeds under deistical or atheistical teachers. In all, the congregations numbered thirty, and the Jews had one synagogue. Even the most radical congregation in the city, the Universalists, held mainly to the old theological views, and had only one point of peculiar doctrine, and even with this single exception, and with all the orthodox habits, they had only a lay organization in 1801, and were without a regular minister till 1803.

"The Dutch Reformed, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Methodists, numbered each five congregations; the Baptists, three; the Friends, two; the Lutherans, two; the Roman Catholics, Huguenots, Moravians, and Universalists, one each. Some writers erroneously assign seven churches, instead of five, to the Episcopalians in 1801, by claiming for them the Huguenot Church Du Saint Esprit, which was established in 1704, and acceded to the Episcopal Church in 1804; and Zion Church, which was established by the Lutherans in 1801, and joined the Episcopal communion in 1810.

"As far as we can judge, the Presbyterian clergy had most of the new American culture of the severer kind, and Drs. Samuel Miller and John M. Mason were the

intellectual leaders of the New York pulpit. The only man to be named with them in popular influence was John Henry Hobart, who was ordained in 1801, consecrated Bishop in 1811, and who, in spite of his extreme views of Episcopal prerogative, is to be named among the fathers of the American Church, and a good specimen of what old Trinity Church has done to unite patriotism with religion.

"The Episcopal Church had much accomplishment in its clergy, and Bishop Prevoost, who received ordination in England, was a man of extensive knowledge; and Dr. Livingston, of the Dutch Church, was a good match for him in learning and dignity. It is said that when these clerical magnates met on Sundays and exchanged salutations, they took up the entire street, and reminded beholders of two frigates under full sail, exchanging salutes with each other.

* * "We may regard old New York as culminating in the year 1825, with the completion of the Erie Canal; and that great jubilee that married this city to the mighty West began a new era of triumph and responsibility that soon proved that the bride's festival is followed by the wife's cares and the mother's anxieties. New York had become the national city, and was so for a quarter of a century more, and then she became cosmopolitan, European as well as American, and obviously one of the few leading cities of the world—the third city of Christendom. We may fix this change upon the middle of the century as well as upon any date, and call the time from 1850 till now her cosmopolitan era. The change of course, was gradual, and the great increase of the city dates from the close of the Revolutionary War and the evacuation of the city by the British troops. The population doubled nearly in the ten years after 1790, and went from 33,000 to 60,000. In 1825 it reached 166,085, and in 1850 rose to 515,515.

All this increase could not but bring a new sense of power, and throughout all the bewildering maze of the old New York politics we can see traces of the desire of the people and their leaders to dispute the palm of empire with Virginia and its old dominion.

* * "The introduction of gas and of the Croton water were grand illustrations of the power of organized industry, and mighty aids in throwing light, health, and purity into the lives of the people; and the rise of the great popular daily journals that almost created the national press of America made an era in the free fellowship of public thought. The city pushed its triumphal march forward during that period from Bleecker Street to Madison Square, and vainly tried to halt its forces at Washington and Union Squares, or to pause long anywhere on the way of empire. The whole period would make an important history of itself, and our task now is with the New York of to-day, as it has risen into cosmopolitan rank since 1850—the year which gave us a line of European steamers of our own, and opened the Golden Gate of California to our packets.

"Look at our city now in its extent, population, wealth, institutions, and connections; and consider how far it is doing its great work, under God's providence, as the most conspicuous representative of the liberty of the nineteenth century in its hopes and fears. You are too familiar with the figures and facts that show the largeness of the city to need any minute or extended summary of recapitulation. That we are not far from a million of people on this island, that began the century with sixty thousand; that the valuation of property, real and personal,* has

* The valuation of property in New York city represented by the census on the 30th of June, 1871, was \$769,302,250 of real, and \$306,947,223 of personal estate.

For the value of real and personal estate at the present time, as well as the

risen since 1805 from \$25,000,000 to \$736,988,058; that the real value of property here is about \$1,000,000,000, or a thirtieth part of the entire property of Great Britain; that our taxes within that time have risen from \$127,000 to \$16,950,767, over four and a half millions more than our whole national expenditure in 1801; that our banking capital is over \$90,000,000, and the transactions of our Clearing Houses, for the year ending October 1st, 1866, were over \$29,000,000,000; that our Savings Banks have 300,000 depositors and \$77,000,000 of deposits; that our one hundred and eight Fire Insurance Companies and thirty-eight Fire Agencies have a capital of \$47,560,000, and our eighteen Life Insurance Companies a capital of \$2,938,000, whose premiums last year (1865) were nearly \$9,000,000; that by the census of 1865 the number of dwellings was 49,844, and the value of them was \$423,096,918; that this city, by the census of 1860, returned a larger manufacturing product than any other city in the Union, and more than any State, except New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania—the sum total of \$159,107,369, from raw material worth \$96,177,038 in 4,375 establishments, with 90,204 operatives, and \$61,212,757 capital, and manufactured nearly one-eleventh of the sum total of the United States manufactures in 1860, which was \$1,885,861,676; that in twenty years we exported, from September 1st, 1846, to September 1st, 1866, to Europe, over 27,000,000 barrels of flour, over 164,000,000 bushels of wheat, 127,000,000 bushels of corn, nearly 5,000,000 bushels of rye; that the receipts for customs in this port for 1865 were \$101,772,905; that this city is the great gold market of the world, and in 1865 received \$61,201,108, and exported over \$30,000,000 abroad, and received in twelve years, 1854 to 1866, from San Fran-

financial resources generally of New York city beginning of 1872 see Governor Hoffman's Message, in Appendix No. XIV.

cisco, \$375,558,659 in gold ; that our shipping, registered and enrolled in 1865, amounted in tonnage to 1,223,264 tons, and the number of arrivals of vessels in this port in 1865 was 12,634, of these 2,078 being steamers ; that our exports for the year 1865 were \$208,630,282, and our imports were \$224,742,419 ; that on an average thirty-five tons of mail matter are received here for our citizens, and fifty-five tons are sent out daily ; that the average number of mail-bags received is three hundred and eighty-five, and the average number sent out is seven hundred and thirteen ; that within three years and a half the mail correspondence of our citizens has doubled ; that the number of letters and newspapers collected by the carriers for the quarter ending December 31st, 1865, was over 3,000,000, and the number delivered by them was over 3,600,000, and the deliveries from post-office boxes for the same quarter were over 5,000,000 ; that the increase of letters is so marvelous that New York may soon rival London, which in 1862, received by mail 151,619,000 letters. These and the like plain statistics are sufficient to prove the imperial wealth and power of New York, and to startle us with the problem of its prospective growth, when we remember that $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. increase, which has been generally the actual rate of increase, will give us a population of some 4,000,000 at the close of the century.

* * " Let us pass in review the industrial army of the city, which General Barlow, Secretary of State, allows me to copy from the unpublished census of 1865, and let us imagine it divided into regiments, thus, of about a thousand persons each :

Blacksmiths, over two and one-half	regiments or	2,621
Bookbinders, over one	"	1,134
Boiler Makers, nearly one.	"	910
Boot and Shoe Makers, over six	"	6,307
Butchers, four	"	3,998

Brokers, one and one-third.....	regiments or	1,348
Barbers, one.....	"	1,054
Cabinet Makers and Dealers, two and one-half.....	"	2,575
Carpenters, over six.....	"	6,352
Cartmen and Draymen, four and one-half.....	"	4,675
Clerks, seventeen and one-half.....	"	17,620
Clergy, nearly one-half.....	"	429
Confectioners, nearly one.....	"	756
Cooks, one.....	"	906
Coopers, one and one-half.....	"	1,401
Dressmakers, etc., nine and one-half.....	"	9,501
Drivers, nearly two.....	"	1,895
Engineers, over one.....	"	1,196
Grocers, one.....	"	937
Hat and Cap Makers, one and one-half.....	"	1,438
Jewelers, one.....	"	925
Laborers, twenty-one and one-quarter.....	"	21,231
Laundresses, three and one-half.....	"	3,590
Lawyers, one and one-fourth.....	"	1,232
Merchants, six.....	"	5,978
Machinists, three.....	"	3,108
Masons, three.....	"	2,757
Milliners, one and one-third.....	"	1,334
Musicians, nearly one.....	"	809
Painters and Glaziers, four.....	"	3,801
Peddlers, two.....	"	1,988
Physicians, one and one-fourth.....	"	1,269
Piano Makers, nearly one.....	"	855
Plumbers, one.....	"	1,108
Pölice, one and one-half.....	"	1,546
Porters, nearly three.....	"	2,729
Printers, two.....	"	2,186
Saddlers and Harness Makers, one.....	"	915
Sailors and Marines, over three.....	"	3,288
Servants, thirty-three.....	"	33,282
School Children, one hundred.....	"	100,000
Ship Carpenters, one.....	"	1,156
Stone Cutters, one and one-third.....	"	1,342
Tailors, ten.....	"	9,734
Teachers, over one and one-half.....	"	1,608
Tinsmiths, one.....	"	931

" These occupations and others that I might present from the voluminous pages of the census reckon about 150,000 of the people, and with school-children a quarter of a million.*

* The reader must bear in mind that the above figures were taken in 1865. Doubtless the next census will show a larger increase.

* * "The marvelous growth of population, within twenty years, has added half a million to our numbers, and called, of course, for new measures, and ought to be some excuse for some mistakes and disappointments. The charter bears the mark of many changes, and is destined to bear more. The original charter was given by James II. in 1686; was amended by Queen Anne in 1708; further enlarged by George II. in 1730, into what is now known as Montgomery's Charter, and as such was confirmed by the General Assembly of the Province in 1732, and made New York essentially a free city. The Mayor was appointed by the Provincial Governor and Council, till the Revolution; by the State Governor and four members of the Council of Appointment, till 1821; by the Common Council, until 1834, and afterward by the people. In 1830, the people divided the Common Council into two boards, and in 1849 the government was divided into seven departments, the heads of each being chosen by the people, and the Mayor's term of office being extended to two years. In 1853, the Board of Assistant Aldermen was changed to a Board of sixty Councilmen, and the term of Aldermen extended to two years. In 1857, the number of Aldermen was reduced from twenty-two to seventeen, and the sixty Councilmen to twenty-four.

* * "With all the drawback of defective municipal government, the city is a great power in the Union, and gave its wealth and men to the nation. Nay, its very passion has been national, and the mass who deplored the war never gave up the Union, and might, perhaps, have consented to compromise rather than to disunion, and have gone beyond any other city in clinging to the Union as such, whether right or wrong. The thoughtful mind of the city saw the true issue, and, whilst little radical or *doctrinaire* in its habit of thinking, and more

inclined to trust to historical tendencies and institutional discipline for the removal of wrong than to abstract ideas, it did not waver a moment after the die was cast, and the blow of rebellion and disunion was clear. The ruling business powers of the city gave money and men to the nation, when the Government was halting and almost paralyzed. The first loan was hazardous, and the work of patriotism; and when our credit was once committed, the wealth of the city was wholly at the service of the nation; and the ideas of New England, and the enthusiasm of the West, marched to victory with the mighty concurrence of the money and the men of the Empire City and State. The State furnished 473,443 men, or, when reduced to years of service, 1,148,604 years' service; equal to three years' service of 382,868 three years' men; and the city alone furnished 116,382 men, equal to 267,551 years' service, at a net cost of \$14,577,214.65. That our moneyed men meant devoted patriotism, it is not safe to say of them all. In some cases, their capital may have been wiser and truer than the capitalist, and followed the great current of national life. Capital, like water, whose currents it resembles, has its own laws, and he who owns it cannot change its nature, any more than he who owns a water-power can change the power of the water. The capital of this city is bound, under God, to the unity of the nation, and, therefore, has to do a mighty part in organizing the liberty of the nineteenth century. Led by the same large spirit, and true to the Union policy which has been the habit of the community from the old Dutch times, the dominant thought of our people will be sure to vindicate the favorite idea of States Rights in the Union against States Wrongs out of it.

* * * "And how shall we estimate the education of our people in its various forms; by schools, colleges, newspapers, books, churches, and, not least, by this great uni-

versity of human life which is always before our eyes! Think of the 208,309 scholars reported in 1865 in our public schools, and the average attendance of 86,674 in those schools, and over 100,000 scholars in regular attendance in all our schools, both public and private.* Think of our galleries of art, private and public, and our



COOPER INSTITUTE, MERCANTILE LIBRARY, AND BIBLE HOUSE.

great libraries and reading-rooms, like the Astor, the Mercantile, the Society, and the Cooper Institute. Consider the remarkable increase of private libraries, such as Dr.

* For a History of the Schools and the Public School Society, by Hon. Hooper C. Van Vorst, see Appendix No. XV.

Wynne has but begun to describe in his magnificent volume. Think of our press, and its constant and enormous issues, especially of daily papers, which are the peculiar literary institution of our time, and alike the common school and university of our people. Our 350 churches and chapels, 258 of them being regular churches of all kinds, can accommodate about 300,000 hearers, and inadequate as in some respects they are, as to location and convenience, they can hold as many of the people as wish to attend church, and far more than generally attend. Besides our churches and chapels, we have powerful religious instrumentalities in our religious press, and our city is the center of publication of leading newspapers, magazines, and reviews, of the great denominations of the country. In these organs the best scholars and thinkers of the nation express their thoughts in a way wholly unknown at the beginning of the century, when the religious press of the country was not apparently dreamed of. The higher class of religious and theological reviews that are published here are, perhaps, the best specimens of the most enlarged scholarship and severe thinking of America, and are doing much to educate an enlightened and truly catholic spirit and fellowship. If the question is asked, in view of all these means of education, what kind of mind is trained up here, or what are the indications of our New York intelligence, it may not be so easy to say in full, as to throw out a hint or two by way of suggestion. There is, certainly, what may be called a New York mind and character, and there must be from the very nature of the case. Some characteristics must mark each community, as the results of birth and breeding; and however great the variety of elements, some qualities must predominate over others in the people, as in the climate and fruits of a country. Where two tendencies seem to balance each other for a

time, one is sure, at last, to preponderate, and to gain value and power with time, and win new elements to itself. It is not hard to indicate the essential New York character from the beginning. It is positive, institutional, large-hearted, genial, taking it for granted that all men are not of one pattern, and that we are to live by allowing others to have their liberty as we have ours.

* * "How far assimilation in its various forms of thought and life is to go, we can only conjecture; for the process has but begun. Our community, like every other community, must go through three stages of development to complete its providential evolution: aggregation, accommodation, and assimilation. The first stage is aggregation; and that comes, of course, with the fact of residence.* Here we are, about a million of us, aggregated on this healthy and charming island, and here we most of us expect and wish to stay. We are seeking our next stage, and wish accommodation not with entire success, and the city is distressed by prosperity, and is like an overgrown boy, whose clothes are too small for his limbs, and he waits in half-nakedness for his fitting garments. In some respects, the city itself is a majestic organism, and we have light, water, streets, and squares, much to our mind, always, of course, excepting the dirt. The scarcity of houses, the costs of rent, living, and taxation are grievous, and driving a large portion of our middling class into the country. Yet the city is full and overflow-

* In this connection the following emigration statistics are of value. During the year 1871 the number of passengers who arrived at the port of New York were as follows: Ireland, 50,220; Germany, 88,601; England, 51,027; Scotland, 10,154; Wales, 1,224; France, 4,245; Spain, 130; Switzerland, 2,630; Holland, 929; Norway, 2,718; Sweden, 10,749; Denmark, 2,210; Italy, 2,309; Portugal, 48; Belgium, 161; West Indies, 215; Nova Scotia, 53; Japan, 14; South America, 85; Canada, 68; China, 246; Sicily, 12; Mexico, 29; Russia, 713; East Indies, 6; Turkey, 8; Greece, 7; Poland, 763; Africa, 8; Central America, 35; Australia, 22. Total arrivals, 271,067, of whom 41,428 were citizens, leaving the number of aliens 229,639.

ing, and is likely to be. The work of assimilation is going on, and every debate, controversy, and party, brings the various elements together; and we are seeing each other, whether we differ or agree. Great progress has been made in observing and appreciating our situation and population. Probably New York knows itself better to-day than at any time since its imperial proportions began to appear. In politics, police, philanthropy, education, and religion, we are reckoning our classes, numbers, and tendencies, and feeling our way towards some better harmony of ideas and interests. The whole population of the city was, by census of 1860, 813,669; and by the census of 1865, 726,386. The voters number 151,838; native, 51,500; foreign, 77,475. Over twenty-one years, they who cannot read and write are 19,199. Families number 148,683. Total of foreigners by census of 1860 was 383,717; and by the census of 1865, 313,417. Number of women, by census of 1865, was 36,000 more than of men, and of widows, over 32,000; being 25,000 more widows than widowers. The Germans, by the census of 1860, numbered 119,984; and by the census of 1865, 107,269. This makes up this city not the third, but the eighth city in the world as to German population. These German cities have a larger population: Berlin, Vienna, Breslau, Cologne, Munich, Hamburg, and Dresden. The Irish, by the census of 1860, number 203,700; and by the census of 1865, 261,334.

“New York now, we believe, has a million of residents, and either peculiar difficulties in the census commission of 1865, or peculiar influences after the war, led to the appearance of diminishing population. Certainly we have, of late, gained numbers, and have not lost in variety of elements to be assimilated. The national diversities are not hostile, and we are seeking out their best, instead of their worst, qualities. Italian art and French

accomplishment we can appreciate without forgetting that we are Americans. We are discerning in our New York Germany something better than lager beer and Sunday concerts, and learning to appeal to the sterling sense and indomitable love of liberty of the countrymen of Luther and Gutenberg. The Irish among us, who make this the second if not the first Irish city of the world, and who contribute so largely to our ignorant and criminal returns, we are studying anew, and discerning their great service to industry and their great capacity for organization. We find among them good specimens of the blood of the Clintons and the Emmets, and are bound to acknowledge that, in purity, their wives and daughters may be an example to any class in America or Europe. Old Israel is with us too in force, and some thirty synagogues of Jews manifest the power of the oldest organized religion, and the example of a people that cares wholly for its own sick and poor; willing to meet Christians as friends and citizens, and learn our religion more from its own gospel of love than from its old conclaves of persecution. We often see other types of the Oriental mind in our streets and houses, and it will be well for us when Asia is here represented by able specimens of her mystical piety, and we learn of her something of the secret of her repose in God, and give her in return something of our art of bringing the will of God to bear upon this stubborn earth, instead of losing sight of the earth in dreams of pantheistic absorption. In many ways the various elements are combining to shape our ideas and society, and fill out the measure of our practical education.

“Yet, probably, the most important assimilation, as already hinted, is that which is going on here between the various elements of our American life in this mother-city, which is destined, apparently, to be to America what Rome was to the tribes that thronged to its gates. What has

been taking place in England is taking place here, and the Independents and Churchmen are coming together here as in England since the Revolution of 1688, when extremes were greatly reduced, and the independency of Milton and Cromwell began to reappear in combination with the church ways of Clarendon and Jeremy Taylor. The most significant part of the process is the union here of Puritan individualism and its intuitive thinking and bold ideas, with New York institutionalism, and its organizing method and objective mind. The Yankee is here, and means to stay, and is apparently greatly pleased with the position and reception, and enjoys the fixed order and established paths of his Knickerbocker hosts. It is remarkable that whilst New England numbered only some 20,000, or 19,517 of her people here, which is 7,000 less than the natives of Old England in the city, by the census of 1860, they are so well received and effective, and fill so many and important places in business and the professions. By the census of 1865, New York city has 17,856 natives of New England, and 19,699 natives of Old England; a balance of 1,843 in favor of Old England. Yet, in the State at large, the result is different, for the population numbers 166,038 natives of New England, and 95,666 natives of Old England; a balance of 70,372 in favor of New England. It is curious to note that the city had only 825 native Dutch in 1865, and the State 4,254. In a philosophical point of view, it is memorable that the Puritan mind is now largely in power, even in our church establishments that so depart from New England independency, and the leading Presbyterian and Episcopal preachers and scholars are largely from the Puritan ranks. Our best informed scholar in the philosophy of religion, who holds the chair of theological instruction in the Presbyterian Seminary, is a New England Congregationalist, transplanted to New York. Nay, even the leading, or at least the most conspicuous,

Roman Catholic theologian of New York is the son of a Connecticut Congregationalist minister, and carries the lineal blood and mental habit of his ancestor, Jonathan Edwards, into the illustration and defense of the Roman creed. It is worthy of note that our most philosophical historian is the son of a Massachusetts Congregational minister, and a lover of the old scholastic thinking, and a champion of the ideal school of Edwards and Channing in its faith and independency; author, too, of perhaps the most bold and characteristic word of America to Europe, the oration of February 22d, 1866, that was the answer of our New World to British Toryism and Romish Obscurantism, whether to the Premier's mock neutral manifesto or the Pope's Encyclical Letter.

* * "It is the province of the New York Historical Society to keep up the connection of the New York of the past with the New York of to-day, and zealously to guard and interpret all the historical materials that preserve the continuity of our public life. It is to be lamented that so little remains around us to keep alive the memory of the ancient time; and everything almost that we see is the work of the new days. Sad it is that all the old neighborhoods are broken up, and the old houses and churches are mostly swept away by our new prosperity. But how impressive are our few landmarks! We all could join in the Centennial Jubilee of St. Paul's, and wish well to its opening future. So, too, we can greet our neighbors of the John-street Church in their Centennial, and thank God for the one hundred years of New York Methodism. Who of us can pass without reflection by the old Middle Dutch Church, now our Post-office, in Nassau Street, without recalling the years and events that have passed since 1729, when it was opened for worship in the Dutch tongue? In March, 1764, the preaching there was, for the first time, in English; and in August, 1844, Dr. De Witt gave an outline of its his-

tory and pronounced the benediction in Dutch; and that old shrine of the Knickerbockers is now the busy brain of the nation and the world, and receives and transmits some forty tons of thought a day. What would one of those old Rip Van Winkles of 1729 have thought, if he



HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING AND ST. MARK'S CHURCH.

could have prolonged his Sunday afternoon nap in one of those ancient pews till now, and awoke to watch the day's mail, with news by the last steamers and the Atlantic cable for all parts of the great continent? Our Broad-

way, ever changing, and yet the same old road, is perhaps our great historical monument, and the historical street of America by eminence. All the men of our history have walked there, and all nations and tribes have trodden its stones and dust. In our day what have we seen there—what processions, armies, pageants! What work would be more an American as well as New York history than Broadway, described and illustrated with text and portraits from the time when Stuyvesant astonished the Dutch with his dignity to the years that have brought the hearse of our murdered President* and the carriage of his successor along its stately avenue? Thank heaven for old Broadway, noble type of American civilization, from the Battery to Harlem River, and may the ways of the city be as straight as the lines of its direction and as true to the march of the Providence of God.†

* * “What the orator who ushers in the twentieth century here, or who celebrates your one hundredth anniversary, may have to say as he reviews the nineteenth century, I will not undertake to say. What we should wish and pray for is clear. Clear that we should wish the new times to keep the wisdom and virtue of the old with

* Alluding to the funeral obsequies of President Lincoln, which consisted of the remains of the President being carried in procession through Broadway on the 25th of April, 1865, on their way from Washington to their final resting-place in Springfield, Illinois. The remains reached the city the preceding day, and after lying in state in the City Hall, which had been draped for the occasion, the city of New York took its final leave of all that was mortal of President Lincoln. “The remains were escorted to the railroad depot by a procession nearly five miles in length, composed of a military force of upward of sixteen thousand men, together with numerous civic officers and societies. Last in the procession marched two thousand colored citizens. Every window and balcony was filled; every house was shrouded in funeral drapery; while along the whole line the streets were thronged with sincere mourners. A large assemblage met in the afternoon of the same day in Union Square, to listen to a funeral oration from Hon. George Bancroft, and an eulogy from William C. Bryant.”

† For an article upon “New York Society in the Olden Time,” by the Right Rev. Bishop Kip, see Appendix No. XVI.

all the new light and progress; clear that after our trying change from the old quarters to the new, we may build a nobler civilization on the new base, and so see better days than ever before; that the great city that shall be here should be not only made up of many men but of true manhood, and be not only the capital of the world but the city of God; its great park the central ground of noble fellowship; its great wharves and markets the seat of honorable industry and commerce; its public halls the head-quarters of free and orderly Americans; its churches the shrines of the blessed faith and love that join man with man, and give open communion with God and heaven."

THE END.

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX I.

THE CONSTITUTION AND NOMINATIONS OF THE SUBSCRIBERS

TO THE

TONTINE COFFEE-HOUSE.*

CONSTITUTION, &c.

WHEREAS the several persons whose names are hereunto subscribed and set, have, at their joint expense, purchased certain lots of land in the Second Ward of the city of New York, and erected a building thereon, called the Tontine Coffee-house, to be kept and used as a coffee-house in the said city of New York, and have furnished the same for that purpose, and have taken conveyances for the same premises in the names of John Broome, Gulian Verplanck, John Delafield, William Laight, and John Watts, five of the said subscribers, in joint tenancy, as trustees for themselves and the other subscribers; and, whereas the property in the said lands, and building, and furniture is divided into *two hundred and three shares*, which belong to the persons whose names are hereunto subscribed and set, in the proportion mentioned opposite to their respective names; and the owner of each of the said shares, or his executors, administrators, or assigns, is to have and receive the profits of such share during the natural life of the person named and described, opposite to his name, as his nominee for such share, and to which description such owner has subscribed his name; and, upon the death of any such nominee, the share, which depends upon the life of such nominee, is to cease, and the whole profits of the said premises are continually to go to, and be equally divided among, such of the said owners whose nominees shall be living on the first day of May in every year, until the said nominees shall by death be reduced to seven, when the whole of the said property is to vest in the persons then entitled to the shares, standing in the names of the seven surviving nominees; and the trustees, or their heirs, in whom the fee of the said land and premises shall then be vested, are then to convey the same to the persons so entitled in fee, equally

* New York : Printed in the year 1796.

to be divided between them ; therefore, in order to carry the said plan into execution, it is hereby agreed, by and between the said owners, as follows, that is to say :—

First—That the said building shall be used and kept as a coffee-house, and for no other use or purpose, until the number of the said nominees shall be reduced to seven.

Secondly—That Comfort Sands, Cornelius Ray, Anthony L. Bleecker, James Tillery, and William Henderson, who have been chosen and appointed a committee for that purpose, shall settle all the accounts of the said purchase and building as soon as conveniently may be, and divide the surplus, if any, of the subscription money paid by the present owners, and the net profits already arisen among the said owners, in proportion to their respective shares, and take care of and manage the said business for the interest of the said owners, and receive the rents and profits of the said premises, until the first day of June next, and shall then divide the net profits thereof between such of the said owners whose nominees shall then be living, in proportion to their respective shares.

Thirdly—That it shall and may be lawful for the owners of the said several shares, for the time being, to meet together yearly and every year, at the said coffee-house, on the first Monday in June, in every year, at eleven of the clock in the forenoon, and then and there, by a majority of the votes of the persons so met, to elect and choose five of the said owners, resident in the city of New York, as a committee to manage the said business for one year ; and that the committee for the time being, or the major part of them, or the survivors or survivor of them, or the major part of the survivors of them, shall always superintend such election, and make return of, and give notice thereof, to the persons elected. But no person shall have more than one vote at such election, although he may be entitled to more than one of the said shares.

Fourthly—That every such committee, hereafter to be chosen as aforesaid, shall have the care and management of the said house and premises for the said owners, and take care of, and keep the same in repair, and make leases thereof, as occasion may require, which leases shall be confirmed, when necessary, by the persons in whom the fee of the said land may be vested. The committee shall also settle and adjust the accounts of the preceding committee, and shall receive the rents and profits of the premises aforesaid, and divide the net proceeds thereof, on the second Tuesday in May, in every year, between such of the owners of the said several shares, whose nominees shall be living on the first day of the same month of May, in the same year, in proportion to their respective shares.

Fifthly—That, until the said nominees shall be reduced to seven, as aforesaid, each of the said shares shall be considered as personal estate, and upon the death of the owner, if not disposed of by him, shall go to his executors or administrators, and it shall be lawful for any person entitled to such share to sell and transfer the same to any other person ; but all such transfers shall be in writing, and signed by the person making the same, in the presence of, and attested by, two witnesses at least, and shall be registered in a book to be kept for that purpose by the said committee, and no transfer shall be valid until the same shall be registered, as aforesaid. And all such transfers shall be in the following form, to wit :

Know all men by these presents, that I (here insert the name and addition of the owner, and if such owner claims as devisee, executor, or administrator, insert such description) do hereby, for value received, sell, grant, and convey (here insert the name and addition of the purchaser) my share in the New York Tontine Coffee-house, to which I am entitled during the natural life of (here insert the name and description of the nominee) and all my rights, title, interest, claim, and demand, of, in, and to the same. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this day of , in the year of our Lord one thousand

And no person claiming any share as devisee, executor, or administrator shall be entitled to the profits thereof, or to sell or transfer the same, or to vote in respect thereof, until the will and letters testamentary, or letters of administration, by which such claim shall be made, shall be recorded in the proper office in the State of New York, and a registry thereof entered in the said book of registry of transfers by the said committee.

Sixthly—That the present trustees, in whom the fee simple of the said land and premises is now vested, shall, as soon as conveniently may be, execute such declaration or deed as counsel shall advise, as necessary and proper, to answer the several purposes aforesaid.

Seventhly—That when the said trustees, in whom the fee simple of the said land and premises is vested, shall by death be reduced to less than three, the said committee, for the time being, shall give notice thereof in at least two of the newspapers printed in this city, and request the then owners of the several shares to meet together at the said Coffee-house, at a certain time therein to be mentioned, not less than ten days from the first publication thereof, to nominate and elect five other persons to be trustees for them; and such five persons as shall at such meeting be elected, by a majority of the votes of the said owners so met, shall be trustees for the whole of the said owners. And the survivors or survivor of the present trustees shall thereupon, on demand, in due form of law, convey the said land and premises, with the appurtenances, unto such new trustees, and the survivors and survivor of them, and the heirs of such survivor, upon the like trusts as aforesaid, with a covenant therein to be inserted, that, if such new trustees shall, by death, be reduced to less than three before the said nominees shall by death be reduced to seven, that then the survivors or survivor will, in due form of law, convey the said land and premises, with the appurtenances, unto five other trustees, to be chosen in the manner aforesaid, upon the like trusts as aforesaid, and with the like covenant, to be therein inserted.

Eighthly—That when the said nominees shall by death be reduced to seven, then the trustees, or their heirs, in whom the fee simple of the said land and premises shall be vested, shall, in due form of law, convey the same land and premises, with the appurtenances, and all their estate and interest therein, to the persons then entitled to the shares standing in the names of the seven surviving nominees, and to the heirs and assigns of the persons so entitled forever, equally to be divided between them.

Done in the city of New York, the fourth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and ninety-four.

APPENDIX II.

RICHMOND HILL.

BY GENERAL PROSPER M. WETMORE.

The memories clustering round the spot once known by this name have not lost their freshness in the passing away of two generations of our people; while its many living traditions of social and political events extend over a space of time fast approaching the close of a century.

This princely estate, so well known to our elderly citizens, was for many years one of the chief attractions of the suburban scenery of New York. Situated on a commanding eminence, surrounded by groves of ancient trees, a short distance west of the centre of the island, it extended, through intervening vales, to the shores washed by the waters of the Hudson. The hand of Art and the guidance of taste had adorned its broad expanse of cultivated grounds, with all the luxuriance of gardens, arbors, and shrubberies; while Nature lent to the perfection of the landscape her choicest productions and the ripening influences of her beneficence. The chequered fortunes of the owners of this beautiful region were not more remarkable than the conflicting conditions which followed the title to the estate, as it passed into the hands of its successive proprietors. About ten years anterior to the Revolution, an English gentleman, Major Abraham Mortier, at one period of his life a Commissary of the English Army, acquired possession of the principal part of this eligible tract of land, which was then held under grant from the Colonial Government, by the Episcopal Church of the City of New York. This religious organization, afterwards under the sanction of law, adopted the more definite title of "Trinity Church."

The grant to the Church embraced immense possessions within the bounds of the rising city, a goodly share of which is still retained under the same authority. Having secured from the Church a lease of the property for a long extended term of years, the new proprietor erected, on a conspicuous eminence, a spacious and imposing edifice, to which, with a natural fondness for familiar English names, he gave the designation of "Richmond Hill." He speedily commenced, on a scale of generous expenditure, to improve and orna-

ment its grounds. This disposition, on his part, growing with the opening attractions of his new home, continued until the outbreak of hostilities, or, according to the local traditions, until his premature death. While the property remained in his possession, Major Mortier devoted much of his time and no small share of his fortune to the embellishment of his highly-prized acquisition.*

At the commencement of active hostilities, in the neighborhood of New York, under the tenure of military power, General Washington, with his family, were, for a portion of the year 1776, the occupants of Richmond Hill. It was during this period that Colonel Aaron Burr was appointed an aid with the rank of major, on the staff of the Commander-in-chief, and, thus early, became personally acquainted with the advantages and attractions of the place. It is not within the design of this brief sketch to follow the successive changes of title and possession, between the departure of Mortier and the removal of Washington's headquarters from Richmond Hill to the Roger Morris House, near the Point of Rocks. The movement of the American forces was consequent on the subjugation of the city by the British troops, and preceded only, by a short time, the capture of Fort Washington. During the seven years' occupation of the Island of New York, little is known of its internal condition; but, undoubtedly, some superior British officer enjoyed the advantages and administered the unpaid-for hospitalities of Richmond Hill. The year 1783 witnessed the departure of the unsuccessful supporters of royalty and the gradual return of citizens to the peaceable resumption of their property and rights. The legal tenure of the rights held under the Church-lease to the Richmond Hill property was maintained, and the buildings and improvements were not disturbed nor injured while in adverse occupancy. During the first year of the Government, under the newly-adopted Constitution, while President Washington was living, with some display of courtly splendor, at the Franklin mansion, on the corner of Pearl and Cherry Streets, John Adams, of Massachusetts, the first Vice-President, occupied the house and grounds of Richmond Hill. How much the delightful surroundings of that beautiful residence were enjoyed by its inmates, at this period, is pleasantly depicted in the letters of Mrs. Abigail Adams, the wife of the Vice-President. She writes to her relative, Mrs. Shaw, in the following glowing terms:

" RICHMOND HILL, N. Y.,

" 27th September, 1789.

"I write to you, my dear Sister, not from the disputed banks of the Potomac, the Susquehanna, or the Delaware, but from the peaceful borders of the Hudson; a situation where the hand of Nature has so lavishly displayed her beauties, that she has left scarcely anything for her handmaid, Art, to perform.

"The house in which we reside is situated upon a hill, the avenue to which is interspersed with forest-trees, under which a shrubbery, rather too luxuriant and wild, has taken shelter, owing to its having been deprived, by death, some years since, of its original proprietor, who kept it in perfect order. In

* This property is traced on the map, published from a survey made, in 1776, by Major Montresor.

front of the house the noble Hudson rolls its majestic waves, bearing upon his bosom innumerable small vessels, which are constantly forwarding the rich products of the neighboring soil to the busy hand of a more extensive commerce. Beyond the Hudson rises to our view the fertile country of the Jerseys, covered with a golden harvest and pouring forth plenty, like the cornucopia of Ceres. On the right hand, an extensive plain presents us with a view of fields, covered with verdure, and pastures full of cattle. On the left, the city opens upon us, intercepted only by clumps of trees and some rising ground which serves to heighten the beauty of the scene, by appearing to conceal a part. In the background is a large flower-garden, enclosed with a hedge, and some very handsome trees. On one side of it a grove of pines and oaks, fit for contemplation.

“In this path,
How long soe'er the wanderer roves, each step
Shall wake fresh beauties; each last point present
A different picture, new, and each the same.”

“If my days of fancy and romance were not past, I could find here an ample field for indulgence; yet, amidst these delightful scenes of Nature, my heart pants for the society of my dear relatives and friends, who are too far removed from me.”

In another letter, written a year later, to her friend, Mr. Brand-Hollis, living in England, she repeats and enlarges her description of the beauties of the scenery by which she was surrounded at her delightful residence at Richmond Hill, and when the removal of the Government from New York to Philadelphia required the official families to change their residences, the regrets of Mrs. Adams were feelingly expressed.

In the year 1797, this property was in the possession of an eminent foreign gentleman by the name of Temple; and a good deal of public excitement was awakened by an extensive robbery committed on the premises, the perpetrators of which were never discovered. Just at this period the Richmond Hill estate came into the possession of Aaron Burr, by whom it was retained, as a country residence, for about fifteen years.

Colonel Burr retired from the army, in consequence of greatly impaired health, some years before the Revolutionary contest had ceased. He had entered, actively, into the practice of the law, at New York, in which he had already acquired no little distinction elsewhere. Subsequently elected to the Senate of the United States, and, at the close of that service, elevated to the office of Vice-President, much of his time was necessarily spent at the seat of government; but all of his home life was passed in the society of his family, at Richmond Hill. While his business offices and temporary lodging apartments were in the crowded city, his hours of enjoyment and the brilliant scenes of his social entertainments always found him at this chosen spot. It was here that he received, with fitting honors, the distinguished strangers, from every land, who came to study the features of the country and to estimate the characters of the people, newly entering into the family of nations. Certainly, no man of that day was better qualified to perform the duty he had taken upon himself. Born, as it seemed, to adorn society; rich in knowledge; brilliant and instructive in conversation; gifted with a charm of manner that

was almost irresistible; he was the idol of all who came within the magic sphere of his friendship and his social influence. In his immediate family circle were centered his purest joys, his highest hopes. His married life had been one of uninterrupted happiness, save from the declining health of his affectionate wife. The correspondence between them, which is extant, affords undeniable evidence of the truth of these statements. His daughter, Theodosia, after the death of her mother, was the delight of her father's heart, the chosen companion of his hours of ease and relaxation. She conducted, with rare tact and discretion, the generous hospitality of the Richmond Hill establishment; and the felicity of her management and the charm of her manner were, frequently, the topic of admiration and commendation in the best social assemblages of those happy days.

Among the frequent guests at Burr's house, during this period of his highest prosperity and popularity, were the accomplished Volney, the courtly Talleyrand, and the princely-born Louis Philippe. Expatriated, under the misrule of the French Revolution, these were all of a class of men whom Burr delighted to entertain, and who could appreciate and enjoy the elegant hospitality which was extended to them. About this time, also, while the Vice-President was at his post of duty, in Washington, he requested his daughter, whom he had left in charge of his country establishment, and who was then fourteen years of age, to give a dinner-party at Richmond Hill, to the celebrated Indian Chief, Brant.*

The years that were passed (with occasional absences on public duty) at Richmond Hill, in the companionship of his wife and daughter, comprised the six years of allotted service in the Senate and the four years' incumbency of the office of Vice-President of the United States. In that brief period of time culminated, declined, and passed away, forever, the fame, distinction, and happiness of Aaron Burr.

There is no parallel in personal history for such a fate, so sudden and so irreparable, as that which befell the once honored, respected, admired, and feared master of Richmond Hill.

As a brave and faithful soldier of the Revolution, he was without fear and without reproach. In his first battle, he was chosen to lead the forlorn hope, at the assault of Quebec; and, while under fire, he bore the body of Montgomery from the crimsoned snow-bank where he fell. Chosen by Washington to fill the responsible post of aid, he remained in that confidential position until he voluntarily accepted the office of the like distinction by the side of Putnam; and thence only changed his line of duty to accept the more active service in the command of a regiment. Distinguished in the arduous duties of maintaining the integrity of "the neutral ground" of Westchester, his conduct won the admiration of every judicious commander. Successful whenever he led an independent command, on the disastrous field of Monmouth he made the final sacrifice of his health and ambition to the cause of his country. Retiring from duty, as an invalid, he declined to accept the proffered privilege of leave from active service with continued compensation, and returned to the walks of private life with shattered health, but with few of the honors and none of the rewards of his faithful service.

* For an account of this dinner, and also for a letter written by Burr to his daughter, introducing the Chief, Brant, to her, see Chapter VI., Part III.

This is the brief, but true, military record of Aaron Burr. Is there nothing in such a record to justify the hope of a memory worthy to be cherished, rather than to meet the execration of undying enmity? One act of Burr's life made him an outcast, not alone from the society he had adorned and honored, but from the country which had given him birth, and in support of whose liberties he had freely periled his life. Of the great host of enemies, so suddenly raised up, and who so relentlessly followed the footsteps of the stricken man, how many were there who should have shuddered with the infamy of casting the first stone?

At the closing of his official duties, as Vice-President, Burr followed out a long and well considered purpose of opening a justifiable enterprise for the conquest of one of the provinces of Southern America. Through the perfidy of one or more of his trusted agents, he was arrested, imprisoned, and tried for treason, in the city of Richmond, Virginia. After months of enforced delay, for sinister purposes, the trial was held before the most distinguished of all the Chief-Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States; and while the whole power of the Government of the nation was arrayed against the persecuted defendant, under the advice and ruling of John Marshall, he was honorably acquitted and restored to all the rights of a citizen. And yet there are men who continue to write and speak of Aaron Burr as a traitor!

How many years was he in advance of that glorious enterprise which secured Texas as one of the States of the American Union! His subsequent career was one of long-continued and almost crushing sorrows. The sad sufferings which his misfortunes had cast upon his noble-minded daughter, Theodosia, who had previously become the wife of Governor Alston, of South Carolina; the melancholy death of her only child; and the loss of the devoted mother, on her voyage to meet and welcome home her beloved father, after his long years of absence abroad, altogether make one of the most pathetic stories in the whole range of personal literature. This painful episode has led our reflections far away from the subject of Richmond Hill, and we now again take up the thread of our history. Before Burr's loss of fortune he had contemplated parting with this property, and had opened negotiations with a wealthy capitalist to that end. Having suddenly determined to visit Europe, in the hope and expectation of obtaining pecuniary assistance in the prosecution of his Mexican enterprise, he departed, leaving his business affairs in a condition of irretrievable embarrassment. The necessary consequence was, that the Richmond Hill property was sold, to satisfy the most pressing of his creditors, for a very small part of its actual value; and that, finally, the larger portion became incorporated with the vast estate of Mr. John Jacob Astor. A part of the property held by Burr was not embraced under the Church-lease, but had been purchased from other parties; and so much as had been thus acquired, with a title in fee, had been disposed of some years prior to the ultimate catastrophe from which there was no recovery.

While writing these lines, we have lying before us an attested copy of a conveyance, with an attested map of the premises attached, from Aaron Burr to John Jacob Astor bearing date the eighteenth of November, 1803. This instrument purports to convey a piece of land known as the "Triangle," comprising about forty city lots, bounded by the line of the Church property, and is conveyed, in fee, to the purchaser. The location of this section is indicated,

by its boundaries, on Downing, Bedford, and Village Streets—the latter name being now obsolete.

It is a significant fact, in relation to Burr's well-known business relations, that this piece of property was conveyed, subject to an existing mortgage, in favor of the Manhattan Company. We have also before us an original instrument, certified of record, by T. Wortman, clerk of the city and county of New York, purporting to be a mortgage executed by Timothy and Mary Green to Aaron Burr, covering certain lots, formerly part of the estate of said Burr, and which had previously been part of the estate of Elbert Herring, and was bounded by property held by Burr, under a Church-lease. This mortgage bears date the twenty-third day of October, 1803; and appears to have been assigned, on the same day, to the Manhattan Company. These ancient documents are only interesting to antiquaries in search of disputed or forgotten boundaries, and were found, with many other unconsidered trifles, among the multifarious articles seeking a purchaser in the stock of a dealer in old paper. They are entirely at the service of any person who can find them of any value. Thus passed away, into other hands, the possessions once held and dearly prized by the dwellers in the spacious halls and on the broad lands of Richmond Hill. From time to time, between the years 1806 and 1818, the premises, diminished in size and attraction, were noticed in the public papers to be rented for private residences; and thus, as time passed on, the fortunes of Richmond Hill declined.

The writer remembers the place well. In the year 1813 the noble mansion remained in good preservation, with its broad entrance, under a porch of imposing height, supported by tall columns, with balconies fronting the rooms of the second story, and with an aspect of distinction altogether beyond the ordinary private dwellings of that day. The outer entrance of the premises, at the period mentioned, was through a spacious gateway, placed between highly ornamented columns, at the then termination of McDougal Street, about two hundred feet north of Spring Street. The grounds at that time had been reduced in size, by the interposing barriers of newly opened streets, and no longer extended to the river. The beautiful piece of water, long known as "Burr's Pond," remained intact, with a full supply of the needed element, which, in winter, gave excitement and enjoyment to all the noisy urchins fond of the exercise of skating. On this point the writer can speak from personal knowledge. "Burr's Pond," so far as its exact location can now be traced, must have been on or near the piece of ground known as "the Triangle," as it has been followed to a point where it meets the junction of Bedford and Downing Streets.

In the year 1820 the final excavation of the high ground was completed, and in 1822 a public garden was opened, and soon became a popular resort for the neighboring inhabitants, to whom refreshments were served from the main building. A turtle feast became, also, a standard entertainment, and was frequently presented to an appreciative public by a society gifted with a knowledge of such culinary accomplishments.

Having thus passed through all the mutations of city suburban property, these premises followed the fortunes of other localities; the street commissioner made his influence felt; streets and avenues were opened; buildings were demolished or removed; profile maps came into vogue; hills disappeared

and valleys were filled; until at length the old Richmond Hill mansion found itself shorn of all its grandeur, stripped of its verdant groves, despoiled of its gardens and lawns, sitting sadly, far beneath its former altitude, at the noisy and somewhat unsavory corner of Charlton and Varick Streets. Its stately portals no longer opened wide to welcome the entrance of distinguished guests from foreign lands, or the brilliant crowds who came to mingle in the gay receptions of joyous and sparkling Theodosia. Poor Theodosia! whose grave had been made for her beneath the surging billows of the ocean.

Alas! for the changes wrought by the relentless hand of Time! The tenacity of life with the old mansion was remarkable; and, after the gardens had ceased to be remunerative and other similar attractions had failed, a new and more pretentious effort was made to embellish its history and to keep alive, a little longer, the distinction attached to its name. On its new foundation the house was placed with its front, still wearing the adornments of columns and balconies, some twenty feet withdrawn from Varick Street, extending along the line of Charlton Street. About the year 1831 the premises were leased and a new building constructed, in the rear, connected with the principal edifice and running back about fifty feet, with the view to form a dramatic temple, under the title of "The Richmond Hill Theatre." When completed, the management of the establishment was entrusted to Mr. Richard Russell, an experienced and respectable member of the theatrical profession.

Shortly before the opening night the manager invited, by public notice and the offer of a prize, the co-operation of our city's literati in the production of a *Poetical Address* for the occasion. The committee selected to award the prize sat in one of the reception chambers of the old time-honored mansion. It was an afternoon to be remembered. As the twilight deepened into the evening, the shadows of departed hosts and long-forgotten guests seemed to hover round the dilapidated halls and dismantled chambers. Silence and a saddening gloom weighed heavily on the spirits of the selected party. But the lights came, the feeling of depression soon passed away, and the disordered fancy was roused to resume the duty of the hour.

Mr. Gulian C. Verplanck was chosen to break the seals of a couple of dozen envelopes. The writer of this paper was permitted to be a sharer in the ceremonies. As the poems were read, or glanced at, some few were placed on the right hand, but much the larger number on the left. Of course there could be but little hesitation in making up the final verdict. The successful competitor bore the name of Fitz-Greene Halleck; and, with these pages, the original manuscript of the following beautiful poem is placed in the hands of the editor of *The Historical Magazine*:

PRIZE POEM

WRITTEN FOR THE OPENING OF THE RICHMOND HILL THEATRE.

Where dwells the Drama's Spirit?—not alone
Beneath the palace-roof, beside the throne,
In learning's cloisters, friendship's festal bowers,
Arts pictur'd halls, or triumph's laurel'd towers—
Where'er man's pulses beat, or passions play,
She joys to smile or sigh his thoughts away,
Crowd times and scenes within her ring of power,
And teach a life's experience in an hour.

To night she greets, for the first time, our dome,
 Her latest, may it prove her lasting home,
 And we, her messengers, delighted stand,
 The summoned Ariels of her mystic wand,
 To ask your welcome. . . . Be it yours to give
 Bliss to her coming hours, and bid her live
 Within these walls, new-hallowed in her cause,
 Long in the nurturing warmth of your applause.

'Tis in the public smiles, the public loves,
 His dearest home, the actor breathes and moves;
 Your plaudits are, to us, and to our art,
 As is the life-blood to the human heart;
 And every power that bids the leaf be green
 In nature, acts on this her mimic scene.
 Our sunbeams are the sparklings of glad eyes,
 Our winds, the whisper of applause that flies
 From lip to lip, the heart-born laugh of glee,
 And sounds of cordial hands that ring out merrily;
 And heaven's own dew falls on us in the tear
 That woman weeps o'er sorrows pictur'd here,
 When crowded feelings have no words to tell
 The might, the magic of the actor's spell.

These have been ours, and do we hope in vain,
 Here, oft, and deep, to feel them ours again?
 No—while the weary heart can find repose
 From its own pains in fictions, joys, or woes;
 While there are open lips and dimpled cheeks
 When music breathes, or wit or humor speaks;
 While Shakspeare's master spirit can call up
 Noblest and holiest thoughts, and brim the cup
 Of life with bubbles bright as happiness,
 Cheating the willing bosom into bliss;
 So long will those who, in their spring of youth,
 Have listened to the drama's voice of truth!
 Marked in her scenes the manners of their age,
 And gathered knowledge for a wider stage;
 Come here to speed with smiles life's summer years,
 And melt its winter's snow with warmest tears;
 And younger hearts, when ours are hushed and cold,
 Be happy here, as we have been of old.

Friends of the stage! who hail it as the shrine
 Where music, painting, poetry entwine
 Their wedded garlands, whence their blended power
 Refines, exalts, ennobles, hour by hour,
 The spirit of the land; and, like the wind,
 Unseen, but felt, bears on the bark of mind;
 To you, the hour that consecrates this dome
 Will call up dreams of prouder hours to come,
 When some creating Poet, born your own,
 May waken here the drama's loftiest tone,
 Through after years to echo loud and long;
 A Shakspeare of the west—a star of song!
 Brightening your own blue skies with living fire,
 All climes to gladden, and all tongues inspire,
 Far as beneath the heaven, by sea-winds fanned,
 Floats the free banner of your native land.

However promising may have been the opening of the theatrical speculation, it did not, in the end, restore the fortunes or rescue the name of the Richmond Hill House. The situation was not well adapted for such a place of amusement, and its existence was not a protracted one.

What is known as "the regular drama"—tragedies and comedies—failing to attract sufficient support, an operatic company was called into requisition. Some well-appointed musical entertainments were offered, but usually with inadequate results. One of the most effective performers in Italian opera, and with a superb voice, was presented at this house. Pedrotti will long be remembered for her charming acting and singing.

Several of the actors, of established reputations, from other theaters, appeared here for short engagements. Cooper occasionally reminded his admirers of an early day of the gratification his acting had afforded them; while those well-remembered favorites, Mr. and Mrs. Hilson, whose names were household words with a New York audience, sometimes wandered away from the Park to receive a cordial welcome at Richmond Hill. But the chief incident in this dramatic episode was the entrance into the management of John Barnes, so long and well known as one of the leading comic actors from the Park company.

Mr. and Mrs. Barnes were sterling performers. They had brought from their old theatrical homestead all the prestige of a life-long stage success. They had also acquired a moderate competency in the practice of their profession, and had won the warm regard and respect of a large community of friends of the drama, by the excellency of their deportment and habits of life. Mr. Barnes first appeared at the Park Theater, in the year 1816, and Mrs. Barnes at the same time. They both soon established themselves in public favor, and remained at the Park until the spring of the year 1832, when Mr. Barnes accepted the management of the new theater. The enterprise was a signal failure, much to the regret of those who witnessed the misfortune which befell the manager and his accomplished companion.

In opening the second season, in May, 1832, Mrs. Barnes delighted her audience by reciting a brilliant Address from the pen of a gentleman who shone among the literary lights of that day. Mr. Charles P. Clinch, with characteristic, but not to be commended, modesty, withheld his poem from the press, and it cannot, therefore, lend grace and beauty to these pages.

The theater, with the aid occasionally of a circus company, or a menagerie, continued its feeble existence for about ten years, and at the close of 1842 it finally surrendered to a fate that was inevitable—its doors were closed never again to be opened.

And thus passed away the glories and the shadows of Richmond Hill. All that remains of them are a few fleeting memories and a page or two of history fast fading into oblivion.

APPENDIX III.

INSCRIPTION ON MONTGOMERY'S MONUMENT.

This Monument is erected by the order of Congress,
25th Jan^y, 1776, to transmit to posterity a grateful remem-
brance of the patriotism, conduct, enterprise & perseverance
of Major General Richard Montgomery,

Who after a series of successes amidst the most discouraging difficulties Fell in the attack on
Quebec, 31st Dec^r 1775, Aged 37 years.

Invenit et sculpsit, Parisiis J.J. Caffieri, Sculptor Regius, Anno Domini cbbccclxxvii

THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Caused the Remains of

MAJOR GENL. RICHARD MONTGOMERY.

To be conveyed from Quebec

And deposited beneath this Monument,
the 8th day of July,
1818.

LETTER FROM GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

General Richard Montgomery was born December 2, 1738, not at Convoys, as sometimes stated, but at Swords; Feltrim, near Swords, having been a residence of different members of the family, and indeed at times of Thomas Montgomery.

The events leading to Richard Montgomery's design of coming to America have always been involved in obscurity, but the following, which I have not before seen, may give the whole clue to his emigration: * "You no doubt will be surprised when I tell you I have taken the resolution of quitting the service and dedicating the rest of my life to husbandry, for which I have of late conceived a violent passion. A passion I am determined to indulge in, quitting the career of glory for the substantial comforts of independence. My frequent disappointments with respect to preferment, the little prospect of future advancement to a man who has no friends able or willing to serve him, the mortification of seeing those of more interest getting before one, the little chance of having anything to do in the way of my profession, and that time of life approaching when rambling has no longer its charms, have confirmed me in the indulgence of my inclination. And as a man with little money cuts but a bad figure in this country among peers, nabobs, etc., etc., I have cast my eye on America, where my pride and poverty will be much more at their ease. This is an outline of my future plans." The tenor of this is borne out in a letter he wrote—one of the last he ever penned—to his father-in-law, Judge Livingston, who died before the letter reached its address, at "Headquarters before Quebec, December 16, 1775. . . . Should my good fortune give me success, I shall as soon as possible return home. I have lost the ambition which once sweetened a military life—a sense of my duty is the only spring of action. I must leave the field to those who have a more powerful incentive. I think our affairs at present in so prosperous a situation that I may venture to indulge myself in that sort of life which alone gives me pleasure. Should the scene change, I shall always be ready to contribute my mite to the public safety." Alas! for him and for his adopted country, what a change a fortnight brought to these bright dreams. But yet the letter to his father-in-law betrays the cause of his failure in Quebec, the force of which, perhaps, his unflinching spirit underestimated. "The unhappy passion for going home which prevails among the troops, has left me almost too weak to undertake the business I am about."

General Montgomery, soon after his coming to America in 1772, "laid out part of his money in the purchase of a farm and house near King's Bridge, about thirteen miles from the city of New York. Upon this he erected a small fort, which was evacuated and has been ever since garrisoned by the British troops. . . . After your brother's marriage, having acquired a tract of land by my sister, he laid out a considerable sum of money in building a dwelling-house and mills, which by his will were left to his widow." † This is

* MS. letter written to his cousin John Montgomery of Ballyleck, in the possession of General George S. Montgomery.

† Letter of Chancellor Livingston to Viscount Ranelagh, dated Salisbury, November 2, 1777.

Montgomery Place on the Hudson, now in the possession of Mrs. T. P. Barton, who inherited it from her aunt, Mrs. Montgomery.

Mrs. Montgomery kept up an intimate correspondence with members of her husband's family in Ireland, and many years after his death paid them a visit. There are many specimens of American trees at Convoy, the seed of which it is said she sent over. She died in 1828, aged eighty-five.

There is a very good portrait of the General at Beaulieu House, a photograph of which I have seen, and which, when compared with that at Montgomery Place, would make it appear that the latter was a copy of the former; he must have sat for it at an earlier age than thirty-six, the period of his coming to America; he is habited in a red coat, and had not yet resigned his commission in the British army.

General Montgomery left behind him but few memorials of his active and eventful life; those that have come to light have mostly all appeared in the biographical notices already of him. His correspondence was sparse, but good; time may yet collect many of his letters still in private hands, and these, with other memorials which we hope are in store for the curious inquirer, may at a future day be given by some lover of his memory—and what American does not merit this claim?—to the public.

APPENDIX IV.

NEW YORK CITY POST-OFFICE.

The history of the New York Post-office is to such an extent the history of the city itself, so far as regards its growth and prosperity, that the present work would not be complete without a more detailed account than the one given in the text. The following sketch is also from *Harper's Magazine* for October, 1871 :

There seems to be no preserved evidence that for very many years after the settlement of what is now known as the city of New York there was any officially recognized post-office. The population was small in numbers, and there were no business inducements which would lead to much correspondence. The very first ships which arrived after the primitive settlement of course brought letters to New Amsterdam, and the commencement of our local office was naturally coeval with the foundation of the city ; but it was many years before there was a population which called for any system looking toward revenue.

On the arrival of the vessel those letters relating to the cargo were delivered to the merchants ; the members of the exulting, expecting crowd which welcomed their friends received their letters from hands warm with the grasp of friendship. If a solitary epistle found no owner, it was left in the possession of some responsible private citizen until called for. In time the intercourse with Holland increased, and there gradually developed a system of voluntary distribution which became eventually known as the "coffee-house delivery," which maintained its popularity and usefulness more than a hundred years.

This system grew out of the custom of masters of vessels, and the people from the settlements of Breucklyn, Pavonia, and the distant Hackensack, leaving at some agreed-upon popular tavern letters intrusted to them which they could not personally deliver. Here these "waifs" were kept in a small box, conveniently placed within the reach of all, or gibbeted ingeniously upon the surface of a smooth board, by means of green baize, tape, and brass-headed nails, the "composition" displayed the while, like some choice picture, in the most conspicuous part of the public room. There were hangers-on at these popular resorts who unconsciously acted as agents for this arcadian post : for

they acquired temporary importance, and sometimes a bit of tobacco or a glass of Schiedam schnapps, by circulating information regarding the "letter list." It was a curious sight, these old depositories of commercial speculations and homely friendships. Many were the neglected letters which were taken and examined by the simple-hearted old burghers, until the superscriptions were entirely defaced by the handling. Crabbed writing must, under the best circumstances, have made the characteristic and familiar Holland names of Guysbert van Imbroecken and Ryndert Jansen van Hooghten appear very much like an imitation of a Virginia fence; but when these same letters became here and there defaced and stained by soiling fingers, the superscription must have been a jumble indeed. It is asserted, however, that the possible contents of these "literary orphans" were sources of infinite gossip to the loungers at the tavern, for they would sit silently and smoke for long hours thinking over the important matter, occasionally uttering the vague speculation that they "were written by somebody;" and after this severe effort of conjectural thought would lapse again into dreamy somnolency.

The tradition, however, is doubtful that the earlier Dutch governors received their official dispatches through the coffee-house delivery, and continued so to do up to the time of the testy and resolute Stuyvesant, who conceived the idea that more rapid communication with the gubernatorial headquarters might be had by sending these important documents, without any circumlocution, to his official residence.

For many years, even after the English took possession of New York, the coffee-house delivery was really the people's institution for the distribution of written information. The custom continued with the population of the seaport towns of turning out and greeting the arrival of every important vessel, and there followed the consequent exchange of congratulations, inquiries, and letters; and even after a more comprehensive and responsible system was demanded, it was difficult to get the people to wholly change their old and confirmed ways, to depart from habits associated with so many pleasant traditions.

But this simple style of conducting business gradually became inefficient; and the "mother country," after England assumed the maternal position, turned its attention to the establishment of post-offices throughout the few densely settled portions of the colonies. At this period, toward the close of the seventeenth century (1672), New York boasted of five thousand inhabitants. Both Philadelphia and Boston were her superiors in population and commercial importance, and their citizens entered upon the new arrangements with actively expressed zeal. But New York in spirit remained a mere village, for its old population was quite satisfied with things as they were, and resolutely maintained its correspondence, whenever it was possible, through private means. An innovation on this custom was evidently made by an official order, issued in 1686, that ship-letters *must* be sent to the custom-house; and we presume that the municipal government came to the rescue in 1692, by passing an act establishing a post-office.

In the year 1710 the Postmaster-General of Great Britain directed the establishment of a "chief letter office" in the city of New York, Philadelphia having been previously made the headquarters of the colonial organization. In the succeeding year arrangements were completed for the delivery of the

Boston mail twice a month, and propositions to establish a *foot* post to Albany were advertised. The *New York Gazette*, for the week ending the 3d of May, 1732, has the following interesting advertisement:

"The New York Post-office will be removed to-morrow to the uppermost of the two houses on Broadway, opposite Beaver Street.

RICHARD NICHOL, Esq., P. M."

In 1740 a complete road was "blazed" from Paulus Hook (Jersey City) to Philadelphia, over which road, without any stated intervals of time, the mail was carried on horseback between Philadelphia and New York.

Twenty-one years (1753) after the notice we have quoted of the removal of the New York post-office to Broadway we find it still in the same location, but designated as being opposite Bowling Green, and that it would be open every day, save Saturday afternoon and Sunday, from 8 to 12 A. M., except on post nights, when attendance would be given until ten at night. Signed, Alexander Colden, Deputy-postmaster, and Secretary and Comptroller.

Dr. Franklin must have been very active in the establishment of postal facilities throughout the colonies; for in the year 1753, much to his personal satisfaction, he was appointed Postmaster-General, with a small salary, which, it was quaintly added, "he could have if he could get it." But in spite of the establishment of a city post forty years previously, New York did not attract any special attention, and the revenues derived therefrom are not mentioned, while those of Boston and Philadelphia have frequent notice. It is probable that the municipal and the colonial authorities carried on much of their correspondence through agents, who were left to their own ways, the habits of the mass of the people confining them to their old notions of volunteer distribution, which was also encouraged by the high rates of postage. So long, indeed, did the coffee-house delivery maintain its popularity, that we find "the constituted officials" complaining of the fact as injuring the revenue, and finally an attempt was made to break up the custom by the publication of severe penalties.

In Dr. Franklin's celebrated examination before the House of Commons committee on the situation of the colonies we find the following questions and answers, evidently aimed at the coffee-house distribution of letters:

COMMITTEE—Do not letters often come into the post-offices of America directed to inland towns where no post goes?

DR. FRANKLIN—Yes.

COMMITTEE—Can any private person take up these letters and carry them as directed?

DR. FRANKLIN—Yes, a friend of the person may do it, paying the postage that has accrued.

But for many years, in spite of this governmental opposition, New York city kept up the custom. The coffee-houses maintained their popularity. To them resorted the chief men and the wits of the town. At them were to be met the sea-captains and strangers from abroad, and gossip answered the place of the daily paper; and there was kept up the "card-rack," sticking full of letters and business notices; nor would public opinion severely condemn this custom, so peculiar to New York. Even the first Tontine Coffee-house, as it was called, had its place for exchanging letters. It was not until it was

found out by experience that a well-regulated city post was safer, of less trouble, and more expeditious, that the coffee-house letter distribution came to an end.

The oppressions of the colonies by the British Government occasioned a novel form of indignation, which expressed itself by the decided patronage of what appears to have been a "continental post," which was carried on in opposition to the one under the control of the English Postmaster-general, for we find a notice that the deputy of the British Government was vainly endeavoring to keep up a post-office.

Alexander Colden remained postmaster up to the breaking out of the Revolution, for in the year previous (1775) his name appears in the *Gazette* in connection with the office, and with the additional one of agent for the English packets, which sailed once a month.

Upon the British troops taking possession of New York, the old record of the post-office disappears. For seven years it was abolished by the exactions of the provost-marshal, and little correspondence ensued not connected with the movements of troops. William Bedlow was the first postmaster after the close of the war, as his name appears in that connection in 1785; but in the succeeding year (1786) Sebastian Bauman was postmaster; and in the first directory of the city ever published—in which we find nine hundred and twenty-six names of citizens, the members of Congress, etc., John Hancock, Esq., President—is the following advertisement:

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES OF THE MAILS AT THE POST-OFFICE IN NEW YORK.

ARRIVALS.

FROM NEW ENGLAND AND ALBANY.

From November 1st to May 1st.

On Wednesday and Saturday, at seven o'clock P. M.

From May 1st to November 1st.

On Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday, at eight o'clock P. M.

FROM THE SOUTHWARD.

From November 1st to May 1st.

On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at nine o'clock P. M.

DEPARTURES.

FOR NEW ENGLAND AND ALBANY.

From November 1st to May 1st.

On Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday, at ten o'clock P. M.

From May 1st to November 1st.

On Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday, at ten o'clock P. M.

FOR THE SOUTHWARD.

From November 1st to May 1st.

On Sunday and Thursday, at two o'clock P. M.

From May 1st to November 1st.

On Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, at four o'clock P. M.

. Letters must be in the office half an hour before closing.

Congress in those early days was more considerate of the personal comforts of the post-office clerks than at the present time; for, with business that was scarcely worth noticing under the head of "labor," that deliberative body found heart to pass a solemn act directing "that all letters left at the post a half hour before the time of making up the mail must be forwarded therein." Therefore, advertised the sagacious Sebastian Bauman, all letters left at the office not conformable with this act will be left over until the next post! The income of the New York post-office the first year (1786) of this most excellent red-tape official was two thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine dollars and eighty-four cents; and from this amount, as a starting-point, can be correctly estimated the annual increase of the postal business of New York City.

On the 30th of April, 1788, Washington was inaugurated President, and the establishment of the General Post-office as now organized immediately followed. Samuel Osgood was appointed Postmaster-General, and assumed his duties in the city of New York under the tuition of Sebastian Bauman. What should be done with this important official was evidently a subject of Congressional discussion; for we find officially recorded, that "the Postmaster-general shall not keep any office separate from the one in which the mails arriving in New York are opened and distributed, that he may by his presence prevent irregularities, and rectify mistakes which may occur." In fact, this now most important officer of the General Government, and his solitary assistant and one clerk, then had nothing to do; so they took their first lessons in the service in the post-office of the city of New York. At this time there were throughout the United States seventy-five legally established post-offices and one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five miles of post-office routes.

In a very short time the national capital was transferred to Philadelphia, which had three penny-post carriers when New York had one—suggestive data of the comparative importance of the two cities at that time. The Southern or Philadelphia mail left New York daily; the Eastern mail tri-weekly; special mails for New Jersey and Long Island once a week. Mails to Albany were carried on horseback—contractor's remuneration, "postage collected."

"Colonel" Sebastian Bauman disappears in 1804; and his successor, Josias Ten Eyck, after what was to the public probably an uneventful year, gave way to General Theodorus Bailey, who received his appointment January 2d, 1804, and who satisfactorily performed the duties of his office for nearly a quarter of a century. General Bailey was a gentleman of high standing in the community. He was a member of the House of Representatives two sessions, and a United States Senator in 1803, which position he held one year, and then resigned to assume the duties of postmaster.

The post-office was removed from Broadway by General Bailey, who established it in a house he had purchased, 29 William Street, corner of Garden, now Exchange Place. The building, even at that early day, was considered and spoken of as an "old-fashioned house." The windows were wide apart, and between the two on the lower story was a narrow door, the entrance of which was protected by a stoop lined with the usual wooden benches. A single dormer-window broke up the monotony of the peaked roof. The window frame on the left of the door was divided into the novelty of small boxes

(now for the first time introduced), one hundred and forty-four in number. The office occupied was twelve feet in width and fifteen deep. The room was so small that it soon became overcrowded, and the increase of the newspaper mail became so great that William Coleman, publisher of the *Evening Post*, who kept a book-store corner of William and Wall Streets, used to take the accumulated newspapers, generally of an entire week, over to his store, and assort them at his leisure, tying up each distribution with a string, and then sending them back to the post-office to be distributed through the mails.

General Bailey occupied the upper part of the house with his family. In accordance with the custom of those times, between twelve and one o'clock he closed up the lower part of the door and joined his family at dinner. If any parties were delayed by this attention to refreshments, they would, if strangers, reach around, and, seizing hold of the huge lion-headed knocker, make a clatter that could be heard a block away. If the solitary clerk answered this clamor, he generally remarked that the banks closed between twelve and one, and why shouldn't the post-office? and, with other evidences of dissatisfaction, would dismiss the impatient citizens. But if General Bailey was forced to reply, he would answer the call with the courtliness of an officer of the army associated with General Washington, and he would dismiss the inquirer, after written and sealed information with the same old-school bow with which he would have delivered an order from head-quarters or a bouquet to a lady. If any of General Bailey's personal acquaintances happened to call in an unpropitious hour, and no one was in attendance, they would help themselves, carefully leaving the money for postage on the table, which occupied almost the entire interior of the room.

The establishment of the "embargo" in the year 1807 paralyzed all business, and, of course, seriously affected that of the post-office. From this time onward for several years there was little that occurred of general interest. It was not until the agitation of the right of the British Government to impress seamen sailing under the American flag that New York was aroused from what seemed to be a chronic apathy, and the name of General Bailey, the postmaster, suddenly appears, among others, attached to certain resolutions resenting this monstrous assumption on the part "of the self-styled mistress of the seas." The War of 1812 followed, and the post-office business continued to suffer. The clerical force, in consequence, was reduced one-third by the dismissal of a junior clerk; Archibald Forrester, one of the two retained, acting occasionally as a volunteer in throwing up earthworks "above King's Bridge," and again in superintending laborers engaged in constructing the round fort which still adorns the Battery. Jimmy Mower, the junior clerk, was drafted, but saved his place by hiring a substitute. Thus the post-office took a front rank in the patriotic efforts made to save the national honor. This war excitement had a healthy action on the country; the post-office business began to increase, and from that time steadily developed in importance.

In the summer of 1822 the city was desolated by the yellow fever, and was almost absolutely deserted by its population. The infected district was separated from the outer world by a high board fence, which ran across the city through the line of Duane, and what was then known as Harrison Street. Persons who had the temerity to climb to the top of this barricade relate that in the height of the plague not a living person could be seen. The post-office, for

the public accommodation, was moved to Greenwich village, the desks, mail-bags, and all making hardly enough to overcrowd a modern furniture cart. The building temporarily appropriated was a handsome two-story frame-house, erected for a bank but not occupied, situated corner of Asylum, now Fourth, and what was subsequently known as Bank Street.

[This house, the last of the old homesteads remaining below Thirty-seventh Street, is now (January, 1872) in process of demolition on the corner of Fourth Street and West Tenth. It was a wide, one story frame building, with peaked roof and verandah front, and was considered the most beautiful residence of ancient Gotham. The grounds around it, consisting of several acres, were laid out regardless of expense. Besides flowers innumerable, they contained every known variety of choice fruit-trees, and its fish-ponds were the wonder of the period. There being no Croton, a large number of cisterns were sunk at great outlay to supply these with water. It was erected by Garret Gilbert, a well-known personage who flourished seventy-five years ago. He did not enjoy it long, however, as he soon ran through his large fortune, and the property was sold at auction to the late Senator Marcus Spencer, whom many of the old residents of the city will remember. In 1822, during the prevalence of the yellow fever, as stated in the text, it was temporarily taken possession of by the United States authorities, who established the post-office there, out of the reach of the epidemic. Senator Spencer and his family continued to reside in the house until twelve years ago, when he died. It then passed into the possession of Dr. Hall, the Senator's son-in-law, who now owns it.—*Note by the Author.*]

The magnificent trees which surrounded the house still have representatives standing in Hammond Street. Between Greenwich village and New York at that time was a vast tract of unoccupied and broken land. Woodcock and and snipe "from the Jerseys" still found shelter in the marshes, the waters of which drained through old Canal Street.

When the yellow fever was raging, the rural population of the village, much to their annoyance, found their houses filled with people flying for their lives; these inflictions were borne with patience, since any fears were quieted by liberal pay for shelter; but when the post-office arrived, followed by the fear-stricken clerks, they concluded that disaster had indeed fallen in their midst, and that the letters and those grim road-worn mail-bags were but seeds and depositories of pestilence. With the sharp, biting frosts of the latter part of November the post-office was removed back to its old quarters.

In the year 1825 there was an imperative demand for better, or rather for more roomy, accommodations, and the Government leased the "Academy Building," opposite Dr. Matthew's church in Garden (now Exchange) Street. The free school which had been its occupant for many previous years was under the control of the "Reformed Dutch Consistory." It was a two-story wooden building, and familiar to the youthful population, and especially "the rising young men," for they had one and all within its inclosure been more or less severely disciplined in the principles of a useful education, and had been physically invigorated by the virtues of a sound thrashing.

The front of the building had some pretensions to novelty by slight attempts at ornamentation, and the unusual covering of a flat roof. On one side was a small pen, through which was the entrance into the yard, and underneath was a sort of dungeon for the confinement, if so ordered, of fractious boys, whom reason, mingled with Scripture, worldly advice, and birchen rods, had failed to reform. On the opposite side was Postmaster Bailey's residence, a

narrow two-story house, with a single dormer-window, and a cellar in the basement, protected from observation by doors which, from their propitious angle, formed the "summer sliding-pond" of young New York.

In this new location two windows were knocked into one, and the acquired space was filled up with nine hundred letter-boxes, and, to the astonishment of many, they were soon leased for business purposes. To make everything satisfactory to the public, General Bailey obtained permission from the Government to build a wooden shed over the sidewalk, so that people waiting at the delivery window were protected from the snow and rain. At this time there were eight clerks—W. B. Taylor, Joseph Dodd, George Abell, Courter Goodwin, W. S. Dunham, James Lynch, James Mower, and Charles Forrester. On the 1st of January, 1871, three of these clerks, after forty-five years of faithful service, were still at work, viz., W. B. Taylor, Joseph Dodd, and Charles Forrester; the two last named are all that are left of those who were on duty in the first quarter of the century.

In those days the prevailing spirit was one of quiet. There was not apparently even a foreshadowing of the "lightning speed" which is characteristic of every event of this generation; for, thirty or forty years ago, a voyage from Liverpool to New York was "rapid" if accomplished within two months, and quite satisfactory if not prolonged to ninety days. Even after the lapse of this last-mentioned time there was no anxiety in the minds of self-possessed friends. The vessel, they would say, has met with some accident and put in at Fayal, of Azores or Western Islands, then a sort of half-way station, where ships and passengers alike rested from their fatigues. After repairing sails and cordage, and supplying the exhausted stores of provisions, the good ship and easy-going passengers would renew their slow progress westward, possibly consuming a third of a year in the voyage. It was after one of these "long-drawn-out events," when the skipper probably consumed more time to get his craft from Sandy Hook to the "Dover-street Dock" than is now necessary to make the entire voyage across the Atlantic, that a passenger, evidently born out of his time, so fully realized the misery of the programme that he indignantly, and with some tendency to hyperbole, asserted, "that if all the trees in the the world were pens, and all the men in the world scribes, and all the water in the sea ink, they couldn't explain the calamity of such a voyage."

There were no telegraphs, no speedy movements by the aid of steam, and consequently nothing of what is now designated newspaper enterprise. As a consequence, the people, even like their Knickerbocker predecessors, depended upon, and were quite satisfied to wait upon, chance for information. A well-known citizen "from the interior," now designated the "rural districts," was button-holed ("interviewed," we would say) under the post-office shed regarding the corn and potato crop of his section. A "Southerner," or a live sea-captain, or a passenger "just from Europe," were severally perfect magazines of news. Information thus obtained—if used with spirit—would frequently appear within a week or ten days. Here at the post-office was to be met, every pleasant morning, Charles King of the *American*, Redwood Fisher of the *Daily Advertiser*, and the pleasantest man of all the press, Major Mordecai M. Noah of the *Courier*, and other distinguished editors, who, having exchanged the ordinary courtesies of the day, would in an oracular manner give utterance to startling political or social observations, the pleasant interlude very likely ter

minating in a practical joke, profanely indulged in by an irreverent bank clerk, or valuable assistant of a popular auctioneer.

But the post-office had among its clerks Jimmy Mower. He was a smart business man, of wonderful capacity for work, and of the most equable good-nature. In addition, he was pretty well read; he boasted that he got his information in connection with his business of distributing the newspapers. One of his jokes grew out of the fact that in the war he was drafted, but, to avoid the responsibility, hired a substitute, who was killed at the famous sortie on Fort Erie, Canada frontier, and consequently that he (Jimmy Mower) had been killed in the service of his country, and that his bones were absolutely whitening on the battle-field. His efforts to get a pension for his heirs and get his post-office pay at the same time proved a puzzler to the best legal minds. The fashion of the times was rather "stately," but Mower, dead as he was, had life enough in him to amuse his fellow-clerks by sometimes joining in the conversations held under the shed outside of the post-office, and turning what was serious into ridicule. He generally hallooed his remarks through a broken pane of glass, at the same time making his hands almost invisible in the distribution of mail matter.

He was popular with the crowd, and if he could give the erudite Charles King, or the subtle Redwood Fisher, or the worthy Major Noah what the "boys" termed a "side-winder," it would set the post-office congregation in a roar. If Jimmy was turned on by some indignant individual who didn't see his joke, the light-hearted official retreated to the interior of the post-office, leaving the vehement eloquence intended for his head to be expended against the obtruding glass. Colonel Dodd and Charley Forrester, who are still clerks in in the post-office, were great admirers of Jimmy Mower, and they still insist, after forty-five years of serious reflection on the subject, that Mower was the smartest man they ever knew, and that in his fights with "the editors and the big-bugs" he always got the advantage.

The post-office now began to be an institution, and this growing importance was pleasant to General Bailey, who, with more enlarged quarters and a private house entirely at his disposal, seemed to grow more courtly than ever, and dispensed his pleasant hospitality of conversation from the benches of his front-door, where he could often be seen side by side with the Clintons, the Willetts, and Schuylers, indulging in mutual congratulations upon the growth of the city and country, both of which they had assisted to rescue from colonial dependence and place on the high-road to national greatness.

At that time there were six letter-carriers, the extreme up-town boundary of their field of labor being a straight line crossing the island at Catharine and Canal Streets. Colonel Reeside was now becoming of national importance by his connection with the Post-office Department. He carried the great Southern mail through from Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, delivering it by contract at Paulus Hook (Jersey City). Here it was taken possession of by Colonel Dodd, who brought over the bags in a skiff, and then trundled them up to Garden Street in a wheelbarrow.

At the foot of Rivington Street, in the year 1825, was an important spot of high ground, known as "Manhattan Island"—a place where were located the ship-yards, among them the large one belonging to Henry Eckford. The proprietors of these yards had an extensive correspondence with the South, espe-

cially with Georgia and Florida, from which States they obtained their fat pine and live-oak used in ship-building. Mr. Charles Forrester, more than forty years an employé of the post-office, and who still performs his daily and arduous duties, then a boy, lived in the suburbs, and he would bring up the letters directed to these ship-builders, carry them across the wet meadows that lined the eastern side of the island, and deliver them to their owners.

The year 1825 was made memorable by the fact that Colonel Reeside obtained the contract to carry the mails from Boston to New York, the route being over the old post-road. Reeside's stages were very showy, drawn by four blooded Virginia horses, and driven by the most accomplished "Jehus."

On pleasant summer afternoons the people confined to the lower part of the island would purposely walk up the Bowery to see the "Boston mail" come in. Some time before the vehicle reached the old hay-scales, just where the Cooper Institute now stands, the driver would herald his approach by a melodious winding of his horn; then, laying aside this vulgar instrument, he would assume his legitimate scepter, the whip, which he would harmlessly crack over the heads of his spirited steeds with a noise that, on a clear day, could be "heard a mile."

On Saturdays the jolly school boys and girls would gather together under the tall poplars and button-wood trees, and as the stage dashed along they would wave their hands as a welcome, and the most venturesome would catch hold of the straps, and thus have the glory of riding a few yards under the overhanging "boot." The characteristic gamins of that period would evince their enthusiasm by following the coach and rollicking in the dust of its revolving wheels; would cheer it and its passengers to the end of the route; and especially was this the case when the driver would make purposely-abortive attempts to drive these human flies away with his whip, or a jocose passenger would bandy wit with the boys, and make them crazy with delight by the scattering of a few pennies in the road.

In the winter these gay coaches were put aside, and in their place was a huge box on wheels, the combination not unlike a hearse, in the heart of which was deposited the load. The practice then was to abandon passengers, when the roads were heavy from mud and rain, and carry the mails; but now-a-days, if the reports from many of the existing stage routes be true, under unfavorable circumstances the drivers abandon the mails to carry the passengers. Amos Kendall, the indefatigable Postmaster-general, by his industry and good management, reduced the carrying time between New York and New Orleans from sixteen to seven days. The event was celebrated at the Merchants' Exchange and the post-office by the raising of the national standard, and there was a general rejoicing in Wall Street. Jimmy Mower had his joke by gravely asserting, that all newspapers delivered at the office from New Orleans less than sixteen days old were printed at the *Advertiser* office.

Progress was now perceptible in the whole city, in the evident growth of wealth and population. The merchants (1825) were suddenly inspired with the ambition to have an Exchange worthy of their increasing importance, and an honor to the growing metropolis. To realize this idea they purchased a lot of seventy feet fronting on Wall Street, and at that time practically between William and Pearl Streets. The foundations of the building were laid with imposing ceremonies, and its gradual erection, joined with the promising

grandeur, was to the citizens a source of daily surprise and self-congratulation. In due time the structure was completed, and to give proper importance to the event, and a characteristic recognition of one of New York's greatest financiers and lawyers, a marble statue of Alexander Hamilton was placed conspicuously under the dome.

The "solid men" went from this stately pile around to the humble post-office in Garden Street, and the board front and "shanty" shed became distasteful to their eyes and unworthy of the city. This public sentiment was utilized into well-written articles for the newspapers, and the people grew suddenly ambitious for a better and more convenient post-office. The merchants favored the idea, and a part of the basement of the new Exchange was leased to the Federal Government, and in the year 1827 the post-office was established in its new and excellent quarters.

Wall Street at this time presented a picturesque mingling of the highest social life with churches, banks, and business stores combined. That it was in a transition state was apparent, yet we much doubt if the fact was fully realized by even the most sagacious citizens. The monetary institutions had a solid, unpretentious look, and the buildings in which they were lodged, in some instances, were occupied in their upper stories by the presidents or cashiers with their families. Then our most solid merchants did not find it inconsistent to live over their stores, and have at their tables their confidential clerks. Large trees still shaded the sidewalks, and private residences were to be seen, at the windows of which, after business hours, the ladies of the household presented themselves, or, standing at the front-door, according to the early custom of New York, chatted with neighbors. "Wall Street Church" and grounds occupied half the block that reached from Nassau to Broadway; while over the whole towered the venerable pile known as "Old Trinity," its grave-yard adding to the rural aspect, and giving an air of quiet to the surroundings. The Merchants' Exchange occupied only the eastern half of the square on which it was built; and directly adjoining it was a little candy shop, where they sold spruce-beer and "taffy" by the penny's worth. Then came the shop of a fashionable haberdasher, and on the corner was Benedict's well-known watch establishment, the regulator of which governed Wall Street time.

In the rear of the eastern corner of the basement of the Exchange was located the celebrated lunch-room of Charley King. How his restaurant would compare with the more pretentious ones of modern date we will not assert; but for hearty good-will, substantial fare, high respectability, and unquestioned manners, the proprietors of this now almost forgotten lunch-room have not, since its destruction, been surpassed. In the basement corner of Wall and Hanover Streets James Buchanan, British consul, and David Hale, printed a paper with the happily selected name of *Journal of Commerce*. It was at the commencement an unpretending sheet, and from the fact that it was semi-religious in its tone, and refused advertisements for the sale of liquors, was assumed to be a "temperance sheet." Among the well-known characters then living in New York was one "Johnny Edwards, scale-beam maker." He lived "up town," in the vicinity of what is now known as Fourth Street and Second Avenue. He was a man of the most harmless eccentricity, dressing himself in a Quaker garb, and riding about in a rickety old gig. He used

sometimes to come down to Wall Street in business hours, and, taking advantage of the crowd in front of the Exchange, would proceed to harangue the "thoughtless generation" on the virtues of his patent scale beams, and the necessities of temperance. As he clinched his argument regarding temperance with the distribution of tracts, he took great umbrage at the assumptions of the *Journal of Commerce*, pronouncing it a rival sheet on the great subject of temperance. The crowd enjoyed these interruptions of the usual routine of the street, to the great annoyance of David Hale, who considered the whole thing an undignified travesty on his gravely attempted efforts to bring about a moral reform.

Even at this dawning era the spirit of New York was unambitious, and the people, with few exceptions, were evidently unconscious of the changes in its character which were impending. One mail delivery a day was all the merchants demanded. The newspapers were rarely excited about the receipt of their exchanges. The hurry and bustle and anxiety which now pervades Wall Street were totally unknown. Groups were constantly in and about the Exchange conversing upon trivial matters; the merry, hearty laugh was heard time and again through the day, expressing admiration of harmless jokes uttered by persons at the time enjoying the hospitality of Charley King's lunch; while the clerks, less able to pay, made merry at Billy Niblo's, or Clark and Brown's, where for a sixpence they commanded a plentiful dish of Fulton Market beef, and trimmings to match; and, if extravagantly inclined, they would pay another sixpence for a cup of coffee and a cruller, to make the equal of which has ceased to be possible outside of the "kitchen-houses" belonging to our old population.

The Exchange had a narrow front on the street, and ran through to Garden. The entrance to the basement was under a circular opening, which was made of the arch which supported the steps that led up to the rotunda. The post-office was established in the rear eastern half of the basement, where it had ample room and much to spare. Two delivery windows were established, and three thousand boxes for the accommodation of the merchants; and so seemingly enormous had now become the business that twenty-two clerks were employed, and twenty-two letter-carriers, whose routes now reached up as high as Houston and Ninth, now Fourth Street. Now for the first time was found a demand for the assignment of a clerk wholly to a special duty, and "little Sam Gouverneur" was appointed to the exclusive care of the money department, and dignified with the title of "cashier."

To facilitate the arrival and departure of the mails, and give light to that part of the basement occupied by the post-office, what is now known as Hanover Street (which had, thirty years previously, been used by foot passengers as a short-cut to Hanover Square) was cleared out and made a street, and a small court on this side of the Exchange conveniently opened itself for the accommodation of the wagons and other vehicles employed by the post-office.

General Bailey, who had been an acceptable and honored postmaster almost a quarter of a century, full of years and honors, on the 4th of September, 1828, passed away. The veterans of the Revolution, as they now began to be called, State and city soldiery, the various civic societies, and representatives of the army and navy, vied with each other in paying to his memory every possible respect. General Jackson, in compliment to ex-President Monroe, who was

then living, appointed his son-in-law, Samuel L. Gouverneur, to succeed General Bailey. With this event the old-times' history of the post-office of New York may be said to have passed away.

* * * * *

The windows of the post-office for the distribution of letters and the selling of stamps "in sums less than one dollar," are interesting places to study the cosmopolitan character of our busy population. It is not uncommon to witness people of every nationality "in line," waiting for their turn to inquire for correspondence. The ladies' window is especially a center of observation; and the appearance of the sex dressed in gay colors and wreathed in smiles lightens up the otherwise care-worn, pell-mell, rushing, and sombre-looking crowd. Here the "young lady of the period" contrasts with the old crone whose undutiful son is "off at sea." The widow in her weeds throws sly glances at the dashing clerk; her hopefulness of the future contrasting strongly with the face of the suffering wife, who, sad and discontented, turns abruptly away because her absent spouse "had failed to write."

During the rebellion the post-office clerks, by-virtue of their duties, were often made unwilling participants in many sad scenes and associations. There was a terrible significance in the hymn or prayer-book returned "from the front," often saturated with blood or marred by the bullet. Then there were the packets of unclaimed letters, dictated by loving, patriotic hearts, returned to the mother, wife, or sweetheart of the soldier, bearing the formal but terrible indorsement of the adjutant of the regiment, of "William Brown, killed in battle." It was often almost like stabbing the recipients to the heart to hand them such a fatal gift, and the look of unutterable anguish that sometimes followed haunted the day musings and midnight dreams of the sympathizing official. But there sometimes, nay, often, came a letter that conveyed to wife and family a respite to agonizing suspense, and then the old post-office was for the moment bright, and the dangers of war for an instant were forgotten. Lessons of human nature are taught at the delivery window of a post-office in the classified peculiarities of the universal patrons of the "republic of letters," among which are developed the common facts, that "clergymen, as a class, and women, universally, are the most difficult to please!" Certainly they seem to complain the most.

Romantic incidents are not unusual in the history of specific mails. When the Japanese empire was opened to the outside world, the first mail from that legendary country was sent to New York in a sailing vessel *via* San Francisco, Panama, and Aspinwall. By a coincidence a mail from China *via* England arrived at the post-office simultaneously, and the written ideas and wishes of these two Oriental nations for the moment reposed side by side. In their route of destination they separated, and made the circuit of the world, to meet again in our great Western city of "mushroom barbarians." But speculation is brief in the post-office when work is to be done; the words, "Who separates?" are heard, the "travelers" are "broken up," and, piecemeal, sent to their various destinations. Some years since a steamer running between Liverpool and Quebec was involved in a terrible storm that swept over the mouth of the St. Lawrence. The stanch ship was lost, and all living creatures on board perished. Two months afterward the divers, among other things, recovered from the wreck the New York city mail, and it was promptly forwarded to its place of

destination. When opened the contents were found comparatively safe; the letters were carefully dried and duly distributed; and these frail, delicate, paper memorials of thought remained intact, while the iron-ribbed ship and the brave men who commanded her still repose in their ocean grave. * *

The discipline and efficiency of the city post is shown in the reminiscence that, twenty years ago, before there was a postal treaty with England, people in that country, according to their caprice, indorsed on the outside of their letters by what line of steamers they desired them to be sent. By some accident neither of the two composing the American line crossed from England in six months! The consequence was an extraordinary accumulation of letters indorsed "by American steamer;" and when the *Washington* did reach this port, having "broken her shaft, and been frozen up in the harbor of Bremen," she had a six months' mail on board. This enormous collection of letters was taken to the post-office, and the clerks, without neglecting their daily routine duties and working "overtime," distributed this accumulation in *ten days*! The same number of letters, without interfering with the daily business of the office, would now be distributed in *one hour*! Instead of there being as formerly only a few straggling letters, two hundred and fifty thousand postage stamps are, on an average, daily canceled, and that is a representation of the number of *domestic* letters delivered at the post-office every twenty-four hours. It costs the government sixty thousand dollars annually for cartage to haul this vast amount of mail matter to the stations and railway lines.* One

* As a post-office and a railroad depot are naturally connected—the one distributing the mails and the other conveying them—the following account of the GRAND CENTRAL DEPOT, which was referred to in Chapter XIV., Part III., as having been opened to the public in 1871, is in point. The Grand Central Depot on Forty-second Street and Fourth Avenue serves as a central depot for the Hudson River, Harlem, and New Haven Railroads. Without much pretension to architectural elegance, it is commodious and well adapted to the purposes for which it was designed, and perhaps we ought not to ask much more from a railroad depot.

The building was projected by Commodore VANDERBILT, and constructed under the supervision of Mr. W. H. VANDERBILT. Ground was broken November 15th, 1869, and the depot was ready for occupation October 9th, 1871. The entire building is 696 feet long and 240 feet wide; the space for the accommodation of trains is 610 feet by 200, the rest of the building being devoted to offices, waiting-rooms, etc. The height of the main body of the depot, from the ground to the top of the roof, is 100 feet, while that of the central tower on Forty-second Street is 160 feet to the apex of the roof, and 200 feet to the top of the flag-staff. The roof of the main body of the structure—the car-house, as it is called—is supported by thirty-one immense and strong iron trusses, each weighing about forty tons. As it would have been extremely difficult to raise such huge masses at once, each truss was lifted to its position in sections by derricks mounted on a movable staging. About eight million pounds of iron were used in the construction of the depot, ten million bricks, and 20,000 barrels of cement. There are 80,000 feet of glass in the roof, by which the whole building is abundantly lighted during the daytime, while at night it is brilliantly illuminated by means of the electrical light.

That part of the building which fronts on Forty-second Street is to be occupied by the New York and New Haven Railroad; that on Central Avenue by the Hudson River and Harlem roads. To accommodate the immense number of passengers arriving and departing by these roads there are thirty-one entrances to the building, and the waiting-rooms are all that could be desired for comfort and convenience. The building is heated by steam, circulated through every part of it by about 75,000 feet of pipe. The union of the three depots, by which these railroads have a common terminus in this city, will be of great advantage to the traveling public.—*Note by the Author.*

comparative statement more: The city of New York is divided into twelve postal stations, each one having its distinct officer and clerks. Station A, situated in the heart of New York, does a larger business than either of the cities of Buffalo, New Haven, Hartford, Hudson, or Troy. Such is the epitomized history, illustrated by the post-office, of the growth and prosperity of the city of New York.

APPENDIX V.

REMINISCENCES OF McDONALD CLARKE, THE MAD POET.

A WRITER in the New York *Evening Post*, for June 2d, 1868, says:

My reminiscences, going back some forty years, include that somewhat noted character McDonald Clarke, a poetic scintillator of somewhat odd fancies, who kept the town laughing while he sometimes was starving.

His poetic figure is before me as I saw it in Broadway. There he stood near St. Paul's—his pedestal the curbstone, his pose and style the favorite attitude of the classic Napoleon, with arms folded. Yet his head rested not upon his bosom, but was lifted to the stars; on his feet were no two boots or shoes, but one boot and one shoe. This eccentricity, more than the character of his verses, caused his soubriquet of "The Mad Poet."

Now, why McDonald favored this oneness of articles generally duplex was quite the talk of the town, as much so as the curtailment of the tail of the cur of Alcibiades in the days of the ancient Greeks. Alcibiades gave a reason. McDonald never did, at least so far as I have heard. There were mystery, symbol, poetry, humanity, many social problems in that one boot and one shoe. The boys kicked all these to the winds, and said McDonald was "cracked." The boot might have been cracked and so might the shoe, but a more whole-souled fellow than McDonald I never knew.

I have some of his verses with which he bespangled the newspapers of the time. There have been some poets who wrote for the million, but I am confident McDonald never obtained half the sum. His topics covered all creation, and he was somewhat in the clothes-line. One of his invocations to a heroic purchaser to deal with a tailor proclaims that, when he is fitted:

"His royal Spanish cloak he'll fling
In the face of the stormy weather."

Another much admired couplet a little hangs upon the clothes-line, but reaches the dignity of a majestic personification. He is walking on the Battery

and somewhat mixing up the stars with tailors, as poets are apt to do. He breaks out into this splendid conception :

"Twilight has drawn her mantle round,
And pinned it with a silver star."

A Bohemian of the present day would run things into the ground, by rudely stating that Madame Demorest made the mantle and Tiffany sold the star, but McDonald delicately calls the poem "Evening," and leaves the rest to the sympathetic imagination.

Years had rolled on, and I had not seen McDonald. I heard incidentally that he had married an actress, who led him peculiarly to feel that all the world was her stage, and he only a supernumerary.

This did not alter his benevolent views of human nature, nor of the most sacred of all ordinances. In the lecturing era he came out with a lecture on "Love and Matrimony," which captivated the oyster-house wits and critics of Gotham, who attended with their "ladye-loves" and gave him overflowing audiences.

When New York was exhausted, he turned his attention to Brooklyn. He secured Classical Hall, then the fashionable place for such exercises, and placarded and advertised extensively. The evening came, bright and pleasant, and there were three persons in the house, all told—two editors and the janitor—all "dead-heads." I shall never forget the amazed look with which he surveyed the long lines of empty benches. This soon gave way, however, to the accustomed sunburst of his cheerful aspect, and he mounted the rostrum and pronounced his whole performance, stretching over the space of an hour, with good manner and emphasis. He came down at the close, saluted his three auditors, said some jocose things, but nothing of discouragement, and vanished, promising to see me next day. Of this famous lecture I recollect but one point. He is declaiming against common ideas and false taste in regard to female beauty. Hear McDonald :

"There are some people (says he) who admire delicate little girls with jimpy waists, and infinitesimal feet which run in and out beneath their furbelows like mice, but (here the lecturer became the impassioned orator) *give me the girl with a waist like a cotton bag and a foot like a flounder.*"

He called to see me the next day, and for what purpose do you suppose ? It was to propose a repetition of the lecture. His hopeful and ebullient nature had found special reasons for his ill-success, which would be overcome on a second experiment. Before settling this point he drifted off—"By-the-by, how did you like the lecture ?" I praised its general tenor and salient points, but ventured to remark that I detected in certain passages a sad and monotonous undertone.

"Aye!" said he, "there it is, there it is! I thought so, I felt so. Now, Colonel, look here. There is no use trying to conceal it. I am, you know, a perfect child of nature. I always was so. Now you must have understood my situation. Look at it. I had come to Brooklyn expecting to see the house crowded from pit to dome! What did I encounter? Ye gods! I thought I was in the wrong place; had got into the school-house after it was dismissed. But there were yourself, and A—, and B— (pardon me, all dead-heads), and

having my gun ready loaded, I thought I would fire it off. But all the while running through the lecture was 'room-hire,' 'janitor,' 'bill-sticker,' 'no money,' and such like things, which took from it all force and spirit. But you must hear me again under better circumstances. I must act as I feel. Oh, Colonel, sometimes I feel—I feel—I feel (here he was searching for a simile and got it) like the eternal lightning, and at other times I feel like a farthing candle." Give to this antithesis the roar of a bull of Bashan and the attitude of Jove clutching the thunderbolt, dwindled to the gentlest whisper and the posture of a poor devil boring a hole through the floor with his fore-finger, and you have his graphic delineation.

He was dissuaded from a second experiment.

I am inclined to think it was before this that he upset Johnny Lang and several others by a happy retort. Lang, in his *New York Gazette*, had alluded to him as "McDonald Clarke, that fellow with zigzag brains." The insulted poet rushed into the sanctum of Colonel Stone, of the *Commercial Advertiser*, blazing with fury.

"Do you see, Colonel," said he, "what Johnny Lang says of me? He calls me a fellow with zigzag brains."

"Well, you are," said the Colonel. "That's a happy description!"

"Oh! that's very well for you to say," replied McDonald. "I'll take a joke from you. But Johnny Lang shall not destroy my well-earned reputation. Zigzag brains, forsooth! Zigzag brains—think of it, Colonel! I must have a chance to reply to him in your paper."

"How much space would you want?" said the Colonel.

"I think I could use him up in a column and a half," said McDonald.

"A column and a half!" said the Colonel. "Stuff! you shall have no such space. I'll give you just four lines, and if that will answer fire away, but not a line more."

The poet, driven thus into a narrow corner, sat down and instantly perpetrated the following neat epigram—quite enough to immortalize him:

"I can tell Johnny Lang, in the way of a laugh,
In reply to his rude and unmannerly scrawl,
That in my humble sense it is better by half,
To have brains that are zigzag than to have none at all."

"There, Colonel," said he, "let Johnny Lang put that in his pipe and smoke it."

The last time I met him was two or three years before his death, on the familiar curbstone of Broadway. His face was still sunny and genial, but he was rubbing his arms and chest. I ventured to suggest rheumatism. "Oh, no," said he; "I am very well. I sleep in an attic room in an old and very picturesque building, through the roof of which, that has considerably tumbled in, I can see the stars. This is delightful, but for the exceptions of showers and heavy rains. Last night I got to sleep, and when I woke up I was thoroughly drenched. I have since felt these pains over me; but the water couldn't have done the damage. I think it couldn't. Do you think it could?"

Simple child of nature. I left him rubbing his arms and laughing at the top of his bent. The next I heard of him he was dead, and dead of an injury which was more a shock to his sensitive moral nature than the rude blow or thrust of the hind who gave it was to his physical frame.

Why is it that if any man is known to be "cracked," or subject to any illusion or weakness, all the rest of the world, rejoicing in their pride of reason, delight to impose upon him by manifold cruel deceptions?

McDonald Clarke had really a handsome face and person, as the fine engraving by Peter Maverick from a picture by Inman clearly shows, and beginning life as a poet and lover of the human race, fell into the delusion of believing that one portion of that race—the gentler sex—was always disposed to fall in love with him. His life, therefore, was a series of adventures, in which it is pretty certain that the course of true love never did run smooth with him.

The wicked wags, those false friends who availed themselves of his weakness, persuaded him by many wiles and false lures, to believe that a lovely young lady on Broadway had fallen in love with him. The cross-gartering of Malvolio was nothing to the pranks they made him perform to win the notice of the high-born and proud lady. The plot culminated in an invitation (forged of course), to visit the young lady at her mansion. McDonald proceeded thither, kid-gloved, and dressed in two boots. The damsel, annoyed and forewarned, had given directions to the servants, if he ever appeared, to thrust him from the door, which it is said was done rudely and contumeliously.

Then came the breaking-up and a Greenwood funeral. For a time an unmarked grave stood on the border of the Sylvan Water. Over this was soon placed a tomb, surrounded by an iron railing, supplied by the gifts of friends. On one of the entablatures are the sentences: "Poor McDonald Clarke"—"Let silence gaze, but curse not his grave;" while his fine face in *bas relief*, on another, makes love to his beautiful neighbor, the Indian Princess Domhumme, who occupies the adjoining mound. Another of his verses is also fitly carved on his tomb:

"For what are earthly honors now?
He never deemed them worth his care,
And Death hath set upon his brow
The wreath he was too proud to wear."

MUSINGS AT THE HOUSE OF A FRIEND

In the midst of my troubles and pain
I welcome this fav'rite retreat,
Unmolested I here can attain
A solitude quiet and sweet.
No troublesome visitor calls,
No modest inquirers perplex,
No insolent gazers appall,
No official civilities vex.

'Tis no place for repining or sighs,
No murmurings fall on the ear,
Duty teaches the blessing to prize,
Shed for *others'* misfortune the tear;

Love, peace, and benevolence meet
In union delightful and rare ;
While religion provides them a sweet
To mix in the cup of their care.

You may call this a fanciful dream,
And say it exists not in life,
You may tell me mortality's stream
Is ever with concord at strife.
But God, as if willing to show
His blessing can quiet the stream,
Has here made it peacefully flow,
And experience has proved it no dream.

To Mrs. Stone—by Percival.

APPENDIX VI.

WILLIAM KIDD, THE PIRATE.

ONE of the most terrible names in the juvenile literature of England and English America, during the last century and a half, has been that of William Kidd, the pirate. In the nursery legend, in story, and in song, his name has stood forth as the boldest and bloodiest of buccaneers. The terror of the ocean when abroad, the story said that he returned from his successive voyages to line our coasts with silver and gold, and to renew with the devil a league, cemented with the blood of victims shot down, whenever fresh returns of the precious metals were to be hidden. According to the superstitions of Connecticut and Long Island, it was owing to these bloody charms that honest money diggers have ever experienced so much difficulty in removing the buried treasures. Often, indeed, have the lids of the iron chests rung beneath the mattock of the stealthy midnight searcher for gold; but the flashes of sulphurous fires, blue and red, and the saucer eyes and chattering teeth of legions of demons, have uniformly interposed to frighten the delvers from their posts, and preserve the treasures from their greedy clutches. But notwithstanding the harrowing sensations connected with the name of Kidd, and his renown as a pirate, he was but one of the last and most inconsiderable of that race of sea-robbers, who, during a long series of years in the seventeenth century, were the admiration of the world for their prowess, and its terror for their crimes.

In the latter part of the seventeenth century Kidd was in command of a merchant vessel trading between New York and London, and was celebrated for his nautical skill and enterprise. The first mention of him in authentic colonial history occurs in 1691, in which year the *Journals of the New York Assembly* tell us that on the 18th day of April much credit was allowed to be due him "for the many good services done for the province in attending with his vessels." But in what capacity, or for what object he thus "attended with his vessels" does not appear. It was also declared that he "ought to be suitably rewarded." Accordingly, on the 14th of May following, it was ordered by the same Assembly "that the sum of £150 be paid to Captain Kidd, as a suitable

acknowledgment for the important benefits which the Colony had received from his services." The presumption is, that those services were in some way connected with the protection of the Colonial merchant vessels from the attacks of the pirates, who were at that time hovering along the coasts of the Northern Colonies. Indeed, the harbor of New York was no stranger to the pirate vessels; and the commerce between them and the "people of figure" in this city was not inconsiderable. It was no secret that the pirates were frequently in the Sound, and were freely supplied with provisions by the inhabitants of Long Island; and, still farther, it was well known in the year 1695, that the English freebooters had fitted out their vessels in the harbor of New York. On the arrival of the pirate vessels from their cruises their goods were openly sold in the city, and the conduct of the Colonial Government was such that collusion, if not direct partnerships, between them and the public authorities was not doubted.

Colonel Fletcher, a poor and profligate man, was Governor at that time. He was beyond doubt concerned with the freebooters, as also was William Nicoll, a member of the Privy Council. Complaints upon this subject having reached England, and the throne, in the year of 1695, Fletcher was succeeded by the Earl of Bellamont, the appointment being made in the belief that from his rank and the weight of his character, he would be able to retrieve the character of the Colonial Government. The King declared, in terms, "that he thought the Earl a man of resolution and integrity, and with these qualities more likely than any other he could think of to put a stop to the growth of piracy." Immediately after his lordship had arrived in New York, and assumed the direction of the Government, he laid before his Council letters from Secretary Vernon and the East India Company, relating to this matter, informing the board that he had an affidavit asserting that Fletcher had permitted the pirates to land their spoils in the province, and that Mr. Nicoll bargained for their protections, and received for his services 800 Spanish dollars. Nicoll confessed the receipt of the money for protections, but protested that it was in virtue of a certain act of the Assembly, for allowing privateers on their giving security—denying entirely the receipt of money from the pirates. However, on an argument before the Council, it was shown by the King's counsel that there was no such act in existence. The Council advised that Fletcher should be sent home for trial, and that Nicoll should be tried here. But in fact neither trial ever took place, owing, probably, to a want of evidence against the accused. On meeting the General Assembly, in his opening speech, Lord Bellamont adverted to the subject of piracy in these words:

"It hath been represented to the Government in England, that this province has been a noted receptacle of pirates, and the trade of it under no restriction, but the acts of trade violated by the neglect and connivance of those whose duty it was to have prevented it."

Though not brought to trial, as already stated, yet the circumstances were so strong against Nicoll that he was suspended from the Council-board, and obliged to enter into a recognizance in £2,000 to answer for his conduct in regard to the protections. He, however, survived the scandal, and was afterward a successful demagogue in Suffolk County, by the people of which he was elected to the Assembly, and by that body to the chair of the speakership.

But to return to Kidd. Justice to his memory requires it to be said, that he was not, at that period, so far as is known, a pirate himself. Before Lord Bellamont sailed from England for his Government, he met with Robert Livingston, of New York, the ancestor of the Livingstons of Livingston's Manor, with whom he held a conversation respecting the pirates, and the best means that could be adopted to put them down. The project of employing a swift sailing armed ship of thirty guns, and one hundred and fifty men, to cruise against them, was spoken of; and Livingston recommended his lordship to Kidd, as a man of integrity and courage, acquainted with the pirates and their places of rendezvous, and as one in all respects fit to be intrusted with the command of a vessel engaged in such a difficult service. He had indeed commanded a privateer in regular commission, against the pirates in the West Indies, in which service he had acquitted himself as a brave and adventurous man. The project not being entertained by the Board of Admiralty, a private adventure against the pirates was suggested by Mr. Livingston, one-fifth part of the stock of which he would take himself, besides becoming security for the good conduct of Kidd. The proposition was approved by the King, who became interested to the amount of one-tenth; and the residue of the expense was supplied by Lord Chancellor Somers, the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Romney and Oxford, and Sir Edmond Harrison and others. The ship having been procured and equipped, Kidd sailed for New York, under a regular commission, in April, 1696, the direction of the enterprise being committed to the Earl of Bellamont and himself. For a time he served faithfully, and with advantage to the commerce of the Colonies and mother country, for which services he received much public applause, and another grant from the Colony of 250 pounds. Tradition, moreover, says that, on visiting the Government House, he was received with public honors, and invited to a seat with the Speaker of the House of Assembly.

But on his next voyage he stretched away to the Indian Ocean, and turned pirate himself. Selecting the island of Madagascar as his principal place of rendezvous, and burning his own ship after having captured one that suited him better, his depredations upon the commerce of all nations were represented to have been great. He is said to have "ranged over the Indian coast from the Red Sea to Malabar, and that his depredations extended from the Eastern Ocean back along the Atlantic coast of South America, through the Bahamas, the whole of the West Indies, and the shores of Long Island." But it will presently be seen that this statement must have been an exaggeration, as time was not afforded for operations so extensive before his arrest.

It is beyond doubt true that Long Island Sound contained several of his hiding-places. "Kidd's Rock" is well known at Manhasset, upon Long Island, to this day. Here he was supposed to have buried some treasures, and many have been the attempts of the credulous to find the hidden gold. But it could not be found. There is also no doubt that he was wont to hide himself and his vessel among those curious rocks in Sachem's Head Harbor called the Thimble Islands. I have explored his haunts there, and the pirate's cavern. There is also upon one of those rocks, sheltered from the view of the Sound, a beautiful artificial excavation, of an oval form, holding perhaps the measure of a barrel, called "Kidd's Punch Bowl." It was here, according to the legends of the neighborhood, that he used to carouse with his crew. But it is a fact beyond controversy, that he was accustomed to anchor his vessel in Gardiner's Bay. On

one occasion, in the night, he landed upon Gardiner's Island, and requested Mrs. Gardiner to provide a supper for himself and his attendants. Knowing his desperate character, she dared not refuse, and fearing his displeasure, she took great pains, especially in roasting a pig. The pirate chief was so pleased with her culinary success that, on going away, he presented her with a cradle-blanket of gold-cloth. It was a velvet, inwrought with gold, and very rich. A small piece of it yet remains in the family, which I have seen. On one occasion when he landed at the island he buried a small casket of gold, silver, and precious stones in the presence of Mr. Gardiner, but under the most solemn injunctions of secrecy.

Repairing soon afterward to Boston, where Lord Bellamont happened to be at the time, he was summoned before his lordship, and directed to give a report of his proceedings in the service of his company. Refusing to comply with this demand, he was arrested on the 3d of July, 1699, on the charge of piracy. He appears to have disclosed the fact of having buried the treasure at Gardiner's Island, for the same was demanded by his lordship, and surrendered by Mr. Gardiner. I have seen the original receipt for the amount, with the different items of the deposit. The amount was by no means large, and affords evidence of no such mighty sweepings of the seas as have been told of in story and in song. Of gold in coins, gold-dust, and bars, there were 750 ounces. Of silver, 506 ounces; and of precious stones, about 16 ounces.

Lord Bellamont wrote home for a ship-of-war to carry Kidd to England for trial. The *Rochester* was dispatched upon that service; but being obliged to put back, a general suspicion prevailed in England that there was collusion between the pirates and the ministers, and in fact, that they dared not bring the sea-robber home for trial, lest it should be discovered that the Lord Chancellor and his noble associates in the enterprise were confederates in the piracies also. Party spirit ran high, and the opponents of the ministers brought a resolution into the House of Commons for excluding from place all the partners of Kidd in the original enterprise. And although this resolution was voted down, yet the Tories contrived afterward to impeach several of the Whig lords upon the charge of having been concerned with Kidd. But the articles were not sustained. Meantime Kidd had been taken to England, tried on an indictment for piracy and murder, and hung in chains, with six of his crew. In addition to the indictment for piracy, he was indicted for the murder of one of his own subordinate officers, named Moore, whom he killed in a quarrel, by striking him over the head with a bucket. He was convicted upon both charges, but protested to the last that he was the victim of conspiracy and perjury.

But after all, suspicions were entertained by the public that the execution was a sham—that the Government dared not to put him to death—and that, to avoid disclosures, a man of straw was hung in his place. In proof of this assertion, it was gravely and strongly alleged that Kidd had been seen alive and well, many years afterward, by those who could not be mistaken as to his identity. There is little doubt, however, of his having been honestly hung at "Execution Dock," in London, on the 12th of May, 1701. Yet, when compared with the nobler buccaneers, Solonoi, Morgan, and De Grammont, Kidd must have been a pirate upon an insignificant scale—a mere bottle-imp by the side of Satan, as portrayed in stupendous grandeur by Milton!

The following old ballads were favorite ones for several years after his death:

BALLAD I.

I'll sing you a song that you'll wonder to hear,
Of a freebooter lucky and bold,
Of old Captain Kidd—of the man without fear—
How himself to the devil he sold.

His ship was a trim one as ever did swim,
His comrades were hearty and brave—
Twelve pistols he carried, that freebooter grim,
And he fearlessly ploughed the wild wave.

He ploughed for rich harvests, for silver and gold,
He gathered them all in the deep;
And he hollowed his granaries far in the mold,
Where they lay for the devil to keep.

Yet never was rover more open of hand
To the woodsmen so merry and free;
For he scattered his coin 'mong the sons of the land
Whene'er he returned from the sea.

Yet pay-day at last, though unwished and unbid,
Come alike to the rude and the civil;
And bold Captain Kidd, for the things that he did,
Was sent by Jack Ketch to the devil.

BALLAD II.

My name was Captain Kidd,
When I sailed, when I sailed;
My name was Captain Kidd,
And so wickedly I did,
God's laws I did forbid,
When I sailed, when I sailed.

I roamed from sound to sound,
And many a ship I found,
And them I sunk or burned,
When I sailed, when I sailed.

Farewell to young and old,
All jolly seamen bold;
You are welcome to my gold,
For I must die, I must die.

Farewell, for I must die;
Then to eternity,
In hideous misery,
I must lie, I must lie.

APPENDIX VII.

THE JUDICIARY IN THE EARLY DUTCH PERIOD.

BY CHIEF-JUSTICE DALY.

PETER STUYVESANT came out as Governor in 1647. Van Dinclage, who had acted as schout fiscal under Van Twiller, came with him, in the capacity of vice-director, and Hendrick Van Dyck as schout fiscal. Immediately after his arrival, Stuyvesant established a court of justice, of which Van Dinclage was made the presiding judge, having associated with him occasionally others of the company's officers. The new tribunal was empowered to decide "all cases whatsoever," subject only to the restriction of asking the opinion of the Governor upon all momentous questions, who reserved to himself the privilege, which he frequently exercised, of presiding in the court, whenever he thought proper to do so.*

The desire for a popular form of government became so strong after Stuyvesant's arrival that he found it necessary to make some concession. He allowed the commonalty to elect eighteen persons, from whom he selected nine, as a permanent body to advise and assist in public affairs. This body, who were known as the board of the nine men, had certain judicial powers conferred on them. Three of their number attended in rotation upon every court day, to whom civil cases were referred as arbitrators, and their decision was binding upon the parties, though an appeal lay to the Governor and Council, upon the payment of one pound Flemish. These tribunals, with the manorial courts before referred to, constituted the judicial organization of the colony for several years afterwards.

The government of Stuyvesant but increased the popular discontent. Though a man of capacity and integrity, he was unfitted for the place assigned him, or his duty as the careful guardian of the pecuniary interests of a com-

* Breeden Raedt, extracts in 4 Doc. Hist. of N. Y., 69. Albany Rec., 20, 28, 29, 38, 56 to 61. 2 O'Call., 24 to 31. Brodhead, 467, 523, 532.

mercial corporation was inconsistent with the just and politic rule of a people like the colonists, who had their own views as to the manner in which a community should be governed. It was natural that they should desire to live under institutions to which they had been accustomed in Holland, and which, whatever might be their advantages or defects, had to them the merit of nationality, and were associated with their earliest recollections. This Stuyvesant did not, or would not, see. Strongly conservative himself by nature, and long used to military rule, he saw in a demand so just and reasonable nothing but a desire to break loose from the restraints of lawful authority. Though not an unjust man, he felt himself warranted in resorting to any means to crush everything in the shape of popular encroachment, and, as he was both prompt and energetic, his government became insufferably oppressive. Before the end of two years he was in open collision, not only with the board of nine men, but with the schout fiscal, Van Dyck, and the vice-director, Van Dinclage, an enlightened and learned man, and the most influential member of his Council. The Council he was enabled to control, but not so with the popular body. In one of its members, Adrian Van der Donck, he had to cope with a man whose ability and energy was equal to his own. Instigated by Van der Donck, the board of nine men resolved to send a delegation to Holland, but they had no sooner decided upon this step than Stuyvesant arrested its projector, seized his papers, and procured a decree of the Council removing him from his position as one of the popular representatives. But this violent and arbitrary measure did not produce the effect expected. The nine men met together, a spirited remonstrance was prepared to the States-general, and three of the number, of whom Van der Donck was one, went with it as a deputation to Holland.

This mission was so far successful, that in 1650 a provisional order was made by the States-general, which, among other things, decreed, that a Court of Justice should be erected in New Netherland, and that a burgher government should be established in New Amsterdam, to consist of two burgomasters, five schepens, and a schout, and that in the meantime, or for three years, the nine men should continue to exercise judicial powers in the trial of civil causes.* This order was resisted by the Amsterdam chamber as a violation of the privileges granted by their charter, and Stuyvesant, no doubt under instructions, refused to obey it.† When it was known at New Amsterdam that Stuyvesant would not comply with the order, the nine men again appealed to the home government, and Van der Donck, who had remained in Holland, appeared as their advocate before the States-general. A long struggle ensued, during which Stuyvesant grew more violent and unreasonable. He imprisoned Van Dinclage for uniting with Van der Donck in a protest to the States-general, dismissed the schout fiscal, Van Dyck, from office, for co-operating with the nine men, and followed up these arbitrary and illegal acts by equally violent measures against other leaders of the popular movement.‡ The Amsterdam chamber, who regarded the establishment of a burgher court as likely to prove detrimental to the interests of their commercial monopoly, employed every means to counteract the efforts of Van der Donck; but after

* Brodhead, 514.

† 2 O'Call., 210; Brodhead, 540; 2 Doc. History of N. Y.

‡ Brodhead, 525, 532.

maintaining the contest for two years, they at last thought it prudent to yield, and signified to Stuyvesant their assent to the wishes of the colonists. The inhabitants of New Amsterdam were to be allowed to elect a schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens, "as much as possible according to the custom of old Amsterdam," and the magistrates thus elected were to compose a municipal court of justice, subject to the right of appeal to the Supreme Court of the province.

"We have resolved," they wrote to Stuyvesant, "to permit you hereby to erect a Court of Justice (een banck Van Justitié) formed as much as possible after the custom of this city, to which end printed copies relative to all the law courts here, and their whole government, are transmitted. And we presume that it will be sufficient at first to choose one schout, two burgomasters, and five schepens, from all of whose judgment an appeal shall lie to the Supreme Council, where definite judgment shall be pronounced."* It was evident, from the order of the States-general, that these officers were to be elected by the commonalty, as was customary in the cities, towns and villages of Holland, and such would seem to be the direction in the dispatch of the Amsterdam Chamber. The language of the dispatch was, perhaps, a little ambiguous, and Stuyvesant, putting the construction upon it that conformed most with his own views, and which, if erroneous, he perhaps felt would not be unpalatable to his employers, resolved to appoint the new magistrates himself. He not only determined thus to keep the power in his own hands, but he practically defeated the provision that had been made for a city schout, by appointing to that office Cornelius Van Tienhoven, a man of depraved and dissolute life, exceedingly obnoxious to the colonists, whose only recommendation was the ability he had shown in carrying out the measures of his headstrong and arbitrary superior.

By this means, the two offices of city schout and schout fiscal were united in the same person. Stuyvesant even went so far as to refuse to allow the new magistrates to appoint their own clerk, though it had been the usage in Amsterdam from the time that that city had had a burgomaster, and, as a crowning act, he informed the new tribunal that its establishment, or the scope of its authority, did not in the slightest degree diminish the power of himself and his Council to pass whatever laws or ordinances they pleased for the municipal government of the city.†

On the second of February, 1653, he issued a proclamation appointing as burgomasters Arent Van Hatten and Martin Krieger, and as schepens Paulus L. Van der Grist, Maximilian Van Gheel, Allard Anthony, Peter W. Cowenhoven and William Beekman. Five days afterwards, the newly appointed magistrates assembled; Van Tienhoven, the schout fiscal, attending in his additional capacity of city schout, with Jacob Kip, who had been appointed secretary or town clerk, a station he continued to fill for many years afterwards. No business was transacted, other than to give notice that the Court would meet for "the hearing and determining of all disputes between parties, as far as practicable," in the building heretofore called the City Tavern, near the Stadt House (City Hall), on every Monday morning at nine o'clock.

* 1 N. Y. Doc. History, 387.

† 1 N. Y. Rec. of Burgomasters and Schepens, vol. i. Brodhead, 548.

The Stadt House not being ready on the day appointed, the next meeting took place four days afterwards at the Fort, where the Court was duly organized for the dispatch of business, and the proceedings opened with prayer; the following eloquent extract from which will show the sense entertained by these new magistrates of the duties and obligations of the judicial office:

"We beseech thee, oh! Fountain of all good gifts, qualify us by thy grace, that we may, with fidelity and righteousness, serve in our respective offices. To this end enlighten our darkened understandings, that we may be able to distinguish the right from the wrong, the truth from falsehood, and that we may give pure and uncorrupted decisions, having an eye upon thy Word, a sure guide, giving to the simple wisdom and knowledge. Let thy law be a lamp unto our feet and a light unto our paths, that we may never turn away from righteousness. Deeply impress on all our minds that we are accountable not to man, but to God, who seeth and heareth all things. Let all respect of persons be far removed from us, that we may award justice unto the rich and unto the poor, unto friends and enemies, to residents and to strangers, according to the law of truth, and grant that not one of us, in any instance, may swerve therefrom; and as gifts do blind the eyes of the wise and destroy the heart, keep, therefore, our hearts in judgment. Grant unto us, also, that we may not rashly prejudge any one, but that we patiently hear all parties, and give them time and opportunity for defending themselves, in all things looking up to Thee and to thy Word for counsel and direction."*

It was the intention that the municipal government conceded to New Amsterdam should conform, as far as practicable, to that of the parent city. How essentially Stuyvesant departed from this in the outset has been already shown, and his resolving that the burgher government did not diminish the right of himself and his Council to regulate municipal affairs, left the precise powers of the new tribunal very indefinite and uncertain. It led, at the commencement, to an organization of the municipal government in many respects different from that of Amsterdam, and to great unwillingness at first on the part of the burgomasters and schepens to interfere at all in municipal matters. In Amsterdam there were four burgomasters, each of whom attended three months of the year, in rotation, at the City Hall, for the dispatch of public business; and the schepens, who were nine in number, held the regular court of justice, having civil and criminal jurisdiction, which was almost unlimited. The duties of the schepens were especially judicial, while those of the schout and the burgomasters were chiefly executive, and the three bodies, when assembled together, constituted a "college," for the enactment of municipal ordinances and laws, under the title of "The Lords of the Court of the City of Amsterdam." There was also a permanent council, composed of thirty-six members, the nature of which need not be explained.† Though this division of duties and labors was highly essential in a city of the magnitude of the Dutch commercial metropolis, it was not so necessary in a small community like that of New Amsterdam, which, at the period in question, could not have embraced

* 1 N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., i., 3.

† J. Wagenaar-Amsterdamsche Geschiedenissen, 1740. Meyer's Institutions Judiciaires, tome iii., livre 5, chap. ii. 253. Ordinances of Amsterdam, vol. ii., p. 695. Vander Linden, 379. 2 O'Call. 210.

much over seven hundred inhabitants.* From this cause, perhaps, as well as from the uncertainty respecting the precise distribution or extent of their duties, occasioned by the notice they had received from Stuyvesant, the newly appointed officers assembled together as one body, and in that united capacity continued thereafter to discharge legislative, judicial, and executive functions. In the towns and villages of Holland the schout was the first officer of the board. He convoked the court, and presided at the head of it, but without taking any part in its proceedings other than in collecting the votes. His position was somewhat analogous to that of the speaker or the president of a legislative assembly, except that he had no vote, though he might express his opinion, and he was obliged to quit the bench when he acted as prosecuting officer, the oldest burgomaster then presiding in his stead.† In New Amsterdam, however, Arent Van Hatten, being the first named as burgomaster, assumed the presidency of the court,‡ and after he retired from office the eldest burgomaster continued to act in that capacity until 1656, when Stuyvesant ordered that the presidency should be changed every three months, which continued until 1660, in which year the colonists obtained what they had long petitioned for, a separation of the office of city schout from that of the schout fiscal. This separation had in fact been made six years before, and a city schout appointed by the Amsterdam chamber, but this officer, Jochem T. Kuyter, having been killed in a collision with the Indians before he could enter on the duties of his office, Stuyvesant retained the schout fiscal, Van Tienhoven, in the discharge of the duties of city schout, and persisted, against the earnest remonstrance of the inhabitants, in continuing him and the succeeding schout fiscal, Nicasius de Sille, as city schout, until the Amsterdam chamber finally appointed to the post Peter Tonneman, who had formerly been schout of a district of Dutch towns on Long Island. Tonneman received his appointment in Holland, and when he came out he insisted upon his right to the presidency of the court. In this he was supported by Stuyvesant, who went personally before the burgomasters and schepens, and insisted not only that Tonneman should sit at the head of the court, but that he should have a vote in all matters in which he was not a party, a privilege never granted to the schouts in Holland. The burgomasters and schepens resisted, but after a long and angry discussion, it was finally agreed that Tonneman should have what he claimed until the question should be determined by the "Lords Majores" in Holland. It does not appear whether any further action was had in the matter, but the name of Tonneman was continued thereafter upon the records as the chief or presiding officer.§ In 1657 that branch of municipal affairs which especially required the discharge of executive duties had increased so largely, that the burgomasters organized a separate court, which met every Thursday, to dispose of it.|| In view of the serious encroachment made upon their time by the accumulation of duties, or, as they

* Valentine's History of the City of New York, p. 53. Brodhead, 548.

† Van Leuwen, book i., chap. i., sec. 21. Meyer's Institutions Judiciaires, tome iii., livre 5, chap. xi., 253. Vander Linden, 377. Brodhead, 674.

‡ N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., i. 4; ii., 488.

§ N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., v. 414, 484.

|| N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep. Ordinances of Burgomasters.

expressed it, the impossibility of attending to their private affairs, the burgo-masters petitioned Stuyvesant to be released thereafter from attending the burgher court, but he refused to grant it, and the court continued in the discharge of mixed legislative and judicial functions as long as the Dutch held possession of the province.

The proceedings of this tribunal, or as it was denominated, "The Worshipful Court of the Schout Burgomaster and Schepens," were all recorded by their clerk or secretary; and as everything that took place before it—the nature of the claim, or of the offense, the statements of the parties, the proof and the decision of the Court, with the reasons assigned for it—were carefully noted and written down, these records supply a full account of the whole course of its proceedings, and furnish an interesting exposition of the manners and habits of the people. Upon perusing them, it is impossible not to be struck with the comprehensive knowledge they display of the principles of jurisprudence, and with the directness and simplicity with which legal investigations were conducted. In fact, as a means of ascertaining truth, and of doing substantial justice, their mode of proceeding was infinitely superior to the more technical and artificial system introduced by their English successors. None of these magistrates were of the legal profession. They were all engaged in agricultural, trading, or other pursuits, and yet they appear to have been well versed in the Dutch law, and to have been thoroughly acquainted with the commercial usages, customs, and municipal regulations of the city of Amsterdam. This is the more remarkable, as a knowledge of the Dutch law at that period was by no means of easy acquisition. Though the principles and practice of the civil law prevailed in Holland, it was greatly modified by ancient usages; some of them of feudal origin, others the result of free institutions, which had existed from the earliest period; and it had engrafted upon it a number of public regulations or ordinances, emanating from the different provinces, as distinct and partly independent sovereignties, which had originated either as feudal privileges or sprung up during Spanish domination, or were the result of the long struggle and many political changes which the Low Countries had passed through before the general establishment of free institutions. In every town and village in Holland, moreover, there existed usages and customs peculiar to the place, which had the force of law, and were not only different in different towns, but frequently directly opposite. The Dutch law, in fact, was then a kind of irregular Mosaic, in which might be found all the principles as well as the details of a most enlightened system of jurisprudence, but in a form so confused as to make it exceedingly difficult to master it.* That these magistrates should have had any general or practical acquaintance with such a system at all was scarcely to have been expected; but that they had is apparent not only from the manner in which they disposed of the ordinary controversies that came before them, but in their treatment of difficult questions as to the rights of strangers, their

* H. Fagel and J. C. Van der Hoop. *Dissert. de usu juris Romani in Hollandia Hag.*, 1779. F. Van Mieris Groot, *Charterboek der Graaven Van Holland, Leid.*, 1753-4. Deelen Ceu en Seheltus, *Placaat Boek Van de Staaten Generaal Van Holland, en Van Zeeland*; J. Deelen, edition of 1658. *Actes des Etats Généraux de 1600. Recueilles et mis en ordre, par M. Gachard, Bruxelles, 1849. Oeuvres de Raepsaët, tome iii. Des Droit des Belgis et Gaulois Meyer's Institutions Judiciaires, tome iii., livre 5, chap. xl.*

familiarity with the complicated laws of inheritance, and the knowledge they displayed of the maritime law while sitting as a Court of Admiralty. The Amsterdam chamber sent out to them the necessary books to guide them as to the practices of the courts of Amsterdam, and when the province passed into the hands of the English, there was attached to the court a small but very select library of legal works, mainly in the Dutch language. There were, moreover, men educated to the legal profession, in the colony. Van Dinclage, the vice-director, who had acted as schout fiscal for Van Twiller, and chief judge of the court established by Stuyvesant, was a doctor of laws; and there is sufficient known respecting him to warrant the opinion that he was an able and accomplished jurist. Van der Donck was admitted to the same honorable degree in the University of Leyden, and was afterward an advocate of the Supreme Court of Holland.* The schout fiscal, Nicacius de Sille, who acted as city schout for four years, is stated in his commission from the Amsterdam chamber to be "a man well versed in the law."†

In addition to these, there were several notaries. Dirk Van Schellyne, who came out in 1641, had previously practised at the Hague; David Provoost discharged the duties of notary for some years before Schellyne's arrival;‡ and there was another notary named Matthias de Vos.§ Under the civil law as it prevailed in Holland, a considerable part of the proceedings in a cause, if it was seriously contested, was conducted by the notary, who was required, at least, to be well versed in the manner of carrying on legal controversies; and as he was frequently consulted by suitors for advice as to their rights and liabilities, he was generally well-informed and capable of giving it.|| Such was the case with Van Schellyne, who, from the records he has left, was evidently an experienced and skillful practitioner. He was not only connected with the court in the discharge of his duties as notary, but he was appointed by it, in 1665, high constable (conchergio).¶ All of these men must have had more or less to do with establishing the mode of legal proceeding, and of advising and guiding the magistrates. Van Schellyne and De Sille were in constant communication with them, Van Dinclage must have brought into use the forms of legal procedure in the court over which he had presided, and Van der Donck was one of the chief getters-up of the new tribunal; and though he survived its creation but two years, he was no doubt advised with and consulted in respect to its organization, and as to the mode in which it was conducted. We find him, in fact, the very year that it was established, claiming its protection as a "citizen and burgher" against the menaces of Stuyvesant.** The court was required, in all its determinations, to regard as paramount law all regulations established by or instructions received from the Chamber of Amsterdam or the College of Nineteen, for the government of the colony. Next, all edicts or ordinances duly established by the Governor and Council; then the usages,

* 2 O'Call., 550.

† Brodhead, 561. 5 N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., 5.

‡ 3 N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., 101.

§ 5 N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., 642.

|| S. Van Leuwen, *Practyk der Notarissen*. Rott., 1742.

¶ N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., II. 642.

** N. Y. Rec. of Burg. and Schep., I. 321.

customs, or laws prevailing in the city of Amsterdam, and where they furnished no guide, the law of the fatherland, by which was more particularly understood the ordinances of the province of Holland, and of the States-general, and the civil law as it prevailed in the Netherlands, or, as it is denominated by jurists, the Roman Dutch law.

The burgomaster and schepens had constantly demanded from Stuyvesant that they should be allowed to nominate a double number of persons, from whom their successors should be chosen, as a partial approximation to the privileges enjoyed in the Netherlands, or, as they expressed it, "in the beloved city of Amsterdam,"* but he continued the old magistrates, merely supplying vacancies, until 1656, when he consented, with the proviso that the old magistrates should always be considered as renominated, which left it in his power to continue them precisely as he had done before. The condition was accepted, and the nominations made; but Stuyvesant, being displeased with some of the new names, continued the old magistrates, merely supplying vacancies until the time for reappointment came around, in 1658, when he at last gave way, and selected, from a double list of names presented to him, the magistrates who were to serve. The burgomaster and schepens then selected continued in office until 1660, when a new nomination and appointment was made every year in the month of February,† which was continued thereafter, until the English changed the organization of the court. All these magistrates, as far as can be gathered, were men of intelligence, of independence, and, with one or two exceptions, of high moral character, evincing in the discharge of their duties, and especially in those of a judicial nature, that unswerving adhesion to establish rules and customs, that sterling good sense, and strong love of justice, which constitute so marked a feature in the Dutch national character.

The right which Stuyvesant claimed, of interfering in the administration of city matters, appears to have been confined to the general regulation of the city's affairs, and not to the administration of justice between particular individuals or as against public offenders. Upon the former matter, he and the burgomaster and the schepens came frequently in collision; and he sometimes gave vent to his anger at their insolence and presumption, by a public proclamation, in which they were contemptuously referred to as "the little bench of justice,"‡ but he seems to have abstained from any interference with their judicial powers. At first he was disposed to limit their action in criminal cases, but finally he suffered them to exercise unlimited criminal and civil jurisdiction, except the infliction of punishment in capital cases. The mode of proceeding in civil cases was simple and summary. The court was held once every fortnight, though frequently once every week, upon a stated day. Attached to the court was an officer known as the court messenger, who, at the verbal request of the party aggrieved, summoned the adverse party to appear at the next court-day. If the defendant failed to appear, he incurred the cost of the summons, lost the right to make any objection to the jurisdiction of the court, and a new citation was issued. If he failed again, he incurred

* New Amsterdam-Rec., 359, 373, 375.

† Rec. of N. Y. Burgomasters and Schepens, iv., 299.

‡ Documents of Stuyvesant's Council in N. Y. Record of Burgomasters and Schepens, 25th of February, 1654.

additional costs, lost the right to make all "dilatory exceptions," or to adjourn or delay the proceeding. He was then cited for the third time, and if he did not then appear, the court proceeded to hear the case and give judgment, and he was cut off from all right of appeal or review. But if, upon hearing the plaintiff's case, the court deemed the presence of the defendant essential, they might issue a fourth citation, in the nature of an arrest, and compel his appearance. Parties, however, usually attended upon the first citation. The plaintiff stated his case, and the defendant made his answer. If they differed in a fact which the court thought material, either party might be put to an oath, and, if they were still in conflict, the court might require the examination of witnesses, and the matter was adjourned until the next court-day, during which time either party might take the depositions of his witnesses before a notary, or the court might require that the witnesses should be produced, to be examined orally before it, at the adjourned day, under oath. But, most generally, the matter was disposed of upon the first hearing of the parties, without resorting to the oath or the examination of witnesses. If it was intricate, or it was difficult to get at the truth, it was the constant practice to refer the cause to arbitrators, who were always instructed to bring about a reconciliation between the parties if they could; and this was not confined merely to cases of disputes about accounts, or to differences growing out of contracts, but it extended to nearly every kind of case that came before the court. The arbitrators were left to the choice of the litigants, or appointed by the court, or one of the schepens was directed to take the matter in hand and try and reconcile the contestants. If no reconciliation could be effected, or the parties would not submit to the final determination or conclusion of the arbitrators, the dissatisfied party might again bring the matter before the court, where it was finally disposed of. These references were frequent upon every court-day. In fact, the chief business of this tribunal was, in acting as a court of reconciliation; and, it is worthy of remark, that, though the amount involved was frequently considerable or the matter in dispute highly important, appeals to the court from the decision of the arbitrators were exceedingly rare.

Indeed, the first appeal to be found upon the records was brought by a stranger.* There was a more formal mode of proceeding, if parties preferred it. After the plaintiff had stated his case, the defendant might require him to put it in writing, and a day was given for that purpose. The defendant was then obliged to answer in writing, to which the plaintiff could reply, and the defendant rejoin, and there ended the pleadings. Each party then went before the notary of his choice, and had the depositions of his witnesses reduced to writing, a draft or copy of which was retained by the notary, in a book kept by him for the purpose; and where it was necessary, a commission, or, as it was called, a requisitory letter, might be obtained for the examination upon interrogation of witnesses residing beyond the court's jurisdiction, who were examined before the judges of the local court where the witness resided, who sealed up the examination, and transmitted it to the court having jurisdiction of the cause. When the proofs were complete, they were added to the plead-

* N. Y. Rec. of Burgomasters and Schepens, i., 188, 231 ii., 10, 176; iii., 188; v., 190; vi., 474; vii., 180.

ings, the whole constituting what was called the memorial, which was submitted to the court, either party being at liberty to inspect it, and having the right, within a certain time, to have any of the witnesses of his adversary examined upon cross-interrogatories, in respect to anything contained in their deposition, which was material, or to have additional witnesses examined on his own behalf in reply; the manner of conducting which subsequent examination was arranged by the judge. But this mode of proceeding being dilatory and expensive was rarely resorted to. The majority of cases were referred to arbitration, or disposed of upon a summary hearing of the parties before the magistrates; and it may be important to note, in respect to the rules of evidence, that whenever a paper or document was produced, purporting or avowed to be in the handwriting of a party, it was assumed to be his handwriting, unless he denied the fact under oath; and that merchants or traders might always exhibit their books in evidence, where it was acknowledged or proved that there had been a dealing between the parties, or that the article had been delivered, provided they were regularly kept with the proper distinction of persons, things, year, month, and day—a practice which, in the States of New Jersey and New York, survived these Dutch tribunals, and has at the present day, with certain qualifications or restrictions, extended to nearly every State in the Union. Full credit was given to all such books, especially where they were strengthened by oath, or confirmed by the death of the parties, and also to memorandums made between parties by sworn brokers. A leading distinction in evidence was also made between what was termed full proof, as where a fact was declared by two credible witnesses, as of their own knowledge, or it was proved by a document or written paper, and half proof, as where it rested upon the positive declaration of knowledge by one witness only, under which latter head, as weak but assisting evidence, hearsay was allowed, which, in some instances, as in the case of certain dying declarations, was admitted to the force of full proof; and as the determining of a case upon the evidence of witnesses was left to the judges, very discriminating and nice distinctions were made in adjusting or weighing its relative force or value.*

When judgment was rendered against a defendant for a sum of money, time was given for payment, usually fourteen days, for the discharge of one half, and the remainder in a month. If, at the expiration of that time, he did not comply, application was made to the court, and the schout, or usually the court messenger, went to the delinquent, and exhibiting a copy of the sentence and his wand of office, which was a bunch of thorns, summoned him to make satisfaction in twenty-four hours. If at the expiration of that time the amount was not paid, the delinquent was again summoned to pay within twenty-four hours, which involved additional expense; and if, when that time expired, he was still in default, the messenger, in the presence of a schepen, took into custody the debtor's movable goods, which he detained for six days, within which time they might be redeemed on payment of the expenses. If they were not redeemed, notice was then given by publicly announcing upon a Sunday, and upon a law day, that they would be sold, and at the next law or market day they were disposed of by auction. If it was necessary to levy

* Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., vii., viii. Meyer's *Institutions Judiciaires*, chap. 14, 387, Van Leuwen, book v., chap. xiii. to xx. and xxiii.

upon or sell real estate, or what in the civil law is termed immovable property, a longer term was allowed, and greater formalities were required. The manner of selling it was peculiar. The officer lighted a candle, and the bidding went on while it was burning, and he who had offered the most at the extinction of the candle was declared the purchaser, which differed from the ordinary mode in a Dutch auction, where a public offer of the property is made at a price beyond its real value, which is gradually lowered or diminished until one of the company agrees to take it.* The civil business of the court was large and varied, such as actions for the recovery of debts, which were generally cases of disputed accounts, or of misunderstanding between the parties, for in truth the probity and punctuality of the Dutch suits by creditors to enforce payments from delinquent debtors formed but a small proportion in the general mass of this business. There were proceedings by attachments against the property of absconding debtors or of non-residents or foreigners, on which security was required of the debtor intending to depart, to release the property from the attachment; actions to recover the possession of land, or to settle boundaries, a proceeding somewhat similar to the relief afforded by our courts of equity upon a confusion of boundaries; actions to recover damages for injuries to land or to personal property, or to recover specific personal property as in replevin, or its value as in trover.

Actions for freight, for seamen's wages, for rent, for breach of promise of marriage, where the performance of the contract was enforced by imprisonment; for separation between man and wife, in which case the children were equally allotted to the parties, and the property divided,† after the payment of debts; proceedings in bastardy cases, in which the male was required to give security for the support of the child, and in which both delinquents might be punished by fine or imprisonment. Actions for assault and battery, and for defamation, which were quasi-criminal proceedings, punishable by fine and imprisonment, or both, though the defamer was generally discharged upon making a solemn public recantation before the court, sometimes upon his knees, asking pardon of God and of the injured party. Pecuniary compensation for injuries to person or character could not be enforced; though cases occurred in which the defendant was discharged, it appearing that he had made compensation to the other party in money or goods. And, from the frequent application made to the court for redress in cases of defamation, detraction would seem to have been a vice to which the inhabitants were particularly prone.

The court also acted as a court of admiralty, and as a court of probate, in taking proof of last wills and testaments, and in appointing curators to take charge of the estates of widows and orphans. Application was made to Stuyvesant for liberty to establish an orphan-house, similar to the celebrated institutions which exist throughout Holland. He did not think that such an establishment was necessary, but he afterward assented to the appointment of orphan-masters, and those officers acted in aid of the court. Some of its proceedings in the exercise of this branch of its jurisdiction will serve to illustrate how tenaciously the Dutch clung to old forms or legal ceremonies, as, where a

* Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., i. of 204, 250; v 207, 576. Van Lenwen, book 5, chap. 25.

† Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., iv., 1659. Rec. of Mayor's Court, i., 533.

widow, to relieve herself from certain obligations, desired to renounce her husband's estate, it is, in all such cases, recorded, that the intestate's estate "has been kicked away by his wife with the foot," and that she has duly "laid the key on the coffin."* The court also exercised a peculiar jurisdiction, that of summoning parents or guardians before them, who, without sufficient cause, withheld assent to the marriage of their children or wards, and of compelling them to give it.† It also granted passports to strangers, or conferred on them the burgher right, a distinction which, now that it has ceased to be attended with any practical advantage, is still kept up in the custom of tendering or presenting the freedom of the city to strangers, as a mark of respect. It may not be uninteresting, moreover, to state, that the origin of a fee bill, for regulating, by a fixed and positive provision of law, the costs of attorneys and other public officers, is to be traced to Stuyvesant. On the 25th of January, 1658, he put forth what is known in Holland as a placard, that is, a proclamation or ordinance emanating from some legislative or executive authority, having the force of law, by which he established a regular tariff of fees. In England, the fees of attorneys and other officers of the court has always been regulated by the court, and not by any public act. In New York, however, the fees of public officers have been a matter of statute regulation from a very early period. Ten or twelve years after the restoration of the province to the English, they were regulated by an ordinance of the Governor, and afterward by acts of the General Assembly; and there is every reason to believe that the practice, especially as respects the fees of attorneys and officers of the court, was derived from the Dutch.‡

A copy of Stuyvesant's ordinance remains in the records of the burgomaster and schepens, and as the preamble to the document is of interest as a legal curiosity, we shall take the liberty to insert it: "Whereas the Director-general and Council of New Netherland have sufficient evidence, from their own experience, in certain bills of costs which have been exhibited to them, as well as by the remonstrances and complaints which have been presented to them by others, of the exactions of scriveners, notaries, clerks, and other licensed persons, in demanding and collecting from contending persons excessively large fees and money, for writing for almost all sorts of instruments, to the manifest, yea, insufferable expense of judgments and judicial costs, some of whom are led by their covetousness and avarice so far as to be ashamed to make a bill or specify the fees they demand, but ask or extort a sum in gross. Therefore, to provide for the better and more easy administration of justice, the Director-general and Council do enact," etc.; after which follow provisions requiring the licensing of the officer entitled to take the fees, the keeping of a record of all fees charged by them, and prohibiting champerty and other abuses. It is then provided, that the officers enumerated shall serve the poor gratis, for God's sake, but may take from the wealthy the fees specified. Each particular service is then enumerated in the manner of our former fee bills, with the number of stivers allowed for each. Among the provisions is the

* Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., ii., 323.

† Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., vols. i., ii., iii., iv., v., vi.

‡ Ordinance and Table of Fees in first edition of the Colonial Laws, by Bradford, 1694; Charter Book and Acts of Assembly of 1683, in office of Secretary of State; Laws of 1709, ordinance regulating fees.

following entry: "No drinking, treats, presents, gifts, or doucers shall be inserted in any bill, or demanded;" and the ordinance concludes by directing that it shall be read once every year in the court, upon a day specified, to the officers enumerated, who were thereupon to be sworn faithfully to observe it; any officer being subject, for a violation of its provisions, to a fine of fifty guilders, or the loss of his office.*

In criminal cases, the schout prosecuted as plaintiff on behalf of the community. At his requisition, and upon the inspection by a magistrate of evidence sufficient to warrant a belief that an offense had been committed, the offender might be arrested or summoned according to the discretion of the magistrate; though where the culprit was detected in the actual perpetration of the deed, or where, in the judgment of the schout, there was strong ground of suspicion against him, and, in his opinion, the public interest demanded it, he might direct his immediate arrest; but in all such cases the schout was obliged to give notice of the arrest to the magistrate within twenty-four hours, who was thereupon bound to investigate the matter—a provision that practically dispensed with the necessity of the writ of habeas corpus, so familiar in the history of the English law.† Bail was allowed, except in cases of murder, rape, arson, or treason. There were two modes of trying the prisoner; either publicly upon general evidence, which was the ordinary mode, or by examining him secretly in the presence of two schepens, in which written interrogatories were propounded to the prisoner, to which he was obliged to return categorical answers. The Dutch law then adhering to the general policy of the civil law in respect to extorting confessions from offenders, and making use of the torture and of all those inquisitorial aids and appliances which have cast such a blemish upon the criminal jurisprudence of Europe.‡

The torture, however, was not used, except where the presumptive proof amounted almost to a certainty; and but one case has been found upon the records in which this cruel and unnecessary test was resorted to. Criminal prosecutions were not frequent, nor were the offenses generally of a grave character. The punishments were by fine, which were distributed in three equal parts, to the schout, to the court, and to the poor; by imprisonment, whipping, the pillory, banishment from the city or the province, or death, which, however, could not be inflicted without the concurrence of the Governor and his Council.§

Courts of the same popular character were established upon Long Island,|| shortly after the erection of the one at New Amsterdam.

A court with two schepens existed at Breuklin (Brooklyn) before 1654, which in that year was increased to four schepens. There was one at Midwout (Flatbush), with three schepens, and another at Amersfoort (Flatlands). David Provoost, who had been a notary at New Amsterdam, was made schout of Breuklin, and a district court was established, composed of the schout of

* Placards of Stuyvesant in Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep.

† Ordinances of Amsterdam, p. 46, and seq. Ed. of 1644.

‡ La Pratique et Encheridon des Causes Criminills, Louvain, 1555. Van Leuwen, book 3, chaps. 27, 28.

§ Rec. of N. Y. Burg. and Schep., iv., 141.

|| Thompson's History of Long Island, 96. 2 O'Call. 313, 323.

Breuklin, and of delegates from these three tribunals, which was continued until 1661.

In that year similar courts were established at Boswyck (Bushwick), and at New Utrecht, and the whole were formed into a district known as "the five Dutch towns," to which there was attached one schout, residing at Breuklin, each town having its separate courts.* Courts were also established by virtue of a grant from Stuyvesant among the English settlers at Carorasset (Jamaica), in 1656,† and at Middleburgh (Newtown), in 1659.‡ In 1652 Stuyvesant, by the simple exercise of his prerogative, established a court at Beverwyck (Albany), independent of the Patroon's Court of Raensellervyck.§ It was held at the house of the vice-director, upon the second floor, in a room directly under the roof, without a chimney, and to which access was had, by a straight ladder, through a trap-door. The courts thus enumerated, including the patroon courts already referred to and the Supreme or Appellate Court at New Amsterdam, composed of the Governor and Council, constituted the judicial tribunals of New Netherland, until the colony passed into the hands of the English.

* Brodhead, 580.

† Thompson's History of Long Island, 96.

‡ Riker's Annals of Newtown.

§ Albany Rec., 183. Records of Mortgages, Albany, book A. 2 O'Call., 183.

APPENDIX VIII.

THE FIREMAN'S LYCEUM.

LETTER FROM COLONEL T. BAILEY MYERS.

FIREMAN'S LYCEUM, 127 MERCER STREET, }
NEW YORK CITY, *December 1st, 1871.* }

DEAR SIR—In compliance with your request that I should send you a brief historical sketch of the origin and scope of the Fireman's Lyceum, I give you a few facts, which I trust will cover the ground. The change from the Volunteer to the Paid Department involved new duties imposed upon a few men selected to take the place of many, whose whole time belonged to the public, and was spent at the apparatus-houses waiting for duty. Idleness in quarters, in military life, is an evil which has been apparent in every service, and under the new system of a paid department, the life of the fireman nearly assimilated to that of a soldier in garrison. How to occupy the time of the men while waiting for the alarm-signal which might at any moment summon the company to duty, became at an early day a subject for consideration with the Board of Commissioners. The connection of some industrial pursuit with the duty, as is the case in other countries, which, while lessening the expenses of the department, would employ the time of the men, was considered as a means of affording the needed occupation; but for reasons on which it is not necessary to enlarge, that course was deemed at present impracticable, especially in the face of a constant agitation by local politicians (seeking votes amongst the force), of an increase of the pay of the firemen from \$1,000 to \$1,200 per annum, a proposition always popular with the men, and not objectionable to legislatures, more intent on gratifying their colleagues (when it could be done at the expense of the tax-payers of the city alone, whom they apparently represent), than on an economical administration of public affairs; and therefore difficult to be opposed by commissioners themselves holding office by a feeble tenure, and subject at any time to be legislated out of their control.

Under the new system the Department was placed upon a semi-military

basis, the strictest discipline preserved in service or in quarters, and requisitions, reports, and other written forms introduced, involving a large amount of labor and requiring clerical skill in the officers not heretofore generally necessary. For many of these strict military details, unpopular and subjects for ridicule at the time, as being in direct opposition to the personal independence and licensed freedom of the volunteer system, and necessarily incident to unpaid service, but which have tended greatly to the present efficiency and compactness of the force, the public are indebted to the perseverance and talent for organization possessed by General Shaler, with whom they originated, and who urged the necessity of their adoption. They are now sanctioned by usage, and are not likely to be abandoned. Their effect has been to reduce the material of the Department to the efficiency and prompt, quiet, concerted action of regular batteries of artillery, with the substitution of the apparatus for field-pieces. These changes necessarily called the attention of the Board to the means of elevating the educational standard of the men.

After much consideration the Board, on the 27th of December, 1867, passed a resolution authorizing me, as a member of the Board, to take possession of the large hall above the head-quarter offices of the Department, and to organize a lyceum and library for the use of the men, provided the same should be done without expense to the public. In compliance with this resolution I proceeded at once to interest the insurance companies and a few personal friends in the enterprise, and soon secured the moderate sum of money necessary to accomplish it. To do this it was necessary to husband our resources, and make our purchases at book sales only, which were attended for that purpose very faithfully by Mr. C. E. Gildersleve, at that time secretary of the Board. Subsequently, as the collection increased, a formal trust was created, by which I hold the property so acquired for the use of the firemen of the city of New York. The collection of books has gradually increased, until, at the present time, it includes 4,873 volumes belonging to the library, and 1,500 deposited for reference by the trustee. The cases in which these books are contained are of walnut, with sliding wire-doors and improved fastenings, and are the work of the men of the Department, and compare very favorably with those in any public library—the materials for these cases is the only expense to which the Department has been in any way subjected. The furniture, some of which is antique, and all suitable to the use, together with a collection of curiously engraved portraits of distinguished Americans, appropriate views, historical documents, autographs, maps, Revolutionary currency, &c., &c., have been deposited in the library for its use from the private collection of the trustee. To this has been added an engine in use by the Department early in the century, and various flags, lanterns, certificates, obsolete implements and apparatus, together forming a not uninteresting collection, and intended to remind the men not only of the past achievements of the Department, but also of the great men, and remarkable events connected with the general history of the country, and which is constantly increasing by the contributions of old firemen and others. The library is divided into chapters of geography and travel, history, biography, natural science, and carefully selected fiction, and includes such works as are most likely to entertain and improve the leisure hours of the men. Mr. Burns, the librarian, attends at all hours of the day, and the officers and men are enabled to draw such books as they may select from the printed catalogues for use

at their quarters, which is generally done through one member representing his company. The books have been largely and steadily used, about two hundred volumes being drawn in each month, and they afford great satisfaction to the members. It is scarcely necessary to say that there are some of the older members who cannot avail themselves of the use of books from the want of education, but in the case of all the appointments made for the last four years, to be able to read has been an indispensable requisite in a department where every member is eligible as a candidate for competitive examination for officers, in which position these qualifications are absolutely necessary. The Lyceum room, which is also used for the weekly trial terms held by the Board, is constantly resorted to by strangers and visitors, as a pioneer effort in the way of a Department Library. The Lyceum was formally dedicated on the 27th of December last, in the presence of a large audience, on which occasion Chief-Justice Daly delivered an able address, and the Bennett Gold Medal—for the endowment of which Mr. James Gordon Bennett had intrusted me with one thousand dollars, and which is held in trust for that purpose by Messrs. James M. McLean, Robert S. Hone (whom I associated with me), and myself, as trustees—was conferred on two meritorious officers of the Department for gallant efforts in the cause of humanity in saving life.

In giving you, as requested, the particulars of this little collection, I trust I have not made more than the necessary allusion to the part I have had in its formation, for which I have been amply rewarded by the success it has attained, and the evidences of the good it has already accomplished; and I sincerely trust that in whatever vicissitudes the Department may in the future be placed, and by whomsoever controlled, the Lyceum will continue to be the subject of their care, and the same facilities afforded to its trustee to make it an object of instruction and amusement to the gallant and useful body of men for whose benefit it was founded.

Very truly, your obedient servant,

T. BAILEY MYERS.

WM. L. STONE, Esq., New York City.

APPENDIX IX.

HALL OF RECORDS, FORMERLY THE DEBTORS' PRISON.

[*From the Evening Post, of December 14th, 1871.*]

THE community was startled a few days ago by the announcement that the Grand Jury had found an indictment against the Hall of Records, on account of its manifest unfitness as a repository of the public papers. It was generally supposed that the recent repairs, for which, of course, the city paid, had put the building in good condition, and a knowledge that records of such value as those relating to the property of this city were in danger caused much uneasiness. We propose to give, therefore, a brief history of the building in question, with a statement of its contents and the amount of money recently expended on it.

The house was erected as a jail long before the Revolutionary war. It was known for many years as the "New Jail," prisoners having formerly been confined in a building at the corner of Dock Street and Coenties Slip, and also in the basement and attic of the City Hall, in Wall Street. The structure was originally almost square, considerably smaller than at present, and three stories in height. Its walls were of rough stone, and it was surmounted by a large cupola rising from the center of the roof. In January, 1764, the "New Jail" was the scene of a riot. Near it, on the northern side of the Park, or "The Fields," as it was then called, ran a long row of wooden barracks, where the British troops were quartered. One Sunday evening a large party of the soldiers, armed with muskets and axes, made an attack on the jail for the purpose of rescuing a certain Major Rogers, who was there imprisoned for debt. After maltreating the jailer for refusing to give up the keys, they forced the locks of all the doors in the building, and would have released all the prisoners had not most of the latter preferred to remain where they were. The disturbance, which occasioned great excitement and alarm in the city, was terminated by the intervention of the militia. During the Revolution, after the occupation of the city by the British, the building became known as the

"Provost," from the fact that it was under the charge of the notorious William Cunningham, the British provost-marshal. Cunningham's quarters were on the right of the entrance, and the guard-room on the left. Two sentinels were stationed at the entrance night and day, and numerous others were posted through the building, which was then used chiefly for the confinement of captive patriots. The main room on the second floor was called "Congress Hall," and was appropriated to prisoners of the higher class, who were here so densely packed together that, it is said, when they lay on the floor at night the men could not change their posture unless the same movement was made by all simultaneously. In addition to this hardship, they were half-starved and otherwise shamefully abused; being given impure water when abundance of good was at hand, neglected in sickness and denied all intercourse with their relatives and friends. Two pounds of hard biscuit and two pounds of raw salt pork a week were the allowance of food for each man, without fuel for cooking. Among the prisoners thus treated here were Ethan Allen, Judge Fell, of New Jersey, and other prominent persons.

After the Revolution the building was used as a prison for debtors, common felons being confined in the old Bridewell, also in City Hall Square, which was erected in 1775 and torn down in 1838. On the first floor three wards for prisoners were ranged on each side of a long corridor passing through the center, and the second story was similarly arranged, with the exception that the greater part of one side was fitted up as a chapel, where prayers were said every Thursday. A watchman was kept in the belfry to look out for fires, and in consequence the jail bell was always the first rung when an alarm was given. In this event also a long pole with a lantern was extended from the belfry in the direction of the fire, thus guiding the firemen and citizens generally to the place where their services were needed. This lantern-pole was known as the "pointer," and its direction was always the first subject of inquiry when the fire-bells rang. When the jail was remodeled for other purposes, the alarm-bell so long connected with it was placed upon the Bridewell, and on the destruction of the latter building, being held in high regard by the firemen of the time, it was removed to the roof of the house of the Naiad Hose Company, in Beaver Street, with which it was destroyed in the great fire of 1845.

In June, 1830, when the jail contained only thirty-five debtors, the Common Council received a communication from Jameson Cox, the Register, calling attention to the need of providing a fire-proof building for the safe keeping of the public records. The subject was referred to a committee, in accordance with whose report, in the July following, the Common Council decided to remodel the Debtors' Prison as a building for the Register's and other county offices, and voted an appropriation of \$15,000 for that purpose. Several other appropriations were subsequently made, amounting to about \$15,000 more. The building was reduced in height by one story, the cupola torn down and the roof covered with copper. A portico was added at each end, supported by six massive columns of marble from the Sing Sing quarries. The interior was extensively altered, and the exterior was stuccoed in imitation of marble. The Temple of Diana at Ephesus was taken as the model of the structure, which was considered at the time of its completion as the most perfect piece of architecture in the city. During the cholera season of 1832, while yet unfinished, the building was used as a cholera hospital. It was soon afterwards

completed, and the offices of the Register, Comptroller, Street Commission, and Surrogate established in it. The Register's office occupied only the west side of the first story, which then amply accommodated the comparatively small number of records. As the work of the office increased and documents accumulated, this space became much too narrow, and in 1858 the rooms of the Surrogate, on the same floor, were appropriated to the use of the Register. The Street Department was moved in the following year, leaving the whole upper story for the Comptroller's office, which, in the fall of 1869, was transferred to the new County Court-house.

In 1869 it was determined to devote the whole building to the use of the Register, and on May 18th, 1869, the Supervisors passed a resolution ordering the issue of not over one hundred thousand dollars in bonds, to be known as "New York County Repair of Building Stock," and to be used for the repairs of this building. In 1870 a further appropriation of \$40,000 was made for "refitting the Register's office," and bills for this amount were made out to A. J. Garvey for ostensibly performing the work. The iron stairway outside the northern end of the building, which formerly led to the Comptroller's office, was taken away and a wooden stairway erected inside the hall. Besides this, all that can be shown as the result of this expenditure are some gas-fixtures in the walls of the third story, a few desks, and a quantity of common wooden book-racks, which were placed in the second story and have never been used. No use whatever has ever been made by the Register of either the second or third story, because as it is constantly necessary to refer from one volume of the records to another, their dispersal over different floors would most seriously embarrass and delay the work of the office.

The hall running through the middle of the first story is used for maps, powers of attorney, discharges of mortgages, and indexes. On the west side are three rooms occupied for conveyances, and on the east side four rooms which are used for mortgages and by the recording clerks and searchers. All of these rooms are lined with combustible wooden book-racks, which contain the titles to all the real estate on Manhattan Island. There are twelve hundred large volumes of conveyances and nearly as many of mortgages, and the discharges, powers of attorney, indexes, etc., swell the total number of volumes to nearly twenty-eight hundred. The earliest Dutch records are at Albany, in the office of the Secretary of State, but the documents here extend as far back as 1665. The space is so inadequate that many volumes are stowed away in racks under the desks of the clerks, and unless other accommodations are afforded it will soon be necessary to pile them in heaps on the floor. The number of volumes has doubled during the last fifteen years, and the present increase is at the rate of a hundred volumes a year. The Register's office contains nearly eight hundred maps of real estate in this city, which are put away in wooden pigeon-holes, exposed not only to dust and the danger of fire, but to the attacks of mice, which abound all over the building, and are frequently seen running about the floor. These animals, attracted by the paste with which the paper surface of the maps is fastened to the muslin backs, have already mutilated a large number, rendering some absolutely worthless. Many of these maps are of great value, as references are made to marks and numbers upon them in important conveyances and mortgages, and their destruction might seriously affect the title to large amounts of real estate.

One map of this character, which has been in the office but two years, has been badly damaged in this manner. Those inmates of the Register's office who have been there long enough to know, assert that the ceilings have not been whitewashed or in any way cleaned for over fifteen years. No visitor to the building would be disposed to question the statement, as the ceilings in most of the rooms are as black as though overlaid with soot. The stools, desks, and other articles of furniture, originally of a cheap description, have been in use for a long series of years, and are so worn and battered that a second-hand furniture dealer would hardly purchase them. Panes of glass are broken out of some of the windows, and the openings stopped with books. Nearly all the glass has been broken in the outer entrance door, and the loss repaired with pieces of board. The furnaces in the basement, by which the office is heated, are old and worn out, in consequence of which the clerks are frequently nearly stifled by coal-gas. One of the hot-air openings is immediately under a book-rack, and the volumes of manuscript above it are sometimes so hot that a man can hardly bear his hand upon them. They are, of course, as dry as tinder and would readily take fire. Although the building is nominally fire-proof, the staircase leading to the second story is built of pitch pine. The main room on the second floor, besides useless book-niches before mentioned, contains a considerable quantity of boards and shavings which Mr. Garvey's workmen left behind them. Similar inflammable materials are scattered through the smaller rooms opening out of it, which are otherwise bare and empty. The sole contents of the new third story are more boards and shavings, two rusty old stoves, and some pieces of stove-pipe. The otherwise dirty floor is whitened in many places by the rain, as the costly new roof has leaked ever since its erection.

APPENDIX X.

HISTORY OF THE NATIONAL ACADEMY OF DESIGN.

BY T. ADDISON RICHARDS,

Corresponding Secretary of the National Academy of Design, and Professor of Art in the University of the City of New York.

THE National Academy of Design was instituted in the year 1826. It superseded the American Academy of Art, then the only society of the kind in the country, and with the organization and management of which the artists were dissatisfied.

The American Academy was a joint-stock association, composed chiefly of laymen, prominent citizens, connoisseurs, and patrons of art; and, perhaps, necessarily so, in view of the small number and smaller influence of the body professional at that time. It was organized on the 3d of December, 1802, under the title of the New York Academy of Fine Arts, and was chartered February 12th, 1808, under the altered style of the American Academy of Art, when the original number of shareholders (five hundred) was changed to one thousand, and the value of shares (one hundred dollars) to twenty-five dollars. The first president was Robert R. Livingston, though that office was afterward filled by the distinguished artist, Colonel John Trumbull. Among its directors were De Witt Clinton, David Hosack, John R. Murray, and other prominent citizens. The society purchased a collection of casts and opened a school for the study of the Antique. It also prepared exhibitions at irregular and long intervals, and with varying success. On the whole, it was not fortunate, and had a somewhat struggling existence for about twenty-five years, when it was at length absorbed by the new National Academy of Design.

The general causes of the discontent of the artists with the old Academy were the slight consideration paid to them and their virtual exclusion from the management, they deeming themselves to be more competent than laymen to control an art association. The immediate reason for the defection of the professional body was the rudeness shown to them and to the art-students when

they attempted to avail themselves of the very liberal privileges offered them of studying in the schools of the Academy during the pleasant hours of from six to eight in the morning only, and this without fire in the winter weather, and with doors opening sooner or later at the discretion and convenience of the janitor. Great offense chanced to be given to the young knights of the brush on a certain frosty morning, when they turned their indignant backs forever upon the grim old *Alma Mater*, and with Morse, afterward the illustrious inventor of the electric telegraph, at their head, they betook themselves to the rooms of the Historical Society in the old Alms-house building, City Hall Park, and formed a "Drawing Association" of their own. This happened on the 8th of November, 1825. Various yet fruitless efforts at reconciliation and reunion were made, when at length, on the 14th day of January, 1826, the "Drawing Association" resolved to set up permanently for itself, and after listening to a spirited address by their leader, Morse, they formed the National Academy of the Arts of Design, as the society was first named. The next day, January 15th, they met, and by ballot elected fifteen from their body who were to constitute the Academy, and by the 18th the "fifteen" had, as directed by the society, added ten others to their number. Of these original members, as we write, February, 1872, the only survivors are S. F. B. Morse, A. B. Durand, and T. S. Cummings.

The discussion of the points at issue between the two societies was the great topic of the time, and was argued at great length and considerable feeling in the columns of the *Evening Post*, the chief champions being Col. Trumbull, of the old Academy, and Prof. Morse, the leader of the new. These papers may be found *in extenso* in *Cummings's Historic Annals*, published in 1865.

The first charter of the association was obtained from the Legislature of New York in 1828.

GALLERIES AND EXHIBITIONS.

The school department being in operation, even before the formal organization of the new society, steps were at once taken toward the next means proposed for the promotion of the arts—the institution of the annual exhibitions, which have continued without interruption and with ever-increasing success to the present time, consisting now as then of original works by living artists, and never before exhibited by the Academy.

For the first exhibition, which took place in the spring of 1826, a small room was secured on the second story of a building at the south-west corner of Broadway and Reade Street. The apartment was lighted in the evening by six ordinary gas-burners, and was the first instance on record of a public exhibition of pictures at night. The venture failed to pay expenses, and the members were assessed to make up the loss.

Not discouraged with the ill-success of this first attempt, the second exhibition was duly prepared in the spring of 1827, but in new quarters, for the Academy was then and long afterward very migratory. This time an appreciating public was invited to a larger and somewhat better display, spread upon the walls of an apartment on the third story of the Arcade Baths, in Chambers Street, between Broadway and Centre Street—a building which afterward became successively Palmo's Opera-house, Burton's Theater, and the United States Marshal's Office. The Academy leased these premises for three years at

three hundred dollars per annum; and here were held also the third, fourth, and fifth exhibitions, in 1828, 1829, and 1830. The next ten exhibitions, from the sixth to the fifteenth inclusive (1831 to 1840), were held in very much more suitable rooms on the third floor of the Mercantile Library, in Clinton Hall, then at the corner of Nassau and Beekman Streets. These apartments were leased at an annual rent of five hundred dollars.

In 1840, at the expiration of the Clinton Hall lease, the Academy again removed, and this time went up-town, settling for another decade on the upper floor of what was then the Society Library building, at the corner of Broadway and Leonard Street. These galleries were larger and more commodious than any yet occupied by the society. The annual rent was increased to one thousand dollars. The exhibitions from the sixteenth to the twenty-fourth inclusive (1841 to 1849), were held here.

In 1850, the institution moved yet further up-town, and for the first time in its history, into its own house, having purchased the property formerly occupied by Brewer's stables in the rear of 663 Broadway, opposite Bond Street. Here a suite of six fine galleries was erected, having a total length of one hundred and sixty-four feet, and a breadth of fifty feet. The exhibitions of 1850 to 1854, twenty-fifth to twenty-ninth inclusive, took place here. After five years of occupancy the Academy thought fit to sell this property, for which it received about one hundred and twenty thousand dollars, affording a net gain on the investment of sixty-nine thousand dollars, and leaving, after the payment of all outstanding indebtedness, a balance in the treasury of nearly sixty thousand dollars. This accumulation of funds was the first step toward the erection of the palatial edifice afterward built by the Academy in Twenty-third Street.

On the sale of the Broadway property, while awaiting the building of a new home, it became necessary to find other accommodations, and temporary quarters were secured in the gallery over the entrance to what was then the Rev. Dr. Chapin's Church, at 548 Broadway. Here were given the thirtieth and thirty-first annual exhibitions in 1855 and 1856.

For the thirty-second exhibition in 1857 the old rooms at 663 Broadway, remaining then unchanged, were rented by the society. In 1858, a suite of galleries was fitted up by the Academy on the upper floor of the building at the north-west corner of Tenth Street and Fourth Avenue. The thirty-third, thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, and thirty-sixth exhibitions, 1858 to 1861 inclusive, were held at this place. The thirty-seventh, thirty-eighth, and thirty-ninth exhibitions, 1862 to 1864 inclusive, took place in the galleries of the building 625 Broadway, then known as the Institute of Art or the Derby Gallery.

In the spring of 1865, the Academy took possession of a new edifice in Twenty-third Street, corner of Fourth Avenue, where all the subsequent exhibitions, the thirty-ninth to the forty-sixth, 1865 to 1871 inclusive, have been held, with the addition of the series of Winter Exhibitions, commencing in 1867, and of the Summer Exhibitions, established in 1870. The annual collections of the American Society of Painters in Water Colors have been included in the Winter Exhibitions of the Academy.

The site of the present beautiful edifice of the Academy was purchased in the autumn of 1860, from Mr. William Niblo, at a cost of fifty thousand dollars. Plans by Mr. P. B. Wight were submitted in January, 1861. Ground was first

broken on the 18th of April, 1863, and on the 21st day of October, in the same year, the corner-stone was laid with appropriate and imposing ceremonies.

The entire cost of the property, including the land, has been about two hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars. The building has a frontage of 80 feet on the north side of Twenty-third Street, and extends 98 feet 9 inches on the west side of Fourth Avenue. It is three stories high, beside the cellar. The lower or street floor is occupied by the janitor's rooms, and the school apartment. The central story, which is reached by a double flight of elegant marble steps, entering a hall eighteen feet in width, is occupied by the Parlors, the Library, Council, and Lecture rooms, and other apartments. The upper floor is devoted entirely to the Exhibition rooms. In the center is a hall or corridor 34 by 40 feet, divided by a double arcade supported on columns of polished marble. The galleries, five in number and of varying dimensions, are all entered from this central vestibule, and all communicate with each other. The building is constructed of white and gray marble, tastefully contrasted, and richly sculptured. The architecture is that revived Gothic, now the dominant style in England, which combines the features of the different schools of the middle ages. It is familiarly spoken of as the Venetian Gothic; but the architect says of it, if a name for the style be demanded, it can only be said that the name of no past style of architecture is altogether appropriate to it. As the revived Gothic goes on toward more perfect success, it will find a name for itself

ORGANIZATION AND CHARACTER.

The Academy is a private association devoted to the public service. It is, as it ever has been, owned and controlled only by artists, no others being eligible, under the constitution, to membership, except in the complimentary grades of Honorary Members or Fellows. Its means are devoted entirely to the cultivation of the Arts of Design in all such ways as may be deemed available. Like similar institutions, in other countries, its chief methods of labor have thus far consisted of permanent organization of the professional body for the union of its experience, power, and influence, both within itself and upon the community at large; in the foundation of schools for technical instruction in the various branches of Art study; in the establishment of Exhibitions of Works of Art for the cultivation both of professional knowledge and the public taste; and of lectures upon Anatomy, Perspective, and other Art subjects.

MEMBERSHIP.

Membership in the Academy is both professional and lay, the former consisting of the Academicians, Associates, and Honorary Members, and the latter of Honorary Members and Fellows.

ASSOCIATES.—The Associates are chosen on their merits by ballot at the annual meetings of the Academicians. They must be professional artists and exhibitors at the time of their election.

ACADEMICIANS.—Academicians are chosen from the body of Associates and from professional Honorary Members. They are the body corporate, and, in their election, distinguished professional ability and personal character are the only claims entertained.

FELLOWS.—Connoisseurs, amateurs, and all lovers of Art may become Fel-

lows of the Academy on the payment of a subscription of one hundred dollars. Subscriptions of five hundred dollars constitute a Fellowship in Perpetuity, with power to transfer all the privileges of the grade, or to bequeath them forever. It is through the liberal subscriptions of the Fellowship Fund that a large portion of the means to erect the present edifice of the Academy has been obtained.

HONORARY MEMBERS.—Honorary Membership is conferred at the same time and in the same manner as in the election of Academicians and Associates upon distinguished artists and lovers of Art at home and abroad. No elections have been made into this body since the foundation of the grade of Fellows.

SCHOOLS.

The educational department of the Academy commenced with its earliest history, and has always been regarded as one of its most important fields of labor. Through nearly half a century, free schools have with rare interruptions been maintained. They embrace at present departments for the study of the Antique Sculpture, of the Living Model, of Pictorial Anatomy, and of Perspective, to which will be added, as may be required, classes in Modeling and in Painting. The schools being intended only for advanced students, all applicants for admission must be able to submit to the Council a shaded crayon drawing made from a cast of some portion of the human figure. The schools have been attended by hundreds of students, and they number among their graduates many of the most successful artists of the land. The late James A. Suydam, N. A., at his death, in 1865, bequeathed the munificent sum of fifty thousand dollars toward the maintenance of the Academy schools. Other and still larger endowments for this important work, are, however, greatly needed.

In these few pages we have been able to take only a cursory glance at the history of the Academy. The story of its struggles and fortunes, with sketches biographical and anecdotal of the many distinguished artists who are or have been among its members, might form the theme of a most interesting volume.

APPENDIX XI.

POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN NEW YORK.

SPEECH OF HON. R. B. ROOSEVELT

*Delivered at the Grand Mass Meeting in Cooper Union, on Monday Evening,
September 4th, 1871.*

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I do not know whether it is exactly possible for a man to be born a Democrat, but I claim to come as near it as any one can. The earliest recollection that I have of public questions, when my arms had attained little more than seven years' pith, was my upholding staunchly and unswervingly the great doctrines of Democracy. Since that time I have been a Democrat—for Democracy is like vaccination: when it once takes well, it lasts a lifetime. But as I did not believe disloyalty to mean Democracy during the war, I do not believe dishonesty to mean Democracy now. The very corner-stone of our faith is pure, economical administration of government, and without that no code of principles can receive the hearty support of our party. Our party is a party of the people, and the people are always on the side of what is right and true. There may be, and there doubtless are, among both parties good, honorable men. Looking around me, I cannot doubt that both sides can lay equal credit in this particular. But those who love Democracy, those who have put their abiding faith in it and built up the hopes of the glory of their country on it, naturally look upon it as the representation of whatever is noblest and best.

To us Democrats, therefore, comes the charge of corruption against our rulers with a two-fold force, an especial horror. To hear that the chief officers of a Democratic city, who have been elected by an overwhelming majority of Democratic votes, some of whom have been chosen over and over again to various positions of trust, are venal and corrupt, is indeed almost incredible. And yet, what is the evidence? The charges are direct, plain, and explicit; misappropriations of vast sums are alleged; time, place, and circumstance are all stated through the daily press with the utmost exactness. Pretended pur-

chases, which are in their very nature impossible, are proved to have been paid for. The building and furnishing of our New Court-house are made the pretext for the payment of bills which are not merely monstrous—they are manifestly fabulous. It is pretended that acres of plastering have been done, and miles of carpeting furnished. The entire City Hall Park could have been plastered and carpeted at less expense; and no sane man can put faith in the pretense, if it were made, that the work charged for was really done. However, I must do our rulers the credit of saying that they make no such pretense. They have never denied the payments, they have not even asserted that the money was earned, while they have, in every one of their lame defenses, impliedly admitted that the bills were extravagant, if not fraudulent. They have presumed to defy the public; they have tried to lay half the blame on the shoulders of Republicans, as if a burglar were to excuse himself by asserting that he was assisted by a fellow-burglar; and they have stated that the charges were brought by political enemies, and so not entitled to answer; but nowhere has there been a straightforward, positive refutation—nowhere a denial even of any sort.

That they are guilty no man who has read the statements doubts for a moment, and no one believes that any such sums were actually expended on the Court-house. Nevertheless, I have been informed that this building, instead of costing \$3,000,000 or \$5,000,000, as alleged, the latter being supposed to be the extreme limit, has actually cost over \$12,000,000. To prove this I have been shown the figures purporting to have been taken from the Comptroller's books; but I hope I was deceived, and that they were exaggerations. But of the facts distinctly alleged in the public press there can be no question; it is admitted by default that millions on millions of the public money have been paid to a few obscure individuals, for which they never did nor could have performed equivalent labor; while a little printing company of \$25,000 capital has received \$1,500,000 from the county alone in two years.

Nevertheless, shocking as are these accusations, they are but trifling in comparison with the real crimes of the accused. Money is, after all, a trivial affair; we are a wealthy nation, growing with immense rapidity, rolling up capital and adding to our resources daily; we can endure limitless peculations in our officials, and still survive; but they have stolen from us something dearer and more sacred than our wealth—they have stolen our rights, our liberties, our very national institutions. Such wrongs as I have enumerated would never have been submitted to by the Democratic party had the individuals composing that party not first been deprived of the free expression of their will. These, our masters, have stolen our ballots, have falsified the will of the people, and pulled away the very key-stone of the arch of liberty.

What I am about to tell you I hardly expect you to believe; yet I will give you every point of time and circumstance. I will furnish you with every detail and all the minutæ of the mode of operations; and, large as is this meeting, were I to call my witnesses together, I could fill this building as full as it is now. I know whereof I speak; and in exposing these shameless iniquities rather in defense of Democracy than in arraignment of it, I really extenuate and set down naught in malice. By a combination of certain Democratic and Republican office-holders in this city the votes of the people no longer express their will. They are falsified in three different ways, so that no matter how honest the

mass of voters might be, the corrupt Ring would apparently be retained in power. To effect this, three forces are brought into play. There is the use of repeaters at the polls, the manipulation of ballots as they are deposited, and the false counting of them in making up the canvass. Precisely how these schemes are managed I will explain to you.

Heretofore there has been a registry of all legal voters in this city. I can only speak of the past. I cannot tell what Tammany will do hereafter; and now that the registry law has been repealed we may be sure that matters will not be improved. There were three registers to supervise these lists, three inspectors to receive the votes, and three canvassers to count them. One of each of these boards was a Republican, and could stop all frauds if he pleased, but as the parties to be defeated were only those Democrats who were opposed to Tammany, he shut his eyes with resolute determination. To begin with, gangs of repeaters were organized, whose first duty was to have their names recorded in as many districts as possible, usually from a dozen to fifty; and it was curious with what childlike innocence the Republican register would receive the names of one hundred men who assumed to reside at the private dwelling of some leading Tammany ward politician, or who pretended to camp out on some vacant lot. So the repeaters were enrolled; and I have had lists of them offered to me for sale at so much a vote when Tammany did not need them.

On election day these men went to the polls in gangs with their captains, and marched from district to district like companies of soldiers. If one of them was challenged, the result depended upon the locality; in a disreputable neighborhood, the challenger was knocked into the gutter and probably locked up by the police for disturbing the polls. In a district where this would not answer, the accused was taken before a police magistrate, who sat all day to hear just such cases, and who let him out on bail, the necessary bail being also on hand for the purpose, and the repeater was usually back at the polls and hard at work before the challenger, and no one ever heard of such a case being brought to trial afterward.

In another way were these repeaters used. Many people, especially wealthy Republicans, do not vote. It is the duty of every man to vote; this is one of the obligations he assumes in demanding liberty; and rather than have the duty neglected, Tammany sees that it is performed. Toward the latter part of the day it will be found that certain persons who are registered have not voted, and it then belongs to the polling officers to copy such names on slips and pass them to the proper parties outside; and it would horrify, if not amuse, some of our wealthy millionaires to see what ragged-clothed, bloated-faced and disreputable individuals represented them at the polls and performed for them a public duty which they had neglected. This is repeating. I have given you but a hurried sketch of it; the votes polled by it count up tens of thousands. But, successful as it was, it had its defects. The repeaters began to imagine they were their own masters; they thought they held the power, because they were the instruments of power. To use a political term, they undertook to set up shop for themselves. Still repeating, when kept in its place, is not disapproved by our Ring rulers.

The manipulation of the ballots—"Ringings" the ballots, as it is appropriately called—is a very beautiful operation, and it is said by those who have tried it

to be perfect. It is now the favorite plan ; it is simple, inexpensive, and effective. When one of your good, innocent Republicans, we will suppose, is going to the polls to vote the wrong ticket or support the wrong man, as you are so fond of doing, your unwise intentions are quietly frustrated. The inspector holds in his hand the ballot you ought to deposit, and when he receives yours quietly substitutes one for the other and drops yours on the floor before he puts his in the box. This is a simple sleight-of-hand trick, easily learned and readily applied. If, however, you are suspicious, and watch the official, or if the latter is awkward and inexperienced, a man near by pushes against you, or the policeman seizes you and accuses you of having voted before. Of course ample apologies are immediately tendered for the rudeness, the inspectors are indignant that so respectable a gentleman should be insulted, they abuse the rough or the policeman, and you are shown out with great respect ; but your ballot is thrown down on the floor, and the substitute got into the box. Repeating is expensive, false counting is troublesome, our Tammany men are not experts at arithmetic, and figures are often troublesome, as our amiable Comptroller will admit at this moment ; but " Ringing " ballots is a complete success. It is only necessary to buy a Republican inspector, and a small place or a few hundred dollars will usually do that.

The third plan is false counting. This is done generally by transferring the figures boldly. For instance, if Jones, the Tammany candidate, gets one hundred votes, and Smith, the opposition candidate, receives two hundred, the two hundred of Smith are transferred to Jones, who gives his one hundred to Smith. This is an exquisitely simple process, but in practice it is said to work badly, and great complaint is made of it by those who have tried it. In the first place, the candidates are often too nearly equal to give Tammany its just preponderance, or to overcome some persistent opposition in a district where this plan cannot be worked, for it is found utterly impracticable in some districts. Its defects can sometimes be cured by a false count. That is to say, the votes are counted by tens, one canvasser taking them up and counting ten, when he calls " tally," and slips a piece of elastic around the bundle. Of course he has only to take five votes instead of ten, and call " tally," to augment greatly the chance of his favorite. In one instance this was done so enthusiastically that the Tammany candidate had received fifty " tallies," or five hundred votes, and had a large quantity yet uncounted, when the poll-clerk felt it advisable to inform the canvassers that there were only four hundred and fifty names on the registry.

Between these three schemes the voice of the people of New York has been utterly stifled up until last fall, when, by the cruel and tyrannical interference of the United States Government, under the vile bayonet election law, we got a fair vote. The wrong was not so much done to Republicans, for the inspectors saw that comparative justice was secured to their party on general issues ; but it was allowed full scope against opposition Democrats—Democrats who believed in a pure government, and were opposed to Tammany Hall. Thus it is that Democrats have to bear the entire odium of the misrule of our city, while we Democrats still believe our party to be the honest one.

This odium we cannot endure. I speak as a Democrat to Democrats. If we would see a chance of carrying the next Presidential election, of taking the nation from the hands of those who, in our opinion, are unfit to have control

of it, of restoring to general acceptance the principles we have at heart, we must vindicate our party; we must remove the load of disgrace brought on us by official corruption in this city. Here we are in control. We have undisturbed possession of all branches of the municipal government, and an immense majority of voters. For all frauds, speculation, venality, and iniquity in the municipal government we are responsible, and no party with such a record will ever be given the possession of the National Administration. We must crush Tammany, or Tammany's dishonesty will crush us. Large portions of the money stolen from our treasury were used to bribe Republicans; notoriously, the very charter under which we live was carried by the purchase of a Republican. Municipal officers and the spoil of our citizens have been divided between both parties. But none of this excuses us. We are in power; we can correct the abuses; if we do not, we ought to suffer, and we will. If Republicans are not blameless, we are mainly guilty.

Already we are threatened with the loss of the Germans. That economical people will not submit to have their houses mortgaged by the issue of municipal bonds in order to give to corrupt men wealth and luxury. From all sections of the country come complaints from Democrats that they have to defend the iniquities of Tammany Hall, and that they are beaten by the bad record of our city rulers. If Democracy would survive, it must put down with a strong hand these abuses. We can still do so. The people are not so entirely helpless as our masters would have us believe. The latter cannot defy an outraged and indignant community with the impunity they hope. The power is still with us if we are willing and determined to exert it. In times of great excitement the usual barriers are swept away, and the people rush along in a mighty current which carries all before it. Those who would resist it are overwhelmed and perish, but the corrupt always cower before it and are most earnest to conciliate it. So it will be here. Canvassers, inspectors, and registers, be they Democrats or Republicans, are as fond of their lives as though they were honest men; and no one appreciates the danger of irritating the people more than they. An aroused and outraged public is not patient, and Judge Ledwith laid down good law when he told his friends that if they saw an inspector tamper with their ballots they could shoot him on the spot. The man who cheats a nation out of its birthright has committed the highest of crimes, and deserves no mercy. We are living under a wrong system. To allow a mayor elected for two years to appoint all other municipal officials for five years may be Tammany Democracy, but it is not ours. That system must be changed; a proper mode of selecting polling officers must be established; every protection must be given to the ballot; and, incidentally to these reforms, the Ring which secured control of Tammany Hall must be put down; and then, not only will our city's fame be redeemed, our taxes lightened, our business affairs improved, our commerce increased, and our metropolis made what it should be, the grandest city in the world, but Democracy and Republican institutions will be relieved from the discredit which has been brought upon them.

LIST OF PRESENTS

RECEIVED BY MR. TWEED'S DAUGHTER ON THE OCCASION OF HER WEDDING.

Cornelius Corson, coral set.....	\$1,000
Cornelius Corson, watch in finger-ring.....	1,000
Charles E. Loew, pearl set.....	700
Mrs. E. A. Garrett, diamond locket, gold chain.....	5,000
Peter B. Sweeny, diamond and enamel bracelet.....	1,000
James M. Sweeny, diamond bracelets.....	1,000
Harry Genet, diamond cross.....	2,000
Edward Boyle, gold, diamond, and pearl cross.....	1,000
James Ryan, sable chain necklace, gold and diamonds.....	1,500
Superintendent Kelso, ice-bowl.....	500
Henry Smith, filagree armlets.....	700
Mrs. R. B. Connolly, gold and silver ice-dish.....	500
Mrs. E. A. Woodward, silver punch-bowl.....	500
Mrs. Geo. J. Miller, silver cake-baskets.....	500
M. J. Shandley, paintings and wax flowers.....	1,000
Charles H. Hall, pitcher and goblet.....	500
Mrs. Edward Hogan, silver ice-cream dish.....	500
Mrs. Augustus L. Brown, fruit-dish, bowl, and pitcher.....	250
Charles G. Cornell, silver pitcher and goblet.....	250
Sheriff Brennan, silver dish and spoons.....	500
Mrs. Joseph B. Young, two silver castors.....	250
Dr. Carnochan, silver-ware.....	500
Nicol & Davidson, bronze statue of Juno.....	500
Thomas J. Creamer, gold and silver ware.....	1,000
J. H. Tooker, silver-ware.....	500
James Fisk, Jr., silver ice-bowl.....	500
Mrs. L. Ingersoll, bouquet-holder.....	500
John Garvey, silver gong.....	500
Senator Norton, gold chain and diamond pendant.....	1,500
Mrs. John J. Blair, cameo, diamond, and pearl set.....	2,500
Frank Voorhies, turquoise and pearl set.....	500
Joseph G. Harrison, cameo sleeve-buttons, with diamonds.....	1,000
John McB. Davidson, neck-chain, gold, pearls, diamonds, and enamel....	1,500
John H. Keyser, necklace and diamond cross.....	1,000
James H. Ingersoll, diamond wheat-spray for the hair.....	2,000
John Cox (Judge), chain and diamond locket.....	2,500
Hugh Smith, emerald and diamond locket.....	5,000
Joseph S. Bosworth, Jr., diamond and pearl ring.....	1,500
John H. Williams, full silver service.....	1,000
Thomas C. Fields, gold and diamond necklace and ear-rings.....	5,000
W. E. King, emerald, diamond, and gold bracelets.....	5,000
George G. Barnard, gold, diamond, and pearl necklace.....	1,000
Edward Kearney, amethyst and diamond set.....	1,000
A sincere friend of W. M. Tweed, diamond set, in gold and glass box..	5,000

Thurlow Weed, sugar-bowl.....	\$500
Andrew J. Garvey, silver set.....	500
Eugene Durnin, silver set.....	500
J. S. Bosworth, silver-ware.....	250
Jay Gould, silver-ware.....	250
W. W. Watson, silver set.....	500
H. J. Hastings, silver punch-bowl.....	250
E. D. Bassford, silver ice-pitcher.....	100
Walter Roche, silver-ware.....	250
Dr. Schirmer, silver-ware.....	250
E. J. Shandley, card-basket.....	400
John J. Deane, card-basket.....	250
Isaac Bell, clock and chandeliers.....	1,000
Thomas W. Hall, vases.....	500
Lord & Taylor, bridal parasol.....	1,000
J McGinnis, clock and candlestick.....	500
James J. Gumbleton, fan.....	250
Ely Ingersoll, French clock.....	500

APPENDIX XII.

ACT OF INCORPORATION OF THE TAMMANY SOCIETY.

AN ACT to Incorporate the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York. Passed April 9th, 1805.

Whereas, William Mooney and other inhabitants of the City of New York have presented a petition to the Legislature setting forth that they, since the year 1789, have associated themselves under the name and description of the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order, for the purpose of affording relief to the indigent and distressed members of the said Association, their widows and orphans, and others who may be found proper objects of their charity ; they therefore solicit that the Legislature will be pleased by law to incorporate the said Society for the purposes aforesaid, under such limitations and restrictions as to the Legislature shall seem meet.

Therefore, be it enacted by the people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, that such persons as now are or shall from time to time become members of the said Society shall be and are hereby ordained, constituted, and declared to be a body corporate and politic in deed, fact, and name, by the name of " The Society of Tammany or Columbian Order in the City of New York ;" and that by that name they and their successors shall have succession, and shall be persons in law, capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered unto, defending and being defended in all courts and places whatsoever, in all manner of actions, suits, complaints, matters, and causes whatsoever ; and that they and their successors may have a common seal, and change and alter the same at their pleasure ; and that they and their successors shall be persons capable in law to purchase, take, receive, hold, and enjoy to them and their successors any real estate in fee simple or for term of life or lives or otherwise, and any goods, chattels, or personal estate, for the purpose of enabling them the better to carry into effect the benevolent purposes of affording relief to the

indigent and distressed, provided that the clear yearly value of such real and personal estates shall not exceed the sum of five thousand dollars; and that they and their successors shall have full power and authority to give, grant, sell, lease, devise, or dispose of the said real and personal estates, or any part thereof, at their will and pleasure; and that they and their successors shall have power from time to time to make, constitute, ordain, and establish by-laws, constitutions, ordinances, and regulations as they shall judge proper, the election of their officers, for the election or admission of new members of the said corporation, and the terms and manner of admission, for the better government and regulation of their officers and members, for fixing the times and places of meeting of the said corporation, and for regulating all the affairs and business of the said corporation; provided, that such by-laws and regulations shall not be repugnant to the Constitution or laws of the United States or of this State; and for the better carrying on the business and affairs of the said corporation there shall be such numbers of officers of the said corporation and of such denomination or denominations to be chosen in such manner and at such times and places as are now or shall from time to time be directed by the constitution and by-laws of the said corporation, made or to be made for that purpose; and that such number and description of members shall be sufficient to constitute a legal meeting of the said corporation as are now or may hereafter be directed by the said constitution and by-laws of the said corporation.

And be it further enacted, that this act be and hereby is declared to be a public act, and that the same be construed in all courts and places benignly and favorably for every beneficial purpose therein intended.

STATE OF NEW YORK, SECRETARY'S OFFICE.

I have compared the preceding with the original on file in this office, and do hereby certify that the same is a correct transcript therefrom, and of the whole of said original law.

Given under my hand and seal of office at the City of Albany,
this 24th day of January, in the year 1859.

[SEAL.]

S. W. MORTON, *Dep. of Secretary of State.*

APPENDIX XIII.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF HENRY INMAN, THE ARTIST.

FROM THE PRIVATE MANUSCRIPT DIARY OF THE LATE
MRS. COL. WILLIAM L. STONE.

NEW YORK, *August 12th*, 1838.

"I CALLED this morning on my husband's friend, Henry Inman, to sit for my portrait. When I went in I found Vanderlyn, the favorite pupil of Gilbert Stuart, with him. He, however, soon went away and left us together. Inman looked haggard and worn.* He seemed glad to see me, and gave me more of his confidence than usual. To-day he related to me the particulars of his early life-struggles. I listened attentively while he unfolded before me pages in the history of his inner life. He has a beautiful mind, the most exquisite perception of moral, intellectual, and natural beauty, and a keen relish of the harmonies. He possesses the choicest social qualities and the finest sensibilities. Indeed, his feelings are so delicate, that it requires a very refined nature to understand him. As a natural consequence, he is quite often misunderstood by coarser minds.

"In speaking of his early life, Mr. Inman said: 'From my boyhood my greatest recreation was a pencil and piece of paper. My father was possessed of a harsh, uncompromising temper, and thought every one must be brought up alike. He had made up his mind to dispose of me very differently from what my taste suggested. But my mother was gentle and persuasive; she spoke in my behalf, and argued that my success would be far greater in a branch of business that suited my talents. Shortly after this, my father met John Wesley Jarvis, the painter, who was then in the zenith of popular favor. He spoke of me to him, and procured an interview. Jarvis at once proposed to take me (then only fifteen) as a pupil. Soon afterward, I went with him to

* This was just after Inman had lost nearly all of the means he had acquired by his art, through unfortunate speculations in 1836.

Albany, where we put up at Crittenden's, the most expensive hotel in the place. He represented me as a wonderful boy, and kept me living at great expense, thereby creating a taste for a style of life far above my means to support. Here he left me for several weeks, while he went to a distant city to fulfill an engagement. When he returned, I told him I was in difficulty; that I had incurred heavy expenses in his absence, and had no means to pay my bills; and that I had written to my father for advice, but had received for an answer that he had no money to give me, and I must take care of myself. "Then," said Jarvis, "you must paint. You can paint now better than any one in this country except me; and you can paint cabinet-pictures, in a style in which I will instruct you, that will consume but little time. You can turn them off very fast, and charge low, say five or six dollars; you can paint half a dozen in a week. I will speak to all the great people here, and tell them what a wonderful lad you are; you will soon have plenty of work. You can stay here this winter and pursue this course, while I go to New Orleans. I will pay what I can of Crittenden's bill already run up, and in the spring, upon my return, we will begin again in New York." Jarvis was as good as his word, and during that winter I painted *every member* of the Legislature, which brought me in a considerable sum. Jarvis, though very dissipated, and careless in money matters, was always very kind-hearted and liberal, and willing to share all he had with me. My disposition was timid, and I never received any encouragement from my father; but Jarvis wound himself round my heart by his kindly sympathy. He always tried to make me believe I was equal to anything I had a mind to undertake. The best society and the finest abilities in the State congregated at Crittenden's; and my stay had its advantages in that respect.

"I recollect well a morning passed in Inman's studio last spring. We had considerable talk of pictures, and of one in particular that happened to be at the time on his easel—a picture of a little boy of two years of age. On my expressing my surprise at his having attained a perfect likeness of a sitter who was not one moment quiet, he replied that it was difficult; it made him a little nervous, but that he painted parts—the form of the head and features—while the child sat asleep in the nurse's lap; for the rest, he gave him some toy, and, when he was full of delight, caught the expression.

"I remarked, it had often surprised me to see pictures where the form and features were correct, and yet entirely spoiled by the expression—either the absence of expression, or a smile about the mouth, in which the other features did not participate. The expression lacked harmony—the indescribable play of the features was wanting.

"'Ah, yes,' cried he, 'there you have it; I always consider, when I fail to convey in a picture the play of the features free from constraint, that I have failed altogether—it is all labor lost.'

"I remember Inman's showing me a portrait of Miss T——, the general's daughter. He had taken great pains with the composition of it. A friend, who was with me, found fault with it, and told him the attitude was not natural. He was a little nettled by the criticism. My friend doubtless was wrong, as that is a part of the picture which had been greatly admired by artists. Miss T—— was celebrated for her beauty, and, when abroad, appeared at the different courts of England, France, Austria, Russia, Italy, etc., where she was styled 'The beautiful American.' She has the most perfect self-possession I ever saw

in one of her age, for she is now only eighteen. After her return, several artists were engaged to paint her, but the pictures were declared by her father and admirers failures. I asked Inman what he thought of her face—if people did not err in styling it symmetrical,—and if he were not surprised to observe one of her age so entirely placid and unmoved under all circumstances. He said he was—that her features, considered separately, were far from handsome; but, as a whole, they produced a very agreeable impression. ‘But, in illustration of your last remark,’ he continued, ‘I will tell you what happened when her father brought her to see me, and engaged my services. He began by telling me how sadly he had been disappointed in all the likenesses taken of his daughter; how much trouble she had given herself to sit for his gratification, and with how little success; that persons who had much reputation, and succeeded with others, failed here, etc. To relieve us from a conversation which was rather embarrassing, I turned to Miss T—, and in ‘a playful manner said, “Let me look at your face, Miss T—, and see if I can discover what it is which makes your face so difficult to paint.” Instead of bursting into a laugh, as most girls would, or blushing a little, and thus imparting a higher interest to the expression of her features, she turned her face toward me without the least change of expression, and with the utmost coolness, as if the face had belonged to a third party. “Alas,” thought I, “it is sad to think your friends should have taken so much pains to repress in you the natural expression of those emotions which are so beautiful and so natural to youth, and which impart to them an interest which no accomplishment can give!”’

“I remember, also, seeing on one of his easels a very sweet picture of a young girl, in a straw gypsy trimmed with a simple blue ribbon. On inquiring who was the original, he showed me an extremely awkward likeness by a rude hand, from which he assured me he had composed this. He stated that the young lady was dead, and this sketch, by an unfledged artist, was all the parents possessed of their child. The family assured him that his likeness was a perfect representation of the original. What a beautiful and wonderful art! It seems as if it might belong to angels both in its earthly and spiritual attributes!

“The rapidity with which Inman paints is marvelous. A few months since my husband (by preconcerted arrangement) came into his studio accompanied by his father, an aged Revolutionary veteran. My husband had long been desirous of having his father sit for his portrait, but the latter had always resolutely refused; and he now came into Inman’s room ignorant that it was an artist’s studio. Inman placed the old veteran in his sitter’s chair, took a seat at a desk, and began to converse with him about his exploits in the Revolutionary War, and of General Washington, and the great men who figured in that struggle for liberty, and soon the old gentleman was quite absorbed in his narrations. After half an hour had been thus employed, the son walked up to Inman’s desk, and, looking over his shoulder, involuntarily exclaimed, ‘Why, it is perfect.’

“The old gentleman started to his feet. ‘Surely,’ cried he, ‘you have not stolen my likeness?’ It was even so; and never was there a more perfect portrait.

“Inman tells me that when he has made himself comfortable in circumstances by portrait-painting, he intends to go abroad, and paint several pieces

which lie enshrined in his thoughts, and only require time and opportunity to embody and render tangible. He is exceedingly fond of his children, especially his eldest daughter, Mary. She is not over fifteen, but has the development of one of eighteen or twenty; and he says her mind is remarkably mature. He tells me he does not mean to yield to his desire to visit Europe till she has finished her school-days, and can go with him and share his enjoyment.* He has met with many disappointments, but he never croaks nor complains of the world's churlishness. In person he is somewhat short and thick-set. He has a rather large head, which seems bigger on account of an abundance of light-brown hair which grows low down on his forehead, and injures somewhat the appearance of his head. His eyes are light blue, and his nose rather (as he playfully expresses it) of the '*snub order* belonging to a particular order of classical noses.' The expression of his face is not particularly striking, but exceedingly amiable, and about the mouth and chin there is much sweetness. The latter contains a dimple. He has a large share of that simplicity and enthusiasm in his pursuits which are the concomitants of true genius. He possesses, also, an exquisite imagination. A constant succession of beautiful images seems to pass before him when he is in health or spirits. But the imagination takes its tone from the state of the health which affects the mind; and they who in health revel amid a world of ideal splendor, pay a heavy tax when sickness, sorrow, and suffering clothe every object which imagination presents in the most revolting or gloomy drapery.

"He once told me an anecdote that I wish that I could recollect in all its particulars. He had painted some pictures which had given great satisfaction—a thing he appreciated far higher than money; but being unexpectedly dunned, and failing in other quarters, he was obliged to resort to the collection of his dues from this source with great reluctance. He wrote a note expressive of these feelings, which he repeated, and which I understood perfectly, but the person to whom it was addressed, not being cast in a delicate mold like himself, took it as a reflection on his want of promptness in making payment, and treated it accordingly. He said it cost him a degree of chagrin that was almost insupportable.

* * * * *

"SARATOGA SPRINGS, *January 22d*, 1846.

"I have just seen in the *Commercial* the death of Henry Inman, the artist. The shock was very great, not having heard of his illness. He died on the 17th inst., of disease of the heart, aged 45. He suffered greatly, I remember, from physical derangement while I was sitting, so that he was often very fever-

* Inman's intention in this respect was carried out during the latter portion of his life. In 1844, accompanied by his daughter, he went to England, having been sent on a special mission to Rydal by Professor Henry Reed, of Philadelphia, to procure the likeness of Wordsworth. Mr. James T. Fields, in his charmingly told *Yesterdays with Authors*, gives an account of a visit he made to Wordsworth, and the interview between himself and the poet and his wife. During this visit he saw a duplicate of the picture painted by Inman hanging in the poet's library. "The painter's daughter, who accompanied her father," writes Mr. Field, "made a marked impression on Wordsworth, and both he and his wife joined in the question 'Are all the girls in America as pretty as she?' I thought it an honor," continued Mr. Field, "that Mary Inman might well be proud to be so complimented by the old bard."

During his stay in England, Inman painted, also, very remarkable likenesses of several distinguished persons, among whom was Dr. Chalmers.—*Author*.

ish, and I used to be on the *qui vive* lest I should do or say anything to increase his irritability. Persons of less vital energy would have taken to the bed under circumstances when he worked laboriously. When the rage for speculation came on, he was drawn into the vortex, and alas! poor fellow, he is only one among many, whose peace of mind was destroyed, and whose sleepless solicitude produced diseases from which death could alone release them. How many creations of beauty are entombed with him!

"A sentiment which he once quoted to me, as expressive of his feelings, now comes back to me with great force. 'For myself,' he said, 'much rather would I sleep where the moonbeams would convert into diamonds the dew-drops gathering on the rosebuds, than to lie beneath the dome of St. Peter's—rather rest where the soft south-wind would wake the fragrance of blossoms which affectionate hands had planted, than to molder in the chambers of the eternal pyramids.' " *

* At the time of his death Inman was Vice-President of the National Academy of Design. Immediately upon his decease, of a complaint aggravated, if indeed not brought on, as hinted in Mrs. Stone's Diary, by anxiety of mind, a public exhibition was given in New York of such of his paintings as could readily be collected, for the benefit of his widow and children. The extent of his works may in some measure be judged of from the fact that this particular collection contained one hundred and twenty-seven paintings of various kinds.—*Author*.

APPENDIX XIV.

MESSAGE OF GOVERNOR HOFFMAN RELATING TO THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

*Showing the Value of Real Estate, etc., etc.; together with a Comparison between
New York and other Cities.*

EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY,

January 2d, 1872.

To the Legislature :

The financial condition of New York City is a matter of great interest to the people of the State at large, and, in some degree, to the commercial world, its stocks and bonds being held for investment at home and abroad. In view of the recent events, I deemed it my duty to procure for you full information as to its liabilities and resources, and addressed a letter to the Chairman of the State Board of Commissioners for Revision of the Tax Laws, the Hon. David A. Wells, who seemed to me specially fitted for the work, requesting him to investigate and report to me. In consequence of delay in his obtaining some of the facts, his report did not reach me until my annual message was in print. My letter to him and his reply are as follows :

STATE OF NEW YORK, EXECUTIVE CHAMBER,
Albany, November 25th, 1871.

MY DEAR SIR—The financial condition and credit of New York City are of interest as well to the people of the State at large as to its own citizens. It is important that the actual condition of our great metropolis in reference to its indebtedness and its resources should be made known with accuracy ; and I desire to communicate the facts to the Legislature and the people of the State in my next message. Will you undertake to investigate the matter in my behalf?

Very truly yours,

HON. DAVID A. WELLS, --
Chairman, etc.

JOHN T. HOFFMAN.

NEW YORK, December 28th, 1871.

SIR—In response to your note of November 25th, requesting me to investigate and report to you on the relation which exists between the indebtedness of the city and county of New York, and the resources available for the payment of such indebtedness; or the extent of the resources of property which may be fully regarded as constituting an adequate and inalienable security for the ultimate payment in principal and interest of such indebtedness, I have the honor to submit the following exhibit:

FUNDED DEBT.

By report furnished on request by Hon. A. H. Green, Comptroller, it appears that the funded debt—bearing *five, six, and seven* per cent. interest—of the city and county of New York, was, on the 16th day of December, 1871, \$87,371,808.51; and the assets of the sinking fund of the city and county—consisting of stocks and cash—available for the redemption of debt, were on the same day \$20,137,093.02; thus making the present *net* funded debt of the city and county of New York, \$67,234,715.49.

FLOATING OR TEMPORARY DEBT.

The temporary or floating debt of the city and county of New York—consisting of bonds issued in anticipation of receipts and assessments, arrears of interest, State taxes, unpaid warrants and the like—was on the 16th day of December, 1871, \$28,259,071.35; or, deducting cash on hand—\$6,959,919.62 in the city and county treasury—\$21,299,152.73.

In addition to the above, the Comptroller also reports claims already presented on unsettled accounts, to an estimated aggregate of \$6,000,000; which last included would make the total *ascertained* debt and “claims presented” of the city and county of New York, on the 16th of December, 1871, \$94,523,867.22.

PROSPECTIVE INDEBTEDNESS.

So much for the present aspect of the indebtedness of the city and county of New York. In respect to the future, it is to be noted:

First.—That much of the existing temporary and floating debt of the city and county of New York as above indicated—including an aggregate of assessment bonds issued in anticipation of tax receipts of \$14,950,700.00—is redeemable from the collection of assessments, or arrears of taxes, and that a very considerable amount of these assessments and arrears is certain to be collected; and,

Second.—That the city holds bonds and mortgages on account of sales of real estate to the amount of \$1,132,893.26; the proceeds of which, when collected, are applicable for an increase of the sinking fund held for the redemption of the funded debt.

On the other hand, it is known that claims to a very considerable amount for services rendered and materials furnished to the several departments of the city and county government, during the year 1871 and previously, are yet to be presented, and that the carrying out of such public works as are already in progress, or certain to be authorized, will also require further additional expenditures.

But in estimating the amount of these prospective requirements for expend-

ture, it should not be overlooked, that the amount of claims against the city yet to be presented is not likely to be in excess of the arrears of assessments and taxes yet to be collected; and further, that the amount to be hereafter expended on account of public improvements cannot, with any regard for economy and moderation, ever prove disproportionate to the concurrent increase in the material resources of the city, arising from its certain and rapid increase in wealth, business, and population.

So that, making every allowance for contingencies, or any immediate advances on account of public improvements, the total present liabilities of New York city and county may be safely estimated as not in excess of *one hundred millions of dollars*; and further, that the ratio which the liabilities of the city and county at present sustain to their assets and resources is not likely to be changed for the worse in the future; certainly *not* if the safeguards against corruption and extravagant expenditure, suggested by recent experience, are by the Legislature authorized and provided.

INFLUENCE OF PUBLIC IMPROVEMENTS IN AUGMENTING THE SOURCES OF MUNICIPAL REVENUE.

As bearing upon the question of future municipal liabilities, on account of expenditures for public improvements, it is interesting to note the result which has followed one of the largest single items of expenditure authorized by the city for such purpose, and which at the time of its inception was denounced by many as a measure of indefensible extravagance. We refer to the expenditures incurred by reason of the construction of the "Central Park;" the cost of which, up to 1869, is returned at \$10,463,965.00.

Now, an examination of all the facts pertaining to this expenditure will show, that, so far from its having been a burden upon the city treasury, it has really proved a direct and important source of revenue. Thus in 1856, before the Park was commenced, the total valuation of real estate for taxation in the three wards around the Park, the 12th, 19th, and 22d, was \$26,429,566.00; but in 1866, when the Park had been practically completed, the valuation of the same property for assessment was returned at \$30,070,415.00, an increase in ten years of \$53,640,850.00. And further, the revenue received by taxation on this increased valuation was sufficient, in 1870, to not only pay the interest on all the bonds of the city issued for the Park purchase and construction, but actually afforded a surplus of over (\$3,000,000) *three millions of dollars*; or a sum sufficient, if used as a sinking fund, to pay the entire principal and interest of the cost of the Park, in less time than the Park was in the course of construction.

ASSETS AND RESOURCES.

The maximum of the liabilities of the city and county, on account of indebtedness, having been thus estimated, we come next to the no less important consideration of the assets and resources available for the payment of such indebtedness; or the real tangible property which may be properly regarded in the nature of security or guaranty for the payment of such obligations of indebtedness as the city and county of New York may have lawfully issued.

Any valuation of the public property of the city must, from necessity, be very indefinite, inasmuch as many of the items which would be included in any inventory—as the streets, sewers, lamps, public monuments, and the like—

are not susceptible of a money valuation, and if attached would be practically of no benefit in the hands of a city creditor; but apart from these, it cannot be doubted that the value of the lands and buildings, wharfs, water, ferry, and market rights in possession of the city and county, and which can be readily convertible in open market into a money equivalent, is in excess of every present municipal or county indebtedness.

The valuation of the public property of the city of New York, given by the Mayor in an official communication to the Board of Supervisors, August 16th, 1871, was \$242,985,499.00.

In this valuation were comprised the following:

Markets.....	\$4,767,374 00
Sundry Lots of Land.....	2,719,307 00
Wharfs and Piers.....	13,322,433 00
Public Parks and Squares.....	106,416,490 00

Total.....	\$126,725,574 00
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Next to the so-called public property of the city and county, the property most readily available for attachment and levy in case of a default in the payment of the principal or interest of the city's indebtedness, is the real estate of the city and county, the revenue derived from the assessment and taxation of which constitutes also the main element and strength of its municipal credit.

The valuation of this class of property for the year 1871, as returned by the Commissioners of Taxes and confirmed by the Board of Supervisors, was \$769,306,410.00. But it ought to be clearly understood, that this valuation for tax purposes does not represent any fair valuation of the property assessed, or even an approximation thereto, and in great part for the following reasons:

The taxation required to defray the expenditures of the State, as a whole, is apportioned to the several counties of the State, according to their property valuation; and hence there has been for years, and is now, a strife between the different boards of county officials, to run down the valuation of property to the very lowest practical figure, in order to divert as large a proportion of the State taxation as possible from themselves, and throw it upon their neighbors; and as some of the counties in the interior of the State have been so successful in doing this, as to actually reduce their valuation to *thirty, twenty*, and even a smaller proportion of the real and true value of the property assessed, a similar course of procedure has been forced upon the tax officials of New York, as a matter of necessity and local protection. And thus it has come about that, instead of a returned assessment valuation of \$769,306,410.00, for 1871-'2, representing the true market value of the real estate of the city and county of New York, in private ownership, it does not, in all probability, represent more than *forty per cent.* of such true value; an estimate which, instead of being a conjecture, is based on a large amount of evidence, recently collected by an expert for the Board of Commissioners for Revising the Laws of the State relative to Taxation.

The conclusion, therefore, seems warranted that the value of the real estate of the city of New York—public and private—which may be fairly regarded as an available security for the liquidation of the city and county debts, can

not be less than *two thousand million dollars*, on which the present debt, as above estimated, namely, \$100,000,000, would be equivalent to a mortgage of five per cent.

In this estimate it will be observed that no account has been taken of the valuation of the personal property owned or held by citizens of the city or county of New York. The amount of such property valued and assessed for the year 1871-'2 was \$306,947,223.00. The investigations of the State Commissioners lead, however to the conclusion, that this amount does not represent so much as *twenty* per cent. of the real value of this description of property concentrated in the city of New York; or, in other words, that the true value of the personal property of New York city cannot be estimated at less than *fifteen hundred millions*. Much of this property, it must be acknowledged, can never be reached for assessment purposes by any law which the ingenuity of man can devise; or which any civilized people would tolerate in respect to execution; but, whether returned for assessment or not, it nevertheless exists, and by increasing the ability to pay, operates to decrease the real burden of taxation imposed on other property of a more tangible and accessible character.

It is also to be noted, that if the new plan of assessing personal property recommended by the State Board of Commissioners, and which is to be presented this winter to the Legislature in the form of a definite code, is adopted, namely, doing away with the direct assessment of individuals for personal property, and substituting therefor, as an equivalent, the assessment of individuals on a valuation of three times the rent or rental value of the premises by them occupied, the amount or equivalent of such property returned for assessment and taxation will be very greatly increased; and the financial resources of the city be thereby correspondingly augmented.

INCREASE OF NEW YORK IN POPULATION AND WEALTH.

In estimating the prospective ability of the city of New York to sustain and liquidate indebtedness, the recent and prospective increase of the city in population and wealth constitutes an element of not a little importance. Thus, from 1820 to the year preceding the outbreak of the civil war, 1860, the average rate of increase for each successive period of five years was 28 per cent.; a continuous rate of growth probably without precedent in any country. During the period of the war, or from 1860 to 1865, the population of the city decreased 9¼ per cent. Since 1865, or during the five years from 1865 to 1870 inclusive, the gain in population was 26¾ per cent.; thus indicating that the average rate of increase experienced prior to 1860, was again likely to be approximated.

The increase in the valuation of the property of the city and county for assessment purposes, during the *ten* years from 1860 to 1870, was 8½ per cent.

The present increase in the value of the real estate of the whole city for assessment purposes, is estimated by experts to average about *five* per cent. per annum.*

* The annual message of the Mayor tells us New York has an area of twenty-two square miles, and twenty-nine miles of water front; four hundred and sixty miles of streets, roads, and avenues, nineteen thousand street gaslights, and is penetrated underground by three hundred and forty miles of Croton water pipes, and two hundred and seventy-five miles of sewers; has a population of nearly a million, one thousand horse-railway cars, two hundred and sixty-seven omnibuses, about twelve thousand licensed vehicles, and as many more private vehicles; a city which, in ten months, paid the Federal Government one hundred and

RELATION OF TAXATION TO POPULATION AND PROPERTY.

It is also interesting to note the relation which taxation sustains to population and property in New York and some of the other leading cities of the country. The following data are derived from the most authentic sources:

CITY OF NEW YORK.—Population, 1870, 952,292; aggregate State, city, county, and school taxes, 1870, \$25,403,859.00; special taxes as estimated by officials, \$2,000,000.00; total taxation, \$27,403,859.00. Taxation *per capita*, \$29.08.

BOSTON.—Population, 1870, 250,525; aggregate of all taxation, 1870, \$9,050,420.00; taxation *per capita*, \$36.00.

CHICAGO.—Population, 1870, 298,977; total taxation, general and special, 1870, \$9,356,333.00; taxation *per capita*, \$30.00.

But as in the opinion of some experts the burdens of taxation in any community are properly represented by the relation which the aggregate of the annual levy of taxes sustains to the value of property assessed, attention is further asked to the following comparisons:

In Boston and Philadelphia real estate is returned for assessment at nearly its full marketable value. On this basis the relation of taxation to real estate valuation in these two cities would be as follows:

BOSTON real estate valuation, 1870, \$365,593,100.00; aggregate taxation, 1870, \$9,050,420.00; ratio of taxation to real property valuation, 1 to 40.

PHILADELPHIA real estate valuation, 1871, \$491,844,096.00; aggregate taxation, 1871, \$9,026,753.00; ratio of taxation to real property valuation, 1 to 54.

CINCINNATI real estate valuation as made anew for 1871, \$123,427,888.00; aggregate taxation, 1871, \$4,004,035.00; ratio of taxation to real property valuation, 1 to 30.

In the city of New York, on the other hand, on valuation of real estate acknowledged to be only about 40 per cent. of the real property, the ratio of aggregate taxation to real property valuation would have been in 1870, as 1 to 27; but if the valuation of the real estate of New York were advanced in proportion to the value taken for assessment purposes in Boston and Philadelphia, the ratio, instead of being as 1 to 27, would be much more favorable than in either of the cities above mentioned, or in the approximative ratio of at least 1 to 65.

It is therefore evident, that in comparison with the actual accumulated and tangible wealth of the city of New York, any liability, on account of indebtedness, which the city has as yet incurred, or is prospectively likely to incur, is very insignificant; and, with a reasonably honest, efficient, and economical government, such as public opinion and legislative authority, guided by recent experience, seems certain to compel, there can be no good reason why the interest-bearing debt obligations of the city should not be regarded as the most desirable of investments. I am, yours, most respectfully,

DAVID A. WELLS.

Chairman Board of Commissioners for Revision of the Laws of the State of New York relating to the Assessment and Collection of Taxes.

To Hon. JOHN T. HOFFMAN, Governor of the State of New York.

twenty millions of dollars for duties on imports, and exported in the same time two hundred and fifty-one millions of dollars' worth of merchandise.—*Note by the Author.*

I have also received a letter, dated 29th December, 1871, from Hon. Andrew H. Green, Comptroller of the city of New York, in which he says:

"Immediate legislation is essential for the maintenance of the credit of the city by the meeting of the obligations maturing early in January, and to make provision for past claims which are due and which are of pressing importance. Equally important is prompt legislation to make provision for the maintenance of the Government of 1872.

"As the law appears now (Chap. 583, sec. 3, of 1871), no authority exists to make appropriations till May next, leaving the four first months of the year 1872 without any provision by which payments of necessary expenses for these months can be made."

I respectfully ask your immediate attention to those suggestions, and such early legislation with reference to them as may be necessary and proper.

JOHN T. HOFFMAN.

APPENDIX XV.

HISTORY OF THE SCHOOLS AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK CITY.

ADDRESS

DELIVERED AT THE ORGANIZATION MEETING OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC
INSTRUCTION OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, ON THE 29TH DAY OF
APRIL, 1871, BY THE PRESIDING OFFICER,

COMMISSIONER HOOPER C. VAN VORST.

* * The sentiment of the people of New York in favor of public instruction was early developed, and has been of constant, steady, and progressive growth. It has long since been fixed as a wise State policy. Even in its colonial condition some efforts were made in that direction; but when the State had come to be thoroughly organized, and its political status established, one of the first of its deliberate acts was a provision made for the organization of a system of instruction for the young. The importance, as a measure of State, of the establishment of a system of common-school education was apparent to the mind of Gov. George Clinton, who, as early as 1792, called attention of the Legislature to it in his annual message. Under his administration, and upon his recommendation, the first important and practical legislation was had looking to the foundation of a sound system of public instruction, and the sum of fifty thousand dollars a year—a large appropriation for those days—for five years was made for this object. In 1798, and before the expiration of the five years limited by the act, schools had been established in a majority of the then counties of the State, and about sixty thousand children during that year received public instruction. The legislation so happily inaugurated by Governor Clinton was further supported by subsequent executives and legislatures. Through the encouragement of Governors Jay and Tompkins in the early period of its history, and in later years of Governors Marcy, Seward, and others,

all legislation needed to firmly establish and liberally sustain the system was from time to time secured. It is impracticable now to follow the various stages in the history of this important subject. But its movement, although at times retarded, steadily progressed. Appropriations were from time to time made as its wants demanded, and funds were established for its support and complete administration. The amount of public money now appropriated in the various districts of the State for the support of free schools exceeds ten millions of dollars, and which sum is chiefly raised by direct taxation; and the number of children who received instruction during the past year is about nine hundred and seventy thousand. To such a magnitude has this system grown in the State, under its fostering care, in the space of about sixty years.

NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS.

But I beg to call attention for a few moments to the history of the schools of this city, which has a peculiar interest to us. When that distinguished statesman, De Witt Clinton, was Mayor of the city of New York, a Free School Society was established in the city "for the education of such poor children as do not belong to or are not provided for by any religious society." This organization was formed in pursuance of an act of incorporation obtained from the Legislature, the Mayor himself being one of the incorporators, and the first President of the Society. The first school under this act of incorporation was opened in the year 1806. It depended chiefly for its support on the contributions of the benevolent. In the course of twenty years this excellent society had established in the city several well-organized schools, for the support of which they had received both municipal and State aid.

PUBLIC SCHOOL SOCIETY OF NEW YORK CITY.

In the year 1826 the various schools of this society, together with others which were in existence and not under its control, were united and directed under the management of a corporation called the "Public School Society." This organization gave a new impulse to the cause of popular education, and placed the whole system on a broader basis and infused new energy in all its operations. This society performed a most useful service to the State and to the cause of education during the period of its existence, and those who managed its affairs deserve high commendation for their disinterested public service. During the existence of this society not less than six hundred thousand youth of the city had been educated, and a large number of teachers prepared for service. The Board of Education was organized under an act of the Legislature, passed April 18th, 1842, which act extended to the city of New York the common-school system which prevailed in the other portions of the State, the schools under which were managed by officers elected by the people for the purpose. The Board of Education commenced its operations as soon as its measures could be perfected, and proceeded to erect school-houses and gather scholars for instruction. It was evident that the mission of the "Public School Society" was now over, that it was neither wise nor economical to have two systems of instruction proceeding at the same time, in the same field of operation; it would lead to conflict of opinion, and that both judicious action and usefulness would be impaired. This was soon felt by all the friends of education and good government. The necessity for unity of system, and

administration without distraction became manifest. In 1853, an act of the Legislature was passed authorizing the Public School Society to discontinue its organization, and to transfer its property, real and personal, to the city of New York, and a portion of its trustees to become Commissioners at large of the common schools of the city and members of the Board of Education; and its property, valued at over \$600,000.00, under the act, and by the action of the society itself, passed to the control of the Board of Education, upon whom the administration of the common-school system was thenceforth solely to depend. The influence of the consolidation of these two organizations into one harmonious body was beneficial to the salutary working of the system.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

Since the year 1853 and up to the present time, the public schools of New York have been under the control of this organization, called the "Board of Education," the members of which have been elected by the people, and during that period of time our school system has attained to its present great prosperity and usefulness. Under its care and management has been perfected a wise and judicious system of instruction; it has progressed and expanded and adapted itself to the improvements which have taken place in science and arts and the methods of instruction. The cause of education or its administration has not been stationary. It has steadily grown and increased in its means of usefulness. It has appropriated to itself and endeavored to put in practice in the schools whatever experience has established to be beneficial in method or subjects of instruction. The results of its operations may this day be regarded with emotions of honorable pride by every citizen of New York. Under the means and influences which this Board has furnished, the great mass of the children and youth of the city have been educated. Contemplate for one moment the result of its work. It has established and well maintained thirty-four Primary Departments and Schools, in which were instructed this day at least sixty-five thousand children. It has established and well maintained eighty-nine Grammar Schools, male and female, in which were instructed this day over thirty-five thousand children.

The system of instruction of the males terminates in a full and complete course of collegiate education of four years in the College of New York, fitting and preparing them for any sphere of action or usefulness in life; and that of the females in a Normal College, which at this time contains over one thousand pupils who are themselves being educated and trained to become the teachers and guides of others. The number of schools wholly under the control of the Board of Education was 221, in addition to which there are some fifty corporate schools, partly under the charge of this Board, and who participate in the enjoyment of the public moneys. In the work of instruction are daily engaged 363 male teachers and 2,326 female teachers, making a total of 2,689 teachers. And the extent of the work accomplished by these earnest and painstaking toilers in this interesting department of the work of life, charged with so much responsibility for the present and future, to the individual and to the State, may be appreciated when it is considered that during the year past nearly 235,000 pupils have received instruction in the public schools, and that the average daily attendance in all the schools under the charge of the Board is over one hundred thousand.

FEMALE TEACHERS.

When it is considered that quite eight tenths of all the instruction of the youth of the city of New York, of both sexes, is performed by females, no one can well exaggerate the importance of the results to follow from the establishment of the Normal College for their education and discipline. This institution, completely and thoroughly organized during the past year, under its efficient President and able corps of teachers and instructors, may well command the interested attention and invoke the best wishes and prayers of all who are interested in successful and useful education. But the Board of Education, as the other organizations which have preceded it, has done its work. Under that name it belongs to the past. But from this rapid summary of what it has accomplished it must be conceded that its mission was a good one, and its work, if not perfect, was at least well done.

THE NEW DEPARTMENT.

The Department of Public Instruction, under the recent act of the Legislature amending the city charter, now commences its career under our direction as its Commissioners. I have deemed it proper to give this brief but yet very imperfect survey of the past history and accomplishment of the cause of education in New York, in order that we may be sensibly and properly impressed with the importance of the work in which we are engaged, and with the magnitude of the trust to which we have, by the appointment of the Mayor of New York, succeeded. The change at this time wrought is not in the system of the schools, nor in their administration, nor in the course of instruction. Nothing is extended or diminished. The recent act establishes a connection between the administration of public instruction and the municipal government. The Department of Public Instruction is in name and in fact a branch and department of the city government. If instruction is the business of the State, this is as it should be. Our duties as Commissioners are no more and no less than they were as members of the Board of Education.

But as Commissioners of Public Instruction our term of office has been extended, nor may the number of this body be increased or diminished, except by force of additional legislation or by death or resignation of the members. There is, then, before this Commission, a term of five years for disinterested and useful devotion to the cause of education, and the good of the State, and the happiness and welfare of its people. We have succeeded to the public schools when they are in successful operation, well officered with principals and teachers; and when they enjoy to a very large extent the confidence, and when they are earnestly regarded with the warm interest of the people. For we all know that these schools lie close to the heart of the people of this great metropolis.

We take these schools when our city has a population of one million of souls, and at a time when the proper education and discipline of our youth is justly regarded by every observing mind as the foundation of the continued prosperity and safety of the State and city. Those who have preceded us have so perfected and amplified the subjects and methods of instruction as to have brought the means of education and the acquisition of useful elementary knowledge, in an attractive form, to every house, and within the reach of every child in the city, of teachable years. They have erected for us large, commodious, and

well-ventilated school-houses, constructed with reference to the comfort, cheerfulness, and health of the teacher and the pupils. We have, at our hands, already supplied books and apparatus such as are suggested by the latest improvements in arts and science, and advanced methods of instruction. And we have to aid us an able and experienced Superintendent of the schools, with his assistants, upon whom is imposed the duty of visitation and examination, without which no system is complete, and a large band of skilled teachers and instructors eager for the discharge of their duties, and ready to co-operate with us and second our efforts to further extend the blessings and advantages of education. Both the State and city are liberal in the dispensation of their funds to us; no reasonable demand for money for the purpose of public instruction has ever been denied. For the coming year there is placed at our disposal two million seven hundred thousand dollars. These weighty considerations should give us a corresponding sense of our duties and responsibilities, and we should be prepared to bring to this work a disposition faithfully and as intelligently as we can, to discharge its duties, as we will justly be held to a great accountability. Ours is not a work of construction, but of improvement and extension.

* * * * *

Dr. Franklin, as early as 1752, advocated a scheme for the education of the youth in Pennsylvania, which embraced instruction in book-keeping, the rudiments of geometry, astronomy, geography, history, logic, and natural science.

In addition to the Latin and Greek, he advocated instruction in the French, German, and Spanish languages. To all of which was to be added good morals and good manners. Franklin thus early saw how useful to the American youth, business man, and citizen, would prove the knowledge of these modern tongues—the languages of people with whom, as he foresaw, we were to have extensive commercial intercourse, and who in a great degree would in time become a constituent part of our own people. * * *

Gentlemen, in the administration of this trust, as Commissioners of Public Instruction, let us be ever impressed with its importance and its responsibility. Let it be our office to devote our time and our attention to the duties of the place. Let it be ours to suggest and carry out any needed improvement and just advance in the cause of education and in methods and systems of instruction, and where errors exist let us correct them in all cases. Let us see to it that the youth of this generation be well instructed; let us place within their reach every means of knowledge which will make their lives more useful and happy, and enable them to become good citizens of the Republic, always remembering that no system of education is valuable which does not tend to improve the intellect, strengthen the physical and develop the moral nature.

No education is valuable which does not lead the pupil into habits of right thought, knowledge, and action, and which does not furnish him with the means to be of service to the State, by being a law-abiding, peaceful, intelligent, and virtuous citizen, whose highest aim in life is to be faithful in all his relations to his God, his country, and mankind.

APPENDIX XVI.

NEW YORK SOCIETY IN THE OLDEN TIME.

BY RT. REV. BISHOP KIP.*

To lament the days that are gone, and believe the past better than the present, is a tendency which has been remarked as far back as the days of Solomon. "Say not thou," says the wise king, "What is the cause that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not inquire wisely concerning this." However this may be, it is a propensity, which has always existed, to compare unfavorably the present with the distant past. The Golden Age of which poets sang was in "our fathers' day, and in the old time before them."

From this feeling the writer realizes that he is not free, and, in many respects, might be inclined to impute his estimate of the present to the waning light in which he sees it. When dealing, however, with facts with which he is well acquainted, he feels that he cannot be prejudiced; and in this way it is that he contrasts the society of the present with that which once existed in New York. From his distant home he looks back on the rush and hurry of life as it now exists in his native city; and, while he realizes its increased glitter and splendor, he feels that it has depreciated from the dignity and high tone which once characterized it.

Of the society of the olden time he can, of course, know but little by actual experience. His knowledge of it began when the old *regime* was just passing away. In the days of his childhood, the men of the Revolution were fast going down to the grave. Of these he knew some in their old age. His father's contemporaries, however, were somewhat younger, though brought up under the same influences. But when that generation departed, the spirit which had aided in forming their characters had gone also, never again to be felt. To many of these men he looked up as if they were superior beings; and, indeed, he has felt, in all his passage through life, that he has never seen the equals of those who then stood forward prominently in public affairs.

* This article originally appeared in *Putnam's Magazine* for September, 1870.

The earliest notice we have of colonial society is in Mrs. Grant's delightful *American Lady*. She was the daughter of a British officer who came over with troops during the old French war, and her reminiscences begin about 1760. Her residence was principally in Albany, with the Schuyler family. Still, she was brought in contact with the leading families of the colony, and, as she was in the habit of often visiting New York, she learned much of the state of things in that city. She writes thus of the old Dutch and colonial families of that day: "They bore about them the tokens of former affluence and respectability, such as family plate, portraits of their ancestors executed in a superior style, and great numbers of original paintings, some of which were much admired by acknowledged judges." In New York, of course, the highest degree of refinement was to be seen, and she says: "An expensive and elegant style of living began already to take place in New York, which was, from the residence of the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, become the seat of a little court."

Society, in that day, was very stationary. About 1635 the first Dutch settlers came out, and the country was much of it occupied by their large grants, many of which had attached to them manorial rights. They brought with them some of the social distinctions of the old country. In the cities of Holland, for a long time, there had been "great" and "small" burgher rights. In Amsterdam the "great burghers" monopolized all the offices, and were also exempt from attainder and confiscation of goods. The "small burghers" had the freedom of trade only. In 1657 this "great burgher" right was introduced into New Amsterdam by Governor Stuyvesant.

About fifty years after the arrival of the early Dutch settlers, they were followed by the Huguenots, driven abroad principally by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and including in their number members of some of the best families in France. Thus came the Jays, De Lanceys, Rapaljes, De Peysters, Pintards, &c. In 1688 the English took possession of the colony, and, from that time, English settlers increased. The colony became (as Paulding says) "a place in which to provide for younger sons." Still, this often brought out scions of distinguished families and the best blood in England.

Thus matters stood until the Revolution. The country was parceled out among great proprietors. We can trace them from the city of "New Amsterdam" to the northern part of the State. In what is now the thickly-populated city were the lands of the Stuyvesants, originally the *Bowerie* of the old Governor. Next above was the grant to the Kip family, called "Kip's Bay," made in 1633. In the center of the island were the possessions of the De Lanceys. Opposite, on Long Island, was the grant to the Laurence family. We cross over Harlaem River and reach "Morrissanea," given to the Morris family. Beyond this, on the East River, was "De Lancey's Farm," another grant to that powerful family; while on the Hudson, to the west, was the lower Van Courtlandt manor, and the Phillipse manor. Above, at Peekskill, was the upper manor of the Van Courtlandts. Then came the manor of Livingston. Then the Beekmans, then the manor of Kipsburgh, purchased by the Kip family from the Indians, in 1686, and made a royal grant by Governor Dongan, two years afterward. Still higher up was the Van Rensselaer manor, twenty-four miles by forty-eight; and, above that, the possessions of the Schuylers. Further west, on the Mohawk, were the broad lands of Sir William Johnson,

created a baronet for his services in the old French and Indian wars, who lived in a rude magnificence at Johnson Hall. All this was sacrificed by his son, Sir John, for the sake of loyalty, when he took up arms for the King and was driven into Canada. The title, however, is still held by his grandson, and stands recorded in the baronetage of England.

The very names of places, in some cases, show their history. Such, for instance, is that of Yonkers. The word "Junker" (pronounced *Yunker*), in the languages of northern Europe, means the nobly-born—the gentleman. In West Chester, on the Hudson River, still stands the old manor-house of the Phillipse family. The writer remembers, in his early days, when visiting there, the large rooms and richly-ornamented ceilings, with quaint old formal gardens about the house. When, before the Revolution, Mr. Phillipse lived there, "lord of all he surveyed," he was always spoken of by his tenantry as "the Yonker"—the gentleman—*par excellence*. In fact, he was the only person of that social rank in that part of the country. In this way the town, which subsequently grew up about the old manor-house, took the name of Yonkers.

This was a state of things which existed in no other part of the continent. In new England there were scarcely any large landed proprietors. The country was divided up among small farmers; and, when the Revolution commenced, the people almost unanimously espoused its cause. The aristocratic element, which in New York rallied around the Crown, was here entirely wanting. The only exception to this which we can remember, was the case of the Gardiners, of Maine. Their wide lands were confiscated for their loyalty; but, on account of some informality, after the Revolution, they managed to recover their property, and are still seated as Gardiner.

At the South, where so much was said about their being "the descendants of the Cavaliers," there were no such feudal relations. The planters had no tenantry; they had slaves. Their system, therefore, was similar to that of the serfdom of Russia. With the colonial families of New York it was the English feudal system.

Hereditary landed property was, in that day, invested with the same dignity in New York which it has now in Europe; and, for more than a century, these families retained their possessions, and directed the infant colony. They formed a *coterie* of their own, and, generation after generation, married among themselves. Turn to the early records of New York, and you find all places of official dignity filled by a certain set of familiar names, many of which, since the Revolution have entirely disappeared. As we have remarked, they occupied a position similar to that of the English country gentleman, with his many tenants, and were everywhere looked up to with the same kind of respect which is now accorded to them. Their position was an acknowledged one, for social distinctions then were marked and undisputed. They were the persons who were placed in office in the Provincial Council and Legislature, and no one pretended to think it strange. "They," says a writer on that day, "were the gentry of the country, to whom the country, without a rebellious thought, took off its hat."

In that age the very dress plainly marked the distinctions in society. No one who saw a gentleman could mistake his social position. Those people of a century ago now look down upon us from their portraits, in costumes which, in our day, we see nowhere but on the stage. Velvet coats with gold lace, large

sleeves, and ruffles at the hands, wigs and embroidered vests, with the accompanying rapier, are significant of a class removed from the rush and bustle of life—the "*nati consumere fruges*"—whose occupation was not—to toil. No one, in that day, below their degree, assumed their dress; nor was the lady surpassed in costliness of attire by her servant. In fact, at that time there were gentlemen and ladies, and there were servants.

The manner in which these great landed estates were arranged fostered a feudal feeling. They were granted by Government to the proprietors on condition that, in a certain number of years, they settled so many tenants upon them. These settlers were generally Germans of the lower class, who had been brought over free. Not being able to pay their passage-money, the captain took them without charge, and then they were sold by him to the landed proprietors for a certain number of years, in accordance with the size of the family. The sum received remunerated him for the passage-money. They were called, in that day, *Redemptioners*; and, by the time their term of service—sometimes extending to seven years—had expired, they were acquainted with the ways of the country and its manner of farming, had acquired some knowledge of the language, and were prepared to set up for themselves. Thus both parties were benefited. The landed proprietor fulfilled his contract with the Government, and the Redemptioners were trained for becoming independent settlers.

From these Redemptioners many of the wealthy farming families now living in the Hudson River counties are descended. In an early day they purchased lands which enriched their children. The writer's father once told him of an incident which occurred in his grandfather's family. One of his German tenants, having served out his time of several years' duration, brought to his late owner a bag of gold which had come with him from the old country, and was sufficient to purchase a farm. "But," said his master, in surprise, "how comes it, Hans, with all this money, that you did not pay your passage, instead of serving as a Redemptioner so long?" "Oh," said the cautious emigrant from the Rhine, "I did not know English, and I should have been cheated. Now I know all about the country, and I can set up for myself."

These tenants, however, looked up with unbounded reverence to the landed proprietors who owned them, and it took much more than one generation to enable them to shake off this feeling, or begin to think of a social equality.

There was, in succeeding times, one curious result of this system in the confusion of family names. These German Redemptioners often had but one name. For instance, a man named Paulus was settled as a tenant on an estate. As his children grew up, they needed something to distinguish them. They were Paulus' Jan, and Paulus' Hendrick. This naturally changed to Jan Paulus and Hendrick Paulus, and thus Paulus became the family name.

This was well enough. But they frequently took the name of their proprietor. He was known as Morris' Paulus, and this, in the next generation, naturally changed to Paulus Morris, and his children assumed that as their family name. In this way there are many families in the State of New York bearing the names of the old landed proprietors, which have been thus derived.

Some years ago a literary gentleman, who was compiling facts with regard to the early history of the State, came to the writer very much puzzled. "Who," said he, "are these people? I find their names in Dutchess County; and yet, looking at Holgate's pedigree of that family, I see they cannot belong

to it. Where did they come from, and where do they belong?" The above account was a satisfactory solution of the mystery.

But to return to this system. It was carried out to an extent of which, in this day, most persons are ignorant. On the Van Rensselaer manor there were, at one time, several thousand tenants, and their gathering was like that of the Scottish clans. When a member of the family died, they came down to Albany to do honor at the funeral, and many were the hogsheads of good ale which were broached for them. They looked up to the "Patroon" with a reverence which was still lingering in the writer's early day, notwithstanding the inroads of democracy. And before the Revolution, this feeling was shared by the whole country. When it was announced in New York, a century ago, that the Patroon was coming down from Albany by land, the day he was expected to reach the city crowds turned out to see him enter in his coach and-four.

The reference to the funerals at the Rensselaer manor-house reminds us of a description of the burial of Philip Livingston, one of the proprietors of Livingston manor, in February, 1749, taken from a paper of that day. It will show something of the customs of the times. The services were performed both at his town-house in New York, and at the manor. "In the city, the lower rooms of most of the houses in Broad Street, where he resided, were thrown open to receive visitors. A pipe of wine was spiced for the occasion, and to each of the eight bearers, with a pair of gloves, mourning-ring, scarf, and handkerchief, a *monkey-spoon* was given." (This was so called from the figure of an ape or monkey, which was carved *in solido* at the extremity of the handle. It differed from a common spoon in having a circular and very shallow bowl.) "At the manor these ceremonies were all repeated, another pipe of wine was spiced, and, besides the same presents to the bearers, a pair of black gloves and a handkerchief were given to each of the tenants. The whole expense was said to amount to £500."

Now, all this was a state of things and a manner of social life totally unknown in New England. We have already mentioned that most of its inhabitants were small farmers, wringing their subsistence from the earth by hard labor. Here were literally no *servants*, but a perfect social equality existed in the rural districts. Their "helps" were the sons and daughters of neighboring farmers, poorer than themselves, who for a time took these situations, but considered themselves as good as their employers. The comparatively wealthy men were in their cities.

No two races of men could be more different than the New Yorkers of that day and the people of New England. There was a perfect contrast in all their habits of social life and ways of thinking. The Dutch disliked the *Yankees*, as they called them, most thoroughly. This feeling is shown, in a ludicrous way, through the whole of Irving's "Knickerbocker." "The Dutch and the Yankees," he says, "never got together without fighting."

There is a curious development of this prejudice in the following clause, which was inserted in the will of a member of a distinguished colonial family of New York, dated 1760. "It is my wish that my son, ———, may have the best education that is to be had in England or America; but my express will and directions are, that he never be sent, for that purpose, to the Connecticut colonies, lest he should imbibe, in his youth, that low craft and cunning so incidental to the people of that country, which is so interwoven in their consti-

tutions that all their acts cannot disguise it from the world, though many of them, under the sanctified garb of religion, have endeavored to impose themselves on the world as honest men."

Once in a year, generally, the gentry of New York went to the city to transact their business and make their purchases. There they mingled, for a time, in its gayeties, and were entertained at the court of the Governor. These dignitaries were generally men of high families in England. One of them, for instance—Lord Cornbury—was a blood-relative of the royal family. They copied the customs and imitated the etiquette enforced "at home," and the rejoicings and sorrowings, the thanksgivings and fasts, which were ordered at Whitehall, were repeated again on the banks of the Hudson. Some years ago the writer was looking over the records of the old Dutch Church in New York, when he found, carefully filed away, some of the proclamations for these services. One of them, giving notice of a thanksgiving-day, in the reign of William and Mary, for some victory in the Low Countries, puts the celebration off a fortnight, to give time for the news to reach Albany.

During the rest of the year these landlords resided among their tenantry, on their estates; and about many of their old country-houses were associations gathered, often coming down from the first settlements of the country, giving them an interest which can never invest the new residences of those whom later times elevated through wealth. Such was the Van Courtlandt manor-house, with its wainscoted rooms and its guest-chamber; the Rensselaer manor-house, where of old had been entertained Talleyrand and the exiled princes from Europe; the Schuyler house, so near the Saratoga battle-field, and marked by memories of that glorious event in the life of its owner—(alas, that it should have passed away from its founder's family!), and the residence of the Livingstons, on the banks of the Hudson, of which Louis Philippe expressed such grateful recollection when, after his elevation to the throne, he met, in Paris, the son of his former host.

There was one more of these old places of which we would write, to preserve some memories which are now fast fading away, because it was within the bounds of our city, and was invested with so many historical associations connected with the Revolution. It is the house at Kip's Bay. Though many years have passed since it was swept away by the encroachments of the city, yet it exists among the recollections of the writer's earliest days, when it was still occupied by the family of its founder, and regarded as their first home on this continent. It was erected in 1655, by Jacobus Kip, Secretary of the Council, who received a grant of that part of the island. There is in the possession of the family a picture of it as it appeared at the time of the Revolution, when still surrounded by venerable oaks. It was a large double house, with three windows on one side of the door and two on the other, with one large wing. On the right hand of the hall was the dining-room, running from front to rear, with two windows looking out over the bay, and two over the country on the other side. This was the room which was afterwards invested with interest from its connection with Major Andre. In the rear of the house was a pear-tree, planted by the ladies of the family in 1700, which bore fruit until its destruction in 1851. In this house five generations of the family were born.

Then came the Revolution, and Sargent, in his "Life of Andre," thus gives

its history in those stirring times: "Where now in New York is the unalluring and crowded neighborhood of the Second Avenue and Thirty-fifth Street, stood in 1780 the ancient *Bowerie* or country-seat of Jacobus Kip. Built in 1655, of bricks brought from Holland, encompassed by pleasant trees, and in easy view of the sparkling waters of Kip's Bay, on the East River, the mansion remained, even to our own times, in possession of one of its founder's line. Here" (continues Sargent, incorporating the humorous recollections of Irving's "Knickerbocker") spread the same smiling meadows, whose appearance had so expanded the heart of Oloffe the Dreamer, in the fabulous ages of the colony; here still nodded the groves that had echoed back the thunder of Henry Kip's musketoon, when that mighty warrior left his name to the surrounding waves. When Washington was in the neighborhood, Kip's house had been his quarters; when Howe crossed from Long Island on Sunday, September 15th, 1776, he debarked at the rocky point hard by, and his skirmishers drove our people from their position behind the dwelling. Since then it had known many guests. Howe, Clinton, Knipphausen, Percy, were sheltered by its roof. The aged owner, with his wife and daughter, remained; but they had always an officer of distinction quartered with them; and if a part of the family were in arms for Congress, as is alleged, it is certain that others were active for the Crown. Samuel Kip, of Kipsburgh, led a cavalry troop of his own tenantry with great gallantry in De Lancey's regiment; and, despite severe wounds, survived long after the war, a heavy pecuniary sufferer by the cause which, with most of the landed gentry of New York, he had espoused."

In 1780, it was held by Colonel Williams, of the 80th royal regiment; and here, on the evening of the 19th of September, he gave a dinner to Sir Henry Clinton and his staff, as a parting compliment to Andre. The aged owner of the house was present; and, when the Revolution was over, he described the scene and the incidents of that dinner. At the table, Sir Henry Clinton announced the departure of Andre, next morning, on a secret and most important expedition, and added (what we have never seen mentioned in any other account, and showing what was to have been Andre's reward), "Plain John Andre will come back Sir John Andre."*

Andre—it was said by Mr. Kip—was evidently depressed, and took but little part in the merriment about him; and when, in his turn, it became necessary for him to sing, he gave the favorite military *chanson* attributed to Wolfe, who sang it on the eve of the battle of Quebec, in which he died:

"Why, soldiers, why,
Should we be melancholy, boys?
Why, soldiers, why,
Whose business 'tis to die?
For should the next campaign
Send us to Him who made us, boys,
We're free from pain:
But should we remain,
A bottle and kind landlady
Makes all well again."

* Mrs. General Riedesel was at this dinner-party, and was one of the guests, who bade Major Andre farewell.—See Stone's *Letters of Mrs. General Riedesel*, translated from the German. *Vide* also page 266 of this work, where Mrs. Riedesel speaks of her parting with Andre.

His biographer, after copying this account, adds: "How brilliant soever the company, how cheerful the repast, its memory must ever have been fraught with sadness to both host and guests. It was the last occasion of Andre's meeting his comrades in life. Four short days gone, the hands then clasped by friendship were fettered by hostile bonds; yet nine days more, and the darling of the army, the youthful hero of the hour, had dangled from a gibbet."

After the Revolution the place remained in its owner's possession, for his age had fortunately prevented him from taking any active part in the contest. And when Washington, in the hour of his triumph, returned to New York, he went out to visit again those who, in 1776, had been his involuntary hosts. Dr. Francis relates an interesting little incident which occurred at the visit: "On the old road towards Kingsbridge, on the eastern side of the island, was the well-known Kip's Farm, pre-eminently distinguished for its grateful fruits—the plum, the peach, the pear, and the apple—and for its choice culture of the *rosaceæ*. Here the *élite* often repaired, and here our Washington, now invested with Presidential honors, made an excursion, and was presented with the *rosa gallica*, an exotic first introduced into this country in this garden—fit emblem of that memorable union of France and the American colonies in the cause of Republican freedom."

In 1851 this old place was demolished. It had then stood two hundred and twelve years, and was the oldest house on the island. It was swallowed up by the growth of the mighty metropolis, and Thirty-fifth Street runs over the spot where once stood the old mansion. A short time after it was deserted, the writer made his last visit to it, while most of it was still standing, and the stone coat-of-arms over the hall-door was projecting from the half-demolished wall. As he stood in the old dining-room, there came back to him visions of the many noble and chivalrous men who, in the last two centuries, had feasted within its walls. But all these, like the place itself, now live only in the records of the past.

Such was life in those early days among the colonial families in the country and the city. It was simple and unostentatious, yet marked by an affluence of everything which could minister to comfort, and also a degree of elegance in the surroundings which created a feeling of true refinement. Society was easy and natural, without the struggle for precedence which now is so universal; for then every one's antecedents were known, and their positions were fixed. The intermarriages, which for more than a century were taking place between the landed families, bound them together, and promoted a harmony of feeling now not often seen. There were, in that day, such things as old associations, and men lived in the past, instead of, as in these times, looking only to the future.

The system of slavery, too, which prevailed, added to the ease of domestic life. Negro slaves, at an early day, had been introduced into the colony, and every family of standing possessed some. They were employed but little as field-laborers, but every household had a few who were domestic servants. Like Abraham's servants, they were all "born in the house." They shared the same religious instruction with the children of the family, and felt, in every respect, as if they were members of it. This mild form of slavery was like the system which existed under the tents of the patriarchs on the plains of

Mamre; and there certainly never were happier people than those "men-servants and maid-servants." They were seldom separated from their families, or sold. The latter was reserved as an extreme case for the incorrigible, and a punishment to which it was hardly ever necessary to resort.

The clansmen of Scotland could not take more pride in the prosperity of their chief's family than did these sable retainers in New Amsterdam. In domestic affairs they assumed a great freedom of speech, and, in fact, family affairs were discussed and settled as fully in the kitchen as in the parlor. The older servants, indeed, exercised as full control over the children of the family as did their parents. As each black child attained the age of six or seven years, it was formally presented to a son or daughter of the family, and was his or her particular attendant. This union continued often through life, and of stronger instances of fidelity we have never heard than were exhibited in some of these cases. Fidelity and affection, indeed, formed the bond between master and slave, to a degree which can never exist in this day with hired servants.*

This state of things continued far down into the present century. In the writer's early day his father owned slaves for domestic servants, and he very well remembers, when visiting the place of a relative on the Hudson River, seeing the number of slaves about the house. At that time, however, the system was just going out; it had lost its interesting features, and the slaves, still remaining at those old places, had become a source of care and anxiety to their owners.

The charm of life in that day was its stability. There was no chance then for *parvenuism*—no stocks in which to dabble, no sudden fortunes made. There was but little commerce between the colony and the mother-country, and men who embarked in this business were contented to spend their lives in acquiring a competence. They never aspired to rival the landed families. With the latter, life flowed on from one generation to another in the same even way. They lived on their broad lands, and, when they died, the eldest son inherited the family residence, while the others were portioned off with farms belonging to the estate, but which it could well spare. On their carriages and their silver were their arms, which they had brought with them from Europe, by which every one knew them, which were used as matters of course, and were distinctions no one ventured to assume, unless entitled to them. Sometimes these were carved in stone and placed over their doors. This was the case with the Walton House, which we believe is still standing in Franklin Square (Pearl Street); and, as we have already mentioned, with the Kip's Bay House. The windows of the first Dutch church built in New York were filled with the arms of the families at whose expense it was erected.

In 1774, John Adams, on his way to attend the first Congress, stopped in New York. The honest Bostonian was very much struck with "the opulence and splendor of the city," and "the elegance of their mode of living," and in his Journal freely records his admiration. He speaks of "the elegant country-seats on the island;" the Broad Way, a fine street, very wide, and in a right line from one end to the other of the city;" "the magnificent new church then building which was to cost £20,000;" the Bowling Green, which he describes as "the beautiful ellipse of land railed in with solid iron, in the centre of

* In this connection see page 148.—*Author*.

which is a statue of His Majesty on horseback, very large, of solid lead, gilded with gold, on a pedestal of marble, very high." He records that "the streets of the town are vastly more regular and elegant than those of Boston, and the the houses are more grand, as well as neat."

The most amusing display is when he is invited to one of these country-seats, "near Hudson's River." He writes: "A more elegant breakfast I never saw: rich plate, a very large silver coffee-pot, a very large silver tea-pot, napkins of the very finest materials, toast and bread and butter in great perfection. After breakfast a plate of beautiful peaches, another of pears, and a muskmelon, were placed on the table."

It is evident, however, from his Journal, that he saw little of the best families. He was not in a situation to be feted by them, for they had no sympathy with the object of his journey. His principal entertainers were two lawyers—Scott and Smith—who had grown wealthy by their profession. Among all he mentions as extending civilities to him, the only persons belonging to the aristocracy of the city were some members of the Livingston family, who, even then, were putting themselves forward as leaders in the coming movement.

The Revolution broke up and swept away this social system. It ruined and drove off half the gentry of the province. The social history, indeed, of that event has never been written, and never will be. The conquerors wrote the story, and they were mostly "new men," who had as much love for those they dispossessed as the Puritans had for the Cavaliers of England, whom for a time they displaced. In a passage we have quoted from Sargent's "Life of Andre," the author says: "Most of the landed gentry of New York espoused the royal cause." And it was natural that it should be so, for most of them had for generations held office under the Crown. Their habits of life, too, had trained them to tastes which had no sympathy with the levelling doctrines inaugurated by the new movement. They accordingly rallied around the King's standard, and when it went down they went down with it, and in many cases their names were blotted out of the land.

We once read in an old number of *Blackwood's Magazine* some discussion about the impolitic course pursued by England toward her colonies. The remarks about the manner in which she lost her American colonies were peculiarly judicious. The writer says the Government should have formed an aristocracy in America, by giving titles, and thus gathering the great landed proprietors about the throne by new ties. These extensive landholders, previous to the Revolution, were as able to keep up the dignity of a title as were the English nobility of that day; and the effect which would have been produced, in the strengthening of their loyalty, is obvious. Had the head of the Livingston family been created Earl of Clermont and that of the Laurences been made Lord Newtown, would they have taken the side of the Revolutionists? We trow not. Instead of this, these powerful landed families were neglected, until some of them became embittered against the Government. No title, as a mark of royal favor, was given to a single American, except a baronetcy to Sir William Johnson.*

* The writer, usually so accurate, is mistaken in this. William Pepperell was also created a baronet for his part in the capture of Louisburg, in the same manner as Johnson was made one for his defeat of Dieskau, at the battle of Lake George, 1755.—*Author*.

Of the few landed families who took the popular side, perhaps the Livingstons and Schuylers occupied the leading position. The former had not been in favor with the Government, but were the political antagonists of the De Lanceys, by whom they were excluded from office. They therefore welcomed the new order of things.

Religion, in those days, had a good deal to do with the state of parties. As far back as 1745, the De Lanceys were the leaders of the Church of England party, and the Livingstons of the Dissenters. Religious bitterness was added, therefore, to that which was political. "In 1769, (says Stone, in his *Life of Sir William Johnson*, "the contest was between the Church party and the Dissenters, the former being led by the De Lanceys, and the latter by the Livingstons. The Church, having the support of the mercantile and masonic interests, was triumphant; and John Cruger, James De Lancey, Jacob Walton, and James Jauncey, were elected by the city."

To the popular side, also, went the Jays, the Laurences, a portion of the Van Cortlandts who were divided, a part of the Morris family, which was also divided (while Lewis Morris was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, his brother, Staats Morris, was a general in the British army, and married the Dowager Duchess of Gordon), the Beekmans, and some few others. The "Patroon"—Mr. Van Rensselaer—was fortunately a minor, and therefore, not being obliged to take either side, saved his manor. Many of the prominent leaders were from new families, made by the Revolution. An upturning of this kind is the time for new men. Peculiar circumstances brought some forward who otherwise would have had no avenue for action opened before them. Alexander Hamilton, for example, had just arrived in New York, a young man from the West Indies, when the popular outbreak gave him, at a public meeting, an opportunity of exhibiting his peculiar talents.

The history of a single family will show the course of events. Probably the most powerful family in the State, before the Revolution, was that of the De Lanceys. Descended from the *ancien noblesse* of France, and holding large possessions, they had exerted a greater influence in the colony than any other family. James De Lancey administered the government of the colony for many years, till his death, in 1760. Most of the younger members of the family were in the British army previous to the Revolution. When that convulsion took place, they, of course, remained loyal, and became leaders on that side. Oliver De Lancey was a brigadier-general, and organized the celebrated corps styled "De Lancey's Battalion." His fine mansion at Bloomingdale was burned, in consequence of his adherence to the royal cause. They forfeited their broad lands, and their names appeared no more in the future history of the State. Some fled to England, where they held high offices, and their tombs are now to be seen in the choir of Beverley Cathedral. Sir William De Lancey died at Waterloo, on the staff of the Duke of Wellington. Just two months previous, he had been married to a daughter of Sir Benjamin Hall; and his friend, Sir Walter Scott thus alludes to him in his ode, *The Field of Waterloo*:

"De Lancey changed Love's bridal wreath
For laurels from the hand of death."

The son of General De Lancey, Oliver De Lancey, Jr., who succeeded Andre as Adjutant-General of the British army in America, rose through the

grade of Lieutenant-General to that of General, and died, at the beginning of this century, nearly at the head of the English army-list.

In 1847 the late Bishop of Western New York (William Heathcote De Lancey) told the writer a curious story of his recovery of some of their old family papers. In the spring of that year, being in New York, a package was handed to the servant at the door by an old gentleman, on opening which the Bishop found an anonymous letter directed to him. The writer stated that, being in England between thirty and forty years before, he found some papers relating to the De Lancey family among some waste paper in the house where he was staying; that he had preserved them, and, seeing by the newspapers that the Bishop was in the city, he now inclosed them to him. These the Bishop found to be: 1st, the commission of James De Lancey as Lieutenant-Governor of the colony; 2d, his commission as Chief-Justice of the colony; 3d, the freedom of the city of New York, voted to one of the family in 1730; 4th, a map of the lands owned by them in West Chester County and on New York island, prepared by the Bishop's grandfather. He advertised in the New York papers, requesting an interview with his unknown correspondent, but there was no response, and he heard no more from him.

Some branches of this family remained in New York, and we cannot point to a more striking evidence of the change wrought by the Revolution, than the fact that, since that event, the name of De Lancey, once so prominent, is never found in the records of the Government. It is in the Church only that it has acquired eminence, in the person of the former distinguished Bishop of Western New York.

This is the kind of story which might be told of many other loyalist families. Ruined by confiscations, they faded out of sight, and, being excluded from political office, they were forgotten, and their very names would sound strange in the ears of the present generation of New Yorkers. Many years ago, in the old country-house of a relative, the writer amused some days of a summer vacation by bringing down from the dust of a garret, where they had reposed for two generations, the letters of one of these refugees, who, at the beginning of the Revolution, was obliged to seek safety on board a British ship-of-war off New York harbor (from whence he writes his farewell, commending his wife and children to the care of the family), and then made his home in England, until, as he hoped, "these calamities be overpast." It was sad to read his speculations, as night after night he attended the debates in Parliament and watched the progress of the war, and, to the last, confidently trusted in the success of the royal arms, which alone could replace him in the position from which he had been driven into exile. When these hopes were ultimately crushed, a high appointment was offered him by Government, but he preferred to return to his own land to share the straitened circumstances of his family, and be buried with his fathers.

The withdrawal of so many of the gentry from the country, and the worldly ruin of so many more, was necessarily detrimental to its social refinement. It was taking away the high-toned dignity of the landed proprietors, and substituting in its place the restless aspirations of men who had to make their fortunes and position, and get forward in life. Society lost, therefore, much of its ease and gracefulness. Mrs. Grant, to whose work we have already alluded, who in her youth had seen New York society as far back as 1760, and lived to

know what it was after the peace, thus speaks of the change: "Mildness of manners, refinement of mind, and all the softer virtues that spring up in the cultivated paths of social life, nurtured by generous affections, were undoubtedly to be found in the unhappy loyalists. . . . Certainly, however necessary the ruling powers might find it to carry their system of exile into execution, it has occasioned to the country an irreparable privation. What the loss of the Huguenots was to commerce and manufactures in France, that of the loyalists was to religion, literature, and amenity in America. The silken threads were drawn out of the mixed web of society, which has ever since been comparatively coarse and homely." *

This is somewhat of an exaggeration. The tone of society was, indeed, impaired, but not lost. There were still enough of the old families remaining to give it dignity, at least for another generation. The community could not suddenly become democratic, or throw off all its old associations and habits of reverence. As a writer on that day says, people were "habituated to take off their hats to gentlemen who were got up regardless of expense, and who rode about in chariots drawn by four horses." It took a long while for the community to learn to act on the maxim that "all men are created equal." Not, indeed, until those were swept away who had lived in the days of the Revolution, did this downward tendency become very evident. Simultaneously, too, with their departure came a set of the *nouveaux riches*, which the growing facilities of New York for making commercial fortunes brought forward, and thus by degrees, was ushered in—the age of gaudy wealth.

The final blow, indeed, to this stately old society was given by the French Revolution. We know how every thing dignified in society was then swept away in the wild fury of democracy, but the present generation cannot conceive of the intense feeling which that event produced in our own country. France had been our old ally, England our old foe. We must side with the former in her struggles against tyranny. It became a political test. The Republicans adopted it, and insensibly there seemed to grow up the idea that refinement and courtesy in life were at variance with the true party-spirit. In this way democratic rudeness crept into social life, and took the place of the aristocratic element of former days. Gradually it went down into the lower strata of society, till all that reverence which once characterized it was gone.

The manners of an individual at last became an evidence of his political views. Goodrich, in his "Recollections," speaking on this very point, gives an amusing instance of it. A clergyman in Connecticut, who was noted for his wit, riding along one summer day, came to a brook, where he paused to let his horse drink. Just then a stranger rode into the stream from the opposite direction, and, as his horse began to drink also, the two men were brought face to face.

"How are you, priest?" said the stranger

"How are you, democrat?" inquired the parson.

"How do you know I am a democrat?" said one.

"How do you know I am a priest?" said the other.

"I know you to be a priest by your dress," said the stranger

"And I know you to be a democrat by your *address*," said the parson.

* "American Lady," p. 330.

Even the dress was made the exponent of party views, as much as it had been by the Cavaliers and Puritans of England. As republican principles gained ground, large wigs and powder, cocked hats, breeches and shoe-buckles, were replaced by short hair, pantaloons, and shoe-strings. It is said that the Marquis de Breze, master of ceremonies at Versailles, nearly died of fright at the first pair of shoes, divested of buckles, which he saw on the feet of a Revolutionary minister ascending the stairs to a royal *levee*. He rushed over to Dumouriez, then Minister of War. "He is actually entering," exclaimed the Marquis, "with ribbons in his shoes!" Demouriez, himself one of the incendiaries of the Revolution, solemnly said, "*Tout est fini*?"—"The game is up; the monarchy is gone." And so it was. This was only one of the signs of the times. Buckles and kings were extinguished together.

Such being the feeling of the *sans culottes* in France, the favorers of Jacobinism in this country were not slow to imitate them. Jefferson eschewed breeches and wore pantaloons. He adopted leather strings in his shoes instead of buckles, and his admirers trumpeted it as a proof of democratic simplicity. Washington rode to the capital in a carriage drawn by four cream-colored horses, with servants in livery. All this his successor gave up, and even abolished the President's *levees*, the latter of which were afterward restored by Mrs. Madison. Thus the dress, which had for generations been the sign and symbol of a gentleman, gradually waned away, till society reached that charming state of equality in which it became impossible, by any outward costume, to distinguish masters from servants. John Jay says, in one of his letters, that with small clothes and buckles the high tone of society departed.

In the writer's early day this system of the past was just going out. Wigs and powder and queues, breeches, and buckles, still lingered among the older gentlemen—vestiges of an age which was vanishing away. But the high-toned feeling of the last century was still in the ascendant, and had not yet succumbed to the worship of mammon which characterizes this age. There was still in New York a reverence for the colonial families, and the prominent political men—like Duane, Clinton, Colden, Radcliff, Hoffman, and Livingston—were generally gentlemen both by birth and social standing. The time had not yet come when this was to be an objection to an individual in a political career. The leaders were men whose names were historical in the State, and they influenced society. The old families still formed an association among themselves, and intermarried one generation after another. Society was, therefore, very restricted. The writer remembers, in his childhood, when he went out with his father for his afternoon drive, he knew every carriage they met on the avenues.

The gentlemen of that day knew each other well, for they had grown up together, and their associations in the past were the same. Yet, what friendships for after-life did these associations form! How different this from the intimacy between Mr. Smith and Mr. Thompson, when they know nothing of each other's antecedents, have no subjects in common but the money-market, and never heard of each other until the last year, when some lucky speculation in stocks raised them from their "low estate," and enabled them to purchase houses "up-town," and set up their carriages.

There was, in that day, none of the show and glitter of modern times; but there was, with many of these families, particularly with those who had

retained their landed estates, and were still living in their old family-homes, an elegance which has never been rivaled in other parts of the country. In his early days, the writer has been much at the South; has stayed at Mount Vernon when it was yet held by the Washingtons; with Lord Fairfax's family at Ashgrove and Vanclose; with the Lees in Virginia; and with the aristocratic planters of South Carolina; but he has never elsewhere seen such elegance of living as was formerly exhibited by the old families of New York.

Gentlemen then were great diners-out. Their associations naturally led to this kind of intimacy, when almost the same set constantly met together. Giving dinners was then a science, and a gentleman took as much pride in the excellence of his wine-cellar as he did in his equipage or his library. This had its evils, it is true, and led to long sittings over the table, and an excess of conviviality which modern customs have fortunately corrected.

There was a punctiliousness, too, in their intercourse, even among the most intimate, which formed a strange contrast to the familiarity of modern society. Gentlemen were guarded in what they said to each other, for those were duelling-days, and a hasty speech had to be atoned for at Hoboken. Stories are still handed down of disputes at the dinner-table which led to hostile meetings, but which, in our day, would not have been remembered next morning. In an obituary sketch, one of this set published at his death, twenty-five years ago, when speaking of the high tone which then characterized society, the writer said: "Perhaps the liability, which then existed, of being held personally answerable for their words, false as the principle may have been, produced a courtesy not known in these days."

One thing is certain—that there was a high tone prevailing at that time, which is now nowhere seen. The community then looked up to the public men with a degree of reverence which has never been felt for those who succeeded them. They were the last of a race which does not now exist. With them died the stateliness of colonial times. Wealth came in and created a social distinction which took the place of family, and thus society became vulgarized.

Gulian C. Verplanck was, perhaps, the last prominent member of the generation which has gone. Where can we point to any one of those now living, like him, surrounded by the elevating associations of the past, distinguished in public life, and a ripe scholar in literature and theology? The old historical names of Jay and Duer and Hoffman, and a few more of colonial times, are still upheld among us by their sons, who are showing, in the third generation, the high talents of those who had gone before them; "but what are they among so many!"

"Rari nantes in gurgite vasto."

The influences of the past are fast vanishing away, and our children will look only to the shadowy future. The very rule by which we estimate individuals has been entirely altered. The inquiry once was, "Who is he?" Men now ask the question, "How much is he worth?" Have we gained by the change?

Is it strange that the writer answers in himself that description in Horace—

"Laudator acti temporis, me puero?"

As years gather round him, and the shadows deepen in his path, he instinctively turns more and more from the "living Present" to commune with the

"dead Past." Many, however, to whom he has referred in these pages, will be to most of his readers only names, while to him they are realities—living and breathing men; and, as he thinks of them, he believes there is no delusion in the conviction that, for eloquence and refinement, for all the graces which elevate and ennoble life, they have left no successors. The outward pressure is now too democratic. Most of the prominent men, also, of the present day, want the associations of the past.

As Edward IV. stood on the tower of Warwick Castle, and saw marching through the park below him the mighty host of retainers who, at the summons of the great Earl of Warwick, had gathered round him, and then thought how powerless, in comparison, were the new nobles with whom he had attempted to surround his throne, he is said to have muttered to himself, "After all, you cannot make a great baron out of a new lord!" And so we would say, "You cannot make out of the new millionaire what was exhibited by the gentlemen of our old colonial families!"

Commerce, indeed is fast taking the place of the true old chivalry with all its high associations. It is impossible, in this country, for St. Germain to hold its own against the Bourse. Money-getting is the great object of life in this practical age; and, every month, the words which Halleck wrote so many years ago are becoming more true:

"These are not romantic times
So beautiful in Spenser's rhymes,
So dazzling to the dreaming boy;
Ours are the days of fact, not fabie,
O' Knights, but not of the Round Table,
Of Baillie Jarvis, not Rob Roy.
And noble name and cultured land,
Palace and park, and vassal band,
Are powerless to notes of hand
Of Rothschild or the Barings."

APPENDIX XVII.

VISIT OF GENERAL JACKSON TO THE CITY AS A GUEST OF TAMMANY, IN 1819.*

BY GENERAL PROSPER M. WETMORE.

ONE incident in the history of Tammany caused a good deal of feeling at the time of its occurrence, and has probably not been forgotten by all of those who have survived the last half century. Previous to the year 1820, the war between the Bucktails, or Regular Tammany organization, and the Clintonians, a party of more recent date, had begun to wax warm, and it was expected that at the then approaching national election an unusual degree of bitterness, perhaps of violence, would prevail in the contest. Every preparatory effort was therefore put in force to increase the strength of each of the contending parties.

In the early spring of 1819, an unexpected event awakened the enthusiasm of the people, of every class, to an unusual degree. It was the arrival in New York of General Andrew Jackson, then only known as the hero of New Orleans, and the successful commander who had closed the war with our British antagonists by the most brilliant victory of the whole contest. The name of Jackson had not at that time become a watchword of party, although there were a few sagacious politicians who regarded him as the "coming man." It will naturally be supposed that the active members of the two contending parties would be alive to the importance of securing so valuable an adherent, and a share of the prestige which attached to the person of a victorious general.

Jackson was received with great *eclat* by the municipal authorities, and with well-deserved honors at the hands of the people. A military review was given him on the Battery, and the freedom of the city in a gold box, in the Park. He was afterward escorted by a regiment of cavalry to visit the venerable and distinguished General Ebenezer Stevens, then living, at an advanced age, on Long Island, near Hell Gate. Stevens had commanded the American

* Referred to on page 374.

artillery at the surrender of Burgoyne, at Saratoga, and Jackson had defeated Packenham and a greatly superior force at New Orleans. More than half a century had elapsed between the two great events, and the visit of the young and popular general was a graceful compliment paid to the warrior of another age.

During the stay of the General in the city, he accepted an invitation to dine at Tammany Hall. He was received with the greatest cordiality by the dominant party, who expected great results from so auspicious an event. The entertainment was superb, as the phrase was understood in that primitive day, when Stetson was not, and Delmonico undreamed of. Alas! how precarious are all human expectations! An explosion followed the opening of the intellectual exercises, which speedily put an end to the harmonious hilarity of the occasion. The circumstance which led to this disastrous result cannot be better stated than in the language of one of Halleck's notes to an allusion in *The Croaker*:

"A grand dinner was given to General Jackson, at Tammany Hall, on the 23d of February, 1819, in honor of his visit to this city. The hall was crowded, and the toast, 'To General Jackson; so long as the Mississippi rolls its waters to the ocean, so long may his great name and glorious deeds be remembered,' was replied to by the General, who proposed, 'De Witt Clinton, Governor of the great and patriotic State of New York,' to the utter confusion of the Bucktails, who looked upon Clinton as their bitterest foe. General Jackson, perfectly independent of all parties, had conceived a great admiration for Mr. Clinton, although he was at that time personally unacquainted with him, and hence the toast. The greatest confusion ensued, amid which the General left the room."

The subject was just fitted to call out the brilliant wits of the day. Drake, in the first number of *The Croaker*, has the following lines

"I'm sick of General Jackson's toast
Canals are naught to me;
Nor do I care who rules the roast,
Clinton or John Targee."

Halleck took his full share of the fun. One of his earliest contributions to the series of *The Croaker*, entitled, "The Freedom of the City in a Gold Box to a Great General," is in his happiest vein. One stanza from another of his productions on the same topic must suffice. It is entitled, "The Secret Mine Sprung at a Late Supper:"

"The songs were good, for Mead and Hawkins sung 'em,
The wine went round, 'twas laughter all and joke,
When crack! the General sprung a mine among 'em,
And beat a safe retreat amid the smoke.
As fall the sticks of rockets when we fire 'em,
So fell the Bucktails at that toast accurst,
Looking like Korah, Dathan, and Abiram,
When the firm earth beneath their footsteps burst."

It may well be supposed that such an opening for jocose allusion was not neglected, and the subject continued to be a sore one to the Bucktails for many a month after the public at large had forgotten the occurrence. Jackson's unpremeditated piece of strategy was not without its effect upon the future policy of parties; for in after years the Clintonians became the most earnest and influential members of the Jackson party.

INDEX.

- ABOLITIONIST RIOT**, 460.
Academy of Design, 588, 589, 609.
 ——— of Music, 511.
Act of Navigation closes ports in New England, Maryland, and Virginia, 58.
Act of Parliament empowering Government Officials to receive their salaries independent of the people, boldly denounced, 238.
Adams, John, first Vice-President of the United States, 194, 293, 303.
 ——— John Quincy, 232.
 ——— Samuel, his circular letter on taxation, 216.
Adoption of the Federal Constitution, procession in favor of, 282.
Etna Insurance Company, 476.
Africa, 147.
African Chapel, 463.
African Slaves, 25.
Albany City, 14, 16, 44, 45, 109, 110, 126, 148, 641.
 ——— City, Six Nations in Council at, 130.
 ——— County of, 114, 211.
 ——— County of, divided into three portions, 238.
Albion, a ship, 156.
Alderton's Building, 90.
Alexander, James, a prominent lawyer of New York, 134.
Alexis, Russian Duke, reception of, 639.
Alleged Robbery of Vouchers from Comptroller's Office, 627.
Allegiance, Oath of, Traders compelled to reside within city limits, and take, 52.
Allerton, Isaac, one of the "May Flower" emigrants, 90.
Alliance with France, 288.
Almshouses, 336.
Ambuscade, a ship, 321.
America, 14, 15.
America, Bank of, 603.
 ——— Bank of North, 603.
American Academy of Fine Arts founded under Charter, 587.
 ——— Academy of Fine Arts, Trumbull's connection with, 587.
 ——— Army of 15,000 men, encamped at Brooklyn, 247.
 ——— Civilization, 657.
 ——— Coast, 16.
 ——— Lawyers, eminent, 341.
 ——— Press, The, its History and Progress, 274-280.
 ——— Republic, new, a stranger's experience in the, 338.
Americans retreat across East River, to New York, 247.
Ames, Fisher, 292.
Amherst, General, 184, 443.
 ——— General, visit to New York, 184.
Amsterdam, 10, 14, 56, 63, 85.
 ——— Chamber, 18, 35, 43, 63.
 ——— Chamber, proclamation relating to settlement in and trade with New Netherland, 35.
 ——— Directors, 59, 148.
 ——— Fort, 21, 25, 26, 27, 36, 46, 49, 62.
 ——— Fort, surrender of, 62 *note*.
 ——— Port, changed to Fort James, 62.
 ——— Harbor of, 10.
 ——— New, 22, 24, 26, 28, 29, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 50, 51, 52.
 ——— New, and Long Island Ferry, 40.
 ——— New, Population of, 53, 55, 59, 148.
 ——— New, Survey and Map made, 58.
 ——— New, Col. Nicholls anchors before, 61.
 ——— New, surrendered to the British, 61.
 ——— New, henceforth known as New York, 62.
 ——— New, Literature of, 77.
 ——— New, Sunday in, 77.
 ——— New, Mode of worship in, 78.

- Ancient and Modern New York, comparison between, 639-658.
- André, Major, 154, 266.
- Andros, Sir Edmund, 68, 106, 109, 113.
- Sir Edmund, appointed Governor, by Duke of York, 68, 106.
- Anglo-American manners and customs, 337-340.
- Anglo-Dutch War carried on by the Navies of the two powers, 66.
- Ann Street, 90.
- Anne, Queen, 124, 138, 155, 647.
- Annual grants of supplies only, insisted upon by the Assembly, 143.
- Anonymous communications to Government by Sons of Liberty, 204.
- Appeal to Citizens on the Tammany Frauds question, 624-627.
- Appleton & Co., 604.
- Apple-raising, 69.
- Aqueduct, Croton, at Sing Sing, 500, 501.
- Arcade in Maiden Lane, 419.
- Archangel, 14.
- Architecture of New York City, 601.
- Arding, Rev. Charles, 319.
- Armuyden, in Zealand, 95.
- Arnold, Benedict, 154.
- Arrival of two British regiments at Boston, 216.
- Arsenal, State, 457.
- Asia, a ship, 245.
- Aspinwall, William, 41.
- William H., 376.
- Assembly, (Colonial) the people petition for a representative, and are refused, 106.
- the first, meets in 1683, 113, 114.
- the, provides for building a church, 121.
- the, refuses to grant supplies and is dissolved, 143.
- functions of the, annulled by the British Parliament, 213.
- elected in 1768, is convened, 215.
- remonstrates with Gov. Moore, 217.
- dissolution of the, in 1769, 218.
- meets; John Cruger speaker, 221.
- petitions the Crown for redress of grievances, 245.
- 123, 129, 136-146, 156-165, 172, 173, 174, 177, 179, 181, 183, 190, 191, 194, 196, 198, 202, 203-241.
- Astor House, 232, 308.
- Astor, John Jacob, 38.
- John Jacob, Anecdote of, 413.
- Astor Library, 649.
- Astor Place Opera House, 521, 522.
- Place Riot, 520.
- Assurance Companies, 603.
- Asylum for the Insane, seeking suitable site for, 233.
- Asylum for the Insane, Review of its subsequent career, 233.
- Atlantic Cable Celebration, 284.
- Garden, 30, *note*.
- and Pacific Oceans, 17.
- Attucks, a mulatto, 228.
- Auchmuty, Rev. Samuel, 167, 220.
- Auction Hotel, 483.
- BADLAM'S BATTERY, 246.
- Baker, Gardiner, 329.
- Sir William, 207.
- Baldock, Captain R., 394.
- Ball in honor of the opening of the Erie Canal, 410.
- in honor of the Queen's Birthday, 261.
- Washington Inauguration, 309.
- Baltimore, 369, 388.
- Bancroft, George, 54, 161, 200, 248, 637.
- George, delivers an oration upon President Lincoln, 657.
- Bank Street, 378.
- Bank of Commerce, 603.
- of the Commonwealth, 603.
- of the Republic, 603.
- of America, 603.
- of New York, 603.
- Broadway, 603.
- of North America, 603.
- Union, 603.
- Banks suspend payment, 536.
- Bauman, Colonel, 236, 299, 305.
- Banyar, Goldsbrow, 201, 205.
- Barclay, Rev. Mr., 166, 167.
- Street, 251.
- Street Ferry, 420.
- Barlow, General, 645.
- Barnard, Judge, 633.
- Barnum's Museum, 511.
- Barre, M. de La, Governor, 111.
- Barren Island (Beeren Eylant), 98.
- Bartlett, an artist, 636.
- Batterson, James G., designs the Worth Monument, 516.
- Battery, The, 19, 25, 30, 49, 78, 87, 396, 403, 475, 499, 613, 657.
- Fort, The dilapidated condition of, 47.
- Fort, guns removed from, by the Liberty Boys, 245.
- Fort, required by Government, 47.
- Fort, dismantled, 201.
- Battle, first on record between English and Dutch trading vessels near Fort Amsterdam, 27.
- of Bunker Hill, 106, 244.
- of Golden Hill, New York, 228.
- of Long Island, 247.
- Baxter, George, 39.

- Baxter Street, 529.
 Bayard, Nicholas, 284, 339.
 Bayard's Hickory Grove, 339.
 ——— Spring, 339.
 Beaver Street, 30, 92, 115, 251, 419, 481, 509, 510.
 Becker's Tavern, 336.
 Bedloe's Island, 139.
 Beekman, Adrian, killed in a riot, 272, *note*.
 ——— Colonel, 170.
 ——— J. W., quotation from his address on behalf of the New York Hospital, 234, 235.
 ——— House, 271, 272, *note*.
 ——— Mrs., 272.
 ——— Slip, 246, 356.
 ——— Street, 165, 184, 323, 331, 590.
 ——— Swamp, 70, 91, *note*, 167.
 ——— William, 272, *note*.
 ——— William, Schepen of New Amsterdam, 148.
 Beelen Island, 45.
 Belgium, 19.
 Bell, Old Jail, 367, 510.
 Bellamont, Earl of, Governor of New York, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, 121, 131.
 Belvidere Club, 340.
 Benckes, Admiral, 67.
 Bend, Rev. J. G., 168.
 Benson, Judge, 104, 453.
 Benton, Hon. Nathaniel, gives Canal Statistics, 411.
 Benson, Governor, 443.
 Berkeley, Sir William, Governor of Virginia, 106.
 Bermuda, Trade with, 30, 167.
 Bernard, Governor of Massachusetts, 192.
 Betste (bedstead), 75.
 Bevers Paatje (Beaver Lane), 62.
 Bible, discussion on the admission of the, without comment, into the N. Y. Public Schools, 508, 509.
 ——— House, 132, 649.
 Bierstadt, an artist, 637.
 "Big Ditch," The, 410.
 Bills of Credit, or Paper Currency, issue of objected to by Assembly, 161.
 Billy the Fiddler, 423.
 Blackwell's Island, 83.
 Blauvelt, Captain, 43.
 Blazing Star Inn, stages stop at, 186, 187.
 Bleecker, Anthony, 318, 452.
 ——— Street, 643.
 ——— Street House, 468.
 Block, Adrien, 14, 15.
 Bloomingdale Road, 503, 505, 597.
 Board of Education, 507.
 Boes, Captain, 67.
 Bogardus, Domine Everardus, second Clergyman in New Netherland, 24, 32, 48.
 ——— Rev. W., 32, 57.
 Bolton's Tavern (Sam Francis's), 231, 298.
 Booth, Mary L., 182, 219.
 Booth's Theatre, 607, 609.
 Boston, 30, 41, 122, 125, 199, 214, 216, 223, 227, 239, 243, 244, 246, 274, 387.
 ——— old post road, 91, 93.
 Bouck, Mr., 408.
 Boudinot, Elias, 292.
 Boulevard, The New, 597.
 Bowerie Farm, 93.
 Bowerie Village, 103.
 Bowery, 12, 93, 403, 529.
 Bowling Green, 19, 27, 30, 37, 78, 92, 115, 125, 200, 246, 289, 318.
 Bradford, Governor William, of New Plymouth, 133.
 Bradford's Gazette, 274.
 Bradstreet & Son, 488.
 Brady, Rev. John, 170.
 Brant, Joseph (Thayendanagea), visits New York as the guest of Miss Burr, 415, 416.
 Brazil, 43, 46, 63, 103.
 Bread Riots, 536.
 Breastworks erected, 246.
 Breukelen, 88, 98.
 Breweries, Brick-kilns, and other Manufactories in New Netherland, 59.
 Brick Church, Old, 366, 590.
 Bridewell, Old, 336.
 ——— The, 336, 497.
 Bridge Street (Brugh Straat), 30, 88, 92, 125.
 British Army land on Long Island, at Gravesend, 247.
 ——— Fleet occupy the North and East Rivers, 247.
 ——— House of Commons refuse to receive representatives of New York Assembly, 222.
 ——— Museum, 87.
 ——— Officers and their wives indulging in gayety and frivolity, whilst American citizens are languishing in prison, 256.
 Broad Street, 13, 24, 30, 87, 88, 89, 92, 115, 124, 231, 246, 251, 300, 303, 318, 321, 336, 421, 477, 480, 481, 482, 509, 510.
 Broadway, 13, 19, 67, 89, 90, 92, 95, 102, 132, 152, 232, 321, 335, 340, 403, 421, 426, 462, 474, 499, 509, 603.
 ——— Bank, 603.

- Broadway, Past and Present, 605.
 — No. 1, Head-quarters of British Commanders during Revolutionary War, 152, 154.
 — its true history, 270.
 — East, 529.
- Brodhead, J. R., 54.
- Brooklyn, 474.
 — Ferry, 93, 356.
 — Heights, 246.
 — Navy Yard, 480, 482.
- Brooks, Erastus, 352.
- Broome, John, 287, 318, 322, 336.
- Broome Street, 403.
- Brown, George W., Auction Hotel of, 483.
 — Major, 262, 263.
- Brown, a sculptor, 637.
- Brunswick Troops, 256.
- Bryant, William Cullen, 637, 657.
- Buck, Gordon, 234.
- Buffalo, 186, 390.
- Buildings, Improvements in Streets and, in New York, 37.
 — average height of, in 1677, 576.
- Bullock Street, 284.
- Bunker, Captain E. S., 393.
- Bunker Hill, Battle of, 106, 244.
- Burgher government established in Manhattan, 53.
- Burgomasters, Salaries of, 40.
- Burgoyne, General, 256.
- Burke, Edmund, 246.
- Burling Slip, 226, 246.
- Burlington, N. J., Stages run to, 186.
- Burnet, Gov. William, succeeds Gov. Hunter, as Governor of New York, 126, 127.
 — Gov. William, anecdotes of, 129, 130.
 — resigns Governorship of New York, and accepts that of New Hampshire and Massachusetts, 129.
- Burnet's policy, beneficial effects of, 128.
- Burning of the Government House, 257.
- Burns' Coffee-house, 207, 290.
- Burr, Aaron, 341, 342, 345, 415, 443.
 — obtains the acquittal of Levy Weeks charged with the murder of Miss Sands, 343.
- Burr, Theodosia, entertains Brant, 415.
- Burroughs, Mr., 126.
- Bushwick, or Boswyck, 148.
- Bute, Lord, 197, 200.
- Butman, Jeremiah, 372.
- Byron, Lord, 412.
- CABOT, 24.
- Cadaraqui, Fort at, 109, 112.
- "Cadmus," the ship in which Lafayette visited America, 379, 383.
- Cadwallader, Col., defends Harlem Plains, 250.
- Caen, Normandy, 152.
- Cæsar, the Nigger, 84, 85.
- Caffniere, Admiral, 113.
- Calvin, 137.
- Calvinists, 22.
- Cambridge University, 152.
- Canada, 15, 16, 21.
 — Indians invade, 112.
- Canal Street, 13, 232, 335, 403.
 — Street, extension, 529.
- , Erie, The, projected by Clinton, 348.
- , Erie, The, rejoicings at its completion, 379, 389-401.
- Carleton, General, and Lieutenant-Governor Sir Guy Carleton, 154, 214.
- Caribbean Islands, 53.
- Carroll, Mr., 166.
- Carroll of Carrollton, 489.
- Carter, Herman G., 488.
- Carteret, Philip, Governor of New Jersey, 103, *note*.
- Castle Garden, 384.
 — William, 384.
- Catherine Slip, 356.
 — Street, 91, 465.
- Catholics, 22.
- Catskill, 352.
- Caughnawaga, the town of the Caughnawagas or Praying Indians, 127.
- Cayenguinago, 120.
- Cayugas, 108.
- Cedar Street, 422, 603.
- Celestial Empire, 14.
- Central Park, 501, 503, 529.
 — Park Commission, 614.
 — Park, History and Description of, 529-531.
 — Park, Prof. S. F. B. Morse's Statue in, 639.
 — Park, Receiving Reservoir, 506.
- Centre Street, 246, 337, 457, 463, 465, 529.
- Century Club, 359.
- Chamber of Commerce, 624.
- Chambers, John, 135, 167, 194.
 — Street, 132, 529.
- Chambly, Fort, 374.
- Champlain, Lake, 132, 593.
- Chancellor Livingston, a steam vessel, 383, 396.
- Charity School, 252.
- Charles, Robert, Colonial Agent, 221.
- Charles I., 27, 146.
- Charleston, S. C., 247.
- Charlton Street, 13, 339.
- Charlotte County, 238.
- Charter, Dongan's, 116.

- Charter of Liberties, The, 114.
 — of Columb a (King's) College, op-
 position of citizens to its being
 granted, 177-179.
 — first, of New Netherland, 40.
 — of Privileges and Exemptions,
 21.
 — Montgomery's, 647.
 — of New York City. The old one
 annulled, 613.
 — of New York City. The new one
 promulgated and passed, 614.
 — of New York City—its provisions
 as compared with the old, 614,
note.
 — of New York City—its special
 peculiarities, 615.
 — of New York City—the various
 Charters and their provisions,
 615.
 Chatham, Earl of, 200.
 — Insurance Company, 476.
 — Square, 465.
 — Street, 91, 93, 165, 232, 323, 337,
 467.
 — Street, "Tea Water Pump" in,
 500, 573.
 Chauncey Vibbard, a steamboat, 352, *note*,
 353.
 Cheatham, James, 488.
 Cherry Street, 13, 472.
 Cheshire, 156.
 Chicago, Great Fire in, 616-618.
 — Great Fire in, New York City
 aids sufferers by, 616.
 China, 187.
 Choate, Joseph H., 621.
 Christ-Kinkle Day, 69-71.
 Christiaensen, Hendrick, 14, 15, 16.
 Christian Association, Young Men's, 638.
 Church, an artist, 637.
 Churches and Ministers in New York
 City, 641, 642.
 Church Street, extension from Fulton to
 Morris, 599, 600.
 Citizens refuse to support the Troops,
 213.
 — consternation of, at the ravages of
 the Yellow Fever, 332.
 City, The, divided into six Wards,
 115.
 — Council, 57.
 — Gate, 89.
 — Boundary established, 131.
 — Hall, or Stadt-Huys, 89.
 — Hall, 77, 124, 301, 336, 345, 375,
 385, 403, 421, 462, 465, 480,
 483.
 — Hall Slip, 186.
 — Hall Park, 91, 224, 498.
 — Hall, present, built, 345.
 City Hall, public meeting of Citizens
 called at, for fire of 1835, 483-
 486.
 — Hotel, The, 211, 308, *note*, 375,
 385, 404, 483.
 — Seal, New, 116.
 — Wall, The, 92.
 Clarence, Duke of, saved from drowning
 by Gulian Verplanck, 271.
 Claremont, 504.
 Clarendon, Edward Hyde, Earl of, Lord
 Chancellor of England, 138.
 Clark, McDonald, the Mad Poet, 490.
 — William, 135.
 — Willis Gaylord, 489.
 Clarke, George, Secretary of Colony, 138.
 — George, appointed Lieut.-Gov.,
 138, 142.
 — George, Lieut.-Gov., supported in
 his acts by the popular voice,
 138.
 — George, Lieut.-Gov., his first
 speech in the General Assembly,
 138.
 — George, Lieut.-Gov., his action on
 the Indian affairs of the Colony,
 139.
 — George, ex-Lieut.-Gov., his career,
 155, *note*, and 156.
 — George Hyde, son of Lieut.-Gov.,
 156.
 Claus, Santa, 69-71.
 Clermont, Fulton's First Steamboat, 351,
 352.
 Cliff Street, 89, 90, 211, 226.
 Clinton, Admiral George, Governor of
 New York, 155, 233.
 — Admiral George, his Address to
 the Assembly, 157.
 — Admiral George, asserts the Royal
 prerogative, 162.
 — Admiral George, resigns, 164.
 — De Witt, Mayor of New York,
 343.
 — De Witt, appointed Mayor a
 second time, 358.
 — De Witt, 408, 488.
 — De Witt, superseded by Judge
 Radcliffe, 358.
 — De Witt, his character and con-
 duct, public and private, 358,
 359.
 — De Witt, his firmness and patriot-
 ism as Mayor, 368.
 — De Witt, Governor, opens the
 Erie Canal, 391, 398.
 Clinton, Sir Henry, 154, 247, 258, 265.
 — Hall, 649.
 — Mrs. George, 308.
 Clover-Watie, The, or Pasture-field, 83.
 Cod, Cape, 51.

- Coddington, J. J., 518.
 Coenties Alley, 481.
 ——— Battery, 246.
 ——— Lane, 475.
 ——— Slip, 19, 37, 186, 474, 475, 480, 481, 497.
 Coffee-House Slip, 318, 331, 344, 480, 481.
 ——— The Breast-works erected at, 246.
 ——— Burns', Sons of Liberty kindle a bon-fire before, 207, 590.
 Colden, Dr. Cadwallader, 109, 120, 130, 135, *note*, 163, 183, 190, 191, 194, 200, 225.
 ——— Dr. Cadwallader, Governor of New York, 190.
 ——— Dr. Cadwallader, hung in effigy, 200.
 ——— Dr. Cadwallader, ex-Governor, appointed a third time Governor of New York, 222.
 ——— Cadwallader, D., at Erie Canal celebration, 398.
 ——— Alexander, 200.
 Cold Spring, 372.
 Colgate, C. C., 608.
 College Controversy, 179.
 Collect (Kolck), site of the Tombs, 12, 83, 91, 271.
 Colonial Congress, 281.
 ——— Currency, authorization of a, by the Government, 230.
 Colony sides with England against France, 159.
 ——— state of, described by John Pintard, 255.
 ——— described by Dunlop, 255.
 Columbian Order, or Tammany Society, established, 328.
 Columbia (King's) College, charter granted, 177.
 ——— people's opposition to grant of charter, 177-179.
 Colve, Capt., 67.
 ——— Capt., made Governor of New Netherland, 67.
 Commerce at a stand-still, 554.
 Commission appointed by Gov. Stuyvesant to confer with Capt. Scott, 61.
 Committee of Seventy, 620-634.
 "Commons," The, 91.
 Common Council, 201, 332, 394, 459, 647.
 Comparison between England and America, 654.
 Coney Island, 59, 64, 97.
 ——— Island, Dirck De Wolf commences to make salt at, 59.
 Conflagration of 1804, 344.
 ——— terrible, of 1811, 366, 367, *note*.
 ——— of 1835, 471-486.
 Conflagration of 1835, accounts of tenements consumed, 481, 482.
 ——— of 1845, 509, 510.
 Congress, General, held at New York, 198.
 ——— of the Indians and Six Nations at Albany, 127.
 Conijnen Eylant (Rabbit Island), 97.
 Connecticut, 60, 197, 371.
 ——— Shore, 372.
 Connolly, Richard B., 620, 627-630.
 ——— Richard B., goes to jail, 633.
 Constable's House, 287.
 Constantinople, 512.
 Continental Congress, 243, 373.
 ——— Army, 374.
 Contingent furnished by New York City to defend the Union, 648.
 Conway, Minister, 209.
 Cook, Ransom, 350.
 Cooper, J. Fenimore, himself and Percival dine together at the City Hotel, 489.
 Cooper Institute, 413, 620, 624 649.
 Corlear's Hook, Woods, 339.
 Cornbury, Lord, appointed Governor of New York, his character and administration, 122.
 ——— Lord, superseded by Lovelace as Governor of New York, 123.
 ——— detestation of, 123.
 Cornwallis, Lord, 258.
 Corporate Seal of New Amsterdam and New York, 40.
 Corporation Library, 131.
 Corry, Wm., MS. letter to Sir Wm. Johnson, 181.
 Cortelyou, Jacques, makes a Survey and Map of New Amsterdam, 58.
 Cortlandt Street, 107, 254, *note*, 375, 495.
 Cosby, Gov. William, 133, 138, 162.
 Costello, Michael, 632.
 Cotton, John, clerk to General Congress, 198.
 Council held at Fort George, 135, *note*.
 ——— of Appointment, 344, *note*, 647.
 Courcelles, The Chevalier de, Governor of Canada, 109.
 Cox, Rev. Dr., 463.
 ——— Jameson, Register, 510.
 Cozine, John, 287, 341.
 Cranberry, N. J., stages run to, 186.
 Credit, Bills of, or Paper Currency, issue of objected to by Assembly, 161.
 Creek Indians visit New York as the guests of Tammany, 328.
 Criminal Trial, Remarkable; sensational denouement, 342-344.
 Crisis, Great Financial, of 1857, 535-537.
 Croaker, The, a poem, 490.
 Crolius, Clarkson, 399.

- Crosby, Philip, 172.
 — Street, 467.
 "Crossing the Ferry" at New York, 354.
 Croton Aqueduct, 500, 507.
 — Aqueduct at Sing Sing, 501.
 — Dam, 506.
 — River, 500.
 Crown, prerogative of, in appointment of Colonial Treasurer, resisted, and office declared elective, 146.
 Crown Point, 132, 199, 214.
 Cruger, John, Mayor of New York, 182, 219.
 — John, chosen Speaker of the new Assembly, 221.
 — Nicholas, 284.
 Crummashie Hill, 93.
 Crystal Palace, 511.
 — Palace, World's Fair at, 528.
 Custis, G. W. P., 232.
 Custom-Duty of 30 per cent. exacted, 53.
 Custom House, 421.
 Customs at Funerals, 81.
 Cyane, sloop of war, 396.
 DALY, Chief-Justice, C. P., 270, 359, 483, 528.
 "Dam," The, 501.
 Damen, Jan Jansen, 33.
 — Jan Jansen, appointed Kirke-Meester, 33.
 Dana, Chief Justice, 436.
 Davis, Robert, 376.
 Dead-Rabbit Riot, 534.
 Deaf and Dumb Asylum, 638.
 Dean, Captain, 187.
 Dean Richmond, a steamboat, 641.
 Debtors' Prison, History of the old, 469.
 — Prison (Provost and Hall of Records), 367, 468.
 Declaratory Act, 208, 211.
 — Act distasteful to the people, 212.
 Declaration of Independence, 246, 288.
 Delafield, John, 318.
 Delaware, 26, 41, 55.
 — Expedition from Boston to the, 41.
 — Second Expedition, 41, 42.
 — Trade, Interference of New England Adventurers with, 42.
 Delft, 59.
 Delmonico's, 231.
 Denmark, 42.
 Denonville, Marquis, Governor of Canada, 112.
 Design, Academy of 588, 589, 609.
 Dey Street, 165, 463, 495, 636, 637.
 De La Barre, Governor of Canada, 111.
 De Brehan, La M., 309.
 De Forest, Henry, 275.
 De Lancey, Bishop, 182.
 — Chief Justice and Gov., James, 139, 147, 152, 171, 177, 182, 190.
 — Chief Justice, James, his address on behalf of Council, in reply to the Governor, 157.
 — Chief Justice, James, assumes the government, 173.
 — Chief Justice, James, again appointed Governor, 179.
 — Chief Justice, James, Death of, 182.
 — Chief Justice, James, Review of his life, 183.
 — Mr. James, 224.
 — Oliver, 181.
 — Stephen, 152.
 De Landais, Pierre, 431, 434.
 — His tombstone at St. Patrick's Cathedral, New York, 434.
 De Meyer, Nicholas, 106.
 De Milt, Anthony, appointed Schout, 68.
 De Peyster, Abraham, 148.
 De Ruyter, Admiral, Michael, 54.
 De Viellecour, Mr., 440, 454.
 De Vries, Captain, 26, 28 33.
 De Wint, J. P., 326.
 De Witt, Capt. Cornelia, 14.
 — Rev. Dr. Thomas, 655.
 Dickens, Charles, Dinner given to, by the Press, 638.
 Digby, Admiral, 271.
 Dirksen, Adrian, 32.
 — Cornelia, 29, 90.
 Directors of West India Company, 22.
 Discovery of Fish in United States rivers and lakes by Le Moyne; its value to the State as a source of revenue, 55.
 Discussion on admission of the Bible without comment into Public Schools, 508, 509, and *note*.
 — on the right of the British Parliament to tax America, 216.
 Disosway, Gabriel P., narrative of fire of 1835, 471-482.
 Ditches cut across the island from North to East rivers, 246.
 Doctor's Mob, 234-236.
 Dodge, William E., 637.
 Domestic arrangements of early Dutch settlers, 71-86.
 Dominick, Francis, 170.
 Dongan, Governor, 87, 109, 110, 112, 113, 141, 181.
 — Governor, his charter, 116.
 — Governor, his administration, 113.
 "Don Jon," or Old Debtors' Prison, changed into Hall of Records, 468.

- Dordrecht, 17.
 Downing, the Oyster King, 477.
 Draft for Soldiers to serve in war of 1863-5, 539.
 "Draft Riot," The, in 1863, 461, 539-562.
 Draper, Simeon, 532.
 Drawing School Association, 587.
 Dresses, description of those worn at Washington Inauguration Ball, 310-314.
 Duane, James, Mayor of the city, 308, 329.
 — Mrs., 309.
 — Street, 93, 232, 335, 529.
 Dudley, Joseph, 119.
 Duelling-ground, Weehawken, 348.
 Duer, William A., 232, 350.
 — William 341.
 — Lady Kitty, 309.
 Duke's County, 114.
 Duncan Sherman and Co.'s Banking House, 603.
 Dunlap, W., 134, 151, 241, 287.
 Dunlop, an artist, 301, 416, 422.
 Dunmore, John, Earl of, Governor of New York, 230, 232, 237.
 — John, Earl of, transferred to Virginia; Sir William Tryon his successor, 231.
 Duryea, Colonel, 525.
 Dutchess County, 114.
 — County, trouble in, 210.
 — County, Rioters visit Albany County, and threaten to attack New York, 211.
 Dutch Ancestors, 75.
 — Church at the Battery, 78.
 — Church, Middle (the present Post Office), 254, 255, 516.
 — Church, North, (previously a prison), in William Street, 254, 593.
 — Reformed Church, 77, 93, 125.
 — Company (East India), abolish their monopoly, and open the trade, 50.
 — Company, prohibition of employes of, to trade with Indians, 33.
 — Customs, 72.
 — East India Company, 10.
 — Emigrants, 85.
 — Government investigate the affairs of the Company, 46.
 — Matrons, 75.
 — Titles, list of ancient, 86.
 — Traders, 17.
 — The, finally dispossessed of New Netherland, 68.
 — West India Company, 17, 22, 50, 58, 147.
 Duties on Imports and Exports, 63, 64.
 EARLY Hours observed by Washington's Family, 315-317,
 East Broadway, 529.
 East Indies, 10, 14.
 — India Company, their projects in relation to Tea Trade, 238.
 — India Company, agents forced to resign, 239.
 — Jersey, 103.
 — River, 12, 21, 24, 29, 52, 89, 90, 91, 93, 98, 102, 272, 344, 375, 426, 473, 474, 480.
 — River, Trade on, 52.
 Eaton, Gov., of New Haven, protests against Gov. Stuyvesant, 51.
 Eddy, Thomas, 408.
 Edgar, Mrs., 287, 309.
 Edmond, Judge, J. W., 528.
 Education, Board of, 507.
 — State of, in New York, 649.
 Edwards, Jonathan, pastor of Wall Street Church, 420, 655.
 Eelkins, Jacob, agent at Fort Nassau, 16, 27, 28.
 Eendragt, a ship, 23, 24.
 Egremont, Earl of, 192.
 Election, contested, between Adolphe Philipse and Gerrit Van Horne, 140.
 — of Assemblymen, contest between Church party and Dissenters, 219.
 — Riots, 10th April, 1834, 456-460.
 Elevated Railroad, 612.
 Elizabethtown (Elizabeth), 103, 296, 297, 307.
 Ellicott, Mr., 408.
 Elliott, Henry H., 466, *note*.
 Elliott, an artist, 637.
 Elm Street, 457.
 Emanuel College, 105.
 Embury, Philip, 211.
 Emigration Statistics, 651.
 Eminent Personages in New York, Reminiscences of, 422-439.
 — Visitors at "Shakspeare Tavern," 488-490.
 Emmet, T. Addis, 368.
 — T. Addis, Dr., President of State Woman's Hospital, 537.
 Empress, a ship, 187.
 England, 24, 49, 53, 68.
 English Language officially recognized in New Amsterdam, 39.
 — design to monopolize the fur trade, 108-110.
 Enhanced value of property in New York, 605.
 Episcopalian party in New York, 174.
 Equitable Life Insurance Company, 603.
 Erie Canal, 642.

- Erie Canal, The, projected by De Witt Clinton, 348.
- Canal, Rejoicings in celebration of completion of, 379, 389-401.
- Canal, Popularity of the project, 389.
- Canal, First Canal-boat proceeds along entire line from Buffalo to Sandy Hook, 390.
- Canal, Celebration in New York City, 391-411.
- Canal, Steam and Sailing Fleet, Pageant, Ball, and Banquet, 395-411.
- Canal, British Men-of-War salute American Fleet, 400.
- Canal, Land Procession, 401.
- Canal, Civic Procession, 402.
- Lake, 109.
- Esopus (Kingston), 277.
- Evarts, William M., is associated with Charles O'Connor in prosecuting the Ring, 629.
- Everett, Edward, his connection with the Greek Rebellion, 412.
- Evertsen, Admiral, 67.
- Exchange, Merchants', in Wall Street, completed, 419.
- Place (Garden Street), 88, 124, 419, 474, 509, 510.
- Breast-works erected at the, 246.
- Street, 419.
- Excise Duty imposed on wine, beer, brandy, and beaver skins, 43, 44.
- Exorbitant price of provisions, 370, 372, 373, *note*.
- Exports, duty of 10 per cent. paid to Company, 35.
- Express from New York to Boston, 325.
- Express* Newspaper established by the Brothers Hudson, 323.
- Eyres, Nicholas, 126.
- FAIRS, two Annual, instituted, 37.
- Falmouth, 187.
- Farm, No. 1, 24.
- No. 3, 24.
- Fashions in New York from 1680 to 1690, 80.
- Fathom, a, 38, *note*.
- Faubourg St. Antoine, 422.
- Faunce's Tavern. See *Sam Francis's Tavern*.
- Faxton, Theodore S., 188.
- Federal Constitution, adoption of, publicly announced, 282.
- Government, action of the, in the "Draft Riot," 560, 561.
- Hall, Wall Street, Inauguration of Washington at, 301-303.
- Fenton, Reuben E., 166.
- Ferry, Difficulty in crossing, in the olden time, 354.
- House, the, 88.
- New Amsterdam and Long Island, 40, *note*.
- Old (Peck Slip), 90.
- Regulations, 40.
- Regulations and Tolls, 358, *note*.
- Street, 13, 91, 165.
- Festivals, peculiar and social, observed in New York, etc., 69.
- Fête given by the French Minister to President Washington, 313.
- Fifth Avenue, 336.
- Avenue Hotel, 513, 514.
- Avenue, Reservoir in, 506.
- Financial panic of 1857, 535-537.
- crisis at New Netherland, 43.
- difficulties; discontent of citizens, 65.
- resources of New York City, 643.
- Fire Companies, 583-586.
- Department, History of the Old and New, 563.
- Department (Volunteer), organized, 563.
- Department (Voluntary), established, 581.
- Department, reorganized, 583.
- Engine, first in America, 579.
- Engines, 576-581.
- "Firemen of the City of New York," 581.
- Fires, the numerous, attributed to the slaves, who were accused as incendiaries, 331.
- Fires in New York:*
- Conflagration of 1776, 250.
- “ “ 1796, 331.
- “ “ 1811, 366.
- “ “ 1835, 471-499.
- “ “ 1845, 509.
- Burning of Crystal Palace, 511, 528.
- “ “ Barnum's Museum, 511.
- “ “ Winter Garden Theatre, 511.
- “ “ Academy of Music, 511.
- “ “ Harper's Building, 511.
- “ “ Colored Orphan Asylum, 542.
- “ “ Merchants' Exchange (See Fire of 1835.)
- First Free Grammar School founded by the Corporation, 122.
- Fish, Preserved, 483.
- Market pulled down, 331.
- Fisk, Col. James, Jun., assassinated, 634 *note*.
- Fitch, John, the real inventor of the steamboat, 349.

- Fitch, John, History of the first application of steam to river and sea navigation, 349-351.
- Five Nations, 109, 110, 117, 120.
- Nations in Council, 119.
- Nations, Convention of, 110.
- Points, 83.
- Points Riot, 1835, described, 467.
- Flame, a ship, 42.
- Flatbush, or Midwout, 60, 148.
- Fleming, Major-General, 401.
- Fleet of five ships despatched by Dutch Government to regain New Amsterdam, 67.
- Fletcher, Col., Governor of New York, 117, 119, 120-122, 142, 174.
- Col., career of, 120, 121.
- Florida, 23.
- Flour, method of manufacture, 76.
- Riot of 1837, 493-499.
- Floyd, William, 262.
- Flushing, 171.
- Fly Market, 90, 226, 354.
- Market Slip, 306.
- "Flying Machine," The, 187.
- Foreman, Joshua, a pioneer of the Erie Canal, 390.
- Forrest, Edwin, his connection with the Astor-place Riot, 520.
- Fort Amsterdam, 62.
- George, (Battery), 135, 199, 214, 273.
- Hope, (South River), 35.
- Lee, 250.
- Orange, (Albany), 28.
- St. Frederick (Crown Point), 132.
- Stanwix (Rome), 139, 344.
- Ticonderoga, 214, 593.
- Washington, 250.
- William Hendrick, 67.
- "Fortune" and "Tiger," two ships, 14.
- Fourteenth Regiment, or Governor's Guard, 374, 375, *note*.
- Fourth Avenue, 609.
- France, 18, 289.
- Francis, Dr. John W., 416.
- Sam, tavern, 231, 298.
- Franklin, Benjamin, 456.
- Square, 165, 300.
- Statue, in Printing-House Square, unveiling of, 639.
- Street, 457.
- Lady, visits New York, as the guest of the Hon. Henry Grinnel, 538.
- Tommy, one of the old firemen, 510.
- French settlement on the St. Lawrence, 112.
- Republic, arrival of Genet, first Minister of the new, to the United States, 321.
- French Minister, enthusiastic welcome accorded him by the citizens and U. S. Government, 321.
- French's Hotel, 336.
- Freshwater Pond (Collect or Kolck), 12, 13, 83, 91, 271.
- Friesland, 42.
- Frontenac, Louis de Buade, Count de, Governor of Canada, 113, 120.
- Front Street, 29, 344, 473, 481.
- "Fulton's Folly," origin of the term, 351.
- Fulton Ferry, 357.
- Market, 90.
- Robert, 349, 408.
- Robert, his claims disputed, 349.
- Robert, a steamship, 383.
- Street, 166, 184, 487, 492.
- Furman, 98.
- Fur Trade, improvement in, 41.
- GAGE, General, 30, 190, 199, 211, 212, 241.
- Gaine, Hugh, 250, 275, 287, 319, 488.
- Garden Street, 87, 88, 419, 472, 475.
- Street Church, 472-477.
- Gardoqui, Don, Spanish Ambassador, 306.
- Gaspé, a frigate, destroyed in the waters of the Narragansett, 239.
- General Assembly, power of the, acknowledged, 145.
- Assembly, New, elected, 156.
- Assembly, first meeting since commencement of Stamp-Act Riot, 203.
- Assembly, Governor's opening speech, Oct. 27, 1768, 215.
- Assembly dissolved, and new one convened, 218.
- Congress held at New York, 198.
- Genesee Valley, 418.
- Genet, Citizen, arrival at Charleston as accredited Minister from the French Republic to the U. S., 321.
- George II., 166, 190, 647.
- III., accession of, to the throne of England, 190.
- III., 208, 469.
- Fort, (Battery), 135, 199, 214, 273.
- Georgia, 213.
- Geresolveert, a sheriff, 103.
- Gerrit, a guide, 103.
- Gerry, Mrs., 309.
- Girondists, 445.
- Gomez, Mordecai, 319.
- Goodrich, S. G., (Peter Parley), 371, 489, 490, *note*.
- Good Hope, a yacht, 45.
- Hope, Cape of, 17.
- Gold Coast, 60.

- Gold Street, 83, 90.
 Golden Hill (John Street, between Gold and Cliff Streets), 90, 106.
 ——— Hill, Battle of, 226, 228.
 ——— Shark, a ship, 55.
 Gouverneur Lane, 344, 473.
 Gouanes (Gowanus), 99.
 ——— (Gowanus) Oysters, 99.
 Governor's Island, 19, 376.
 ——— Island, Fortifications thrown up on, 246.
 Government of the City of New York, 116.
 ——— appointments exasperate the people, 192.
 Grace Church, 425.
 Graham, English historian, 214.
 Gramercy Park, 93.
 Grand Central Depot, 601.
 ——— Opera House, 607, 611, 612.
 ——— Street, 12, 13, 232, 467.
 ——— Street Dock, 356.
 Gravesend, 59.
 Gray's Rope Walk, 227.
 "Great Citizenship," The Charter of, 56.
 Great Chicago Fire, 617, 618.
 ——— Chicago Fire, Liberality of American Citizens to the Sufferers by, 617, 618.
 ——— Dock Street, 300.
 ——— excitement in New York City, 224.
 ——— Fire in New York, in 1835, 323, 324, 471-499.
 ——— Mass Meeting in the Park of New York City, to protest against Loan Bill, 223.
 ——— Western, a steamship, 325.
 ——— Barren Island, 233.
 Greek Rebellion, New York City gives aid to, 411.
 Greeley, Horace, goes to Albany to oppose the New Charter, 613.
 "Green Dragon," The, in the Bowery, 486.
 Greene, Captain, 187.
 Greene, General Nathaniel, detached to put New York and Long Island in a state of defence, 246.
 ——— General Nathaniel, urges the destruction of New York City, 248.
 ——— Street, 13, 342.
 Green, William, 170.
 ——— Andrew H., appointed Comptroller, 627.
 Greenland Company, 9.
 Greenwich Street, 87, 154, 318, 331, 403, 613.
 ——— Village, 24, 104, 159, 377, 444, 465.
 Grenville, George, 195.
 Griffin's Wharf, 240.
 Griffin, Mrs., 309.
 Grinnell, Moses H., 637.
 ——— Henry, 528.
 Grounds of New York Hospital, elegant stores now erected on site, 603.
 HACKENSACK RIVER, or Archter Cul, 187.
 Hackney Coach, the first, 93, *note*.
 Hague, the Dutch Government at the, 42, 59.
 ——— Rev. Dr., 367.
 Haldimand, General, commander-in-chief, *vice* Gen. Gage, 241.
 Hale, J. W., starts an express, 325.
 "Half Moon," Hendrick Hudson's exploring vessel, 10, 14.
 Half Moon Fort, 115.
 Halifax, Earl of, 191.
 Halifax, N. S., 216.
 Hallams, The, actors at the John Street Theatre, 338.
 Halleck, Fitz-Greene, 375, 418, 489, 637.
 Hall of Records, the old Debtors' Prison, 468.
 Hall, A. Oakey, Mayor, 620.
 ——— Brigadier-General, 525.
 Hamburg, 512.
 Hamersley Street, 14.
 Hamilton, Alexander, 137, 235, 245, 283, 303, 341, 342.
 ——— Alexander, Killed by Aaron Burr in a duel, 345.
 ——— Alexander, 420, 512, 630.
 ——— Andrew, eminent American lawyer, defends Zenger, 135.
 ——— Andrew, receives the freedom of city in a gold box, 186.
 ——— Federal ship, carried in procession, 286.
 ——— Fort, 359.
 Hamlet, a ship, 394.
 Hanover Street, 419, 481, 482.
 ——— Square, 89, 93, 272, 336, 473.
 Hardenbrook Club, 340.
 Hardie, his account of the yellow fever, 377.
 Hard Times of 1812, 370.
 Hardy, Sir Charles, Governor of New York, 179, 271.
 ——— Sir Charles, resigns, 179.
 Harlem Heights, 233, 243.
 ——— Plains, 250.
 ——— River, 126, 504, 657.
 ——— River at High Bridge, 502.
 Harnden, W. F., establishes the first Express Company, 325.
 Harper, an actor at John St. Theatre, 338.
 Harper's Building, 511.

- Harper's Weekly, its aid in exposing the
frauds of the Tammany Ring,
635.
—— Magazine, 516.
Harrison, Richard, 341.
—— Mr., 135.
Harsen Estate, 598.
Hart, Canal Commissioner, 408.
—— Eli, his storesacked by a mob, 495.
Hartford, 186.
—— The Ætna of, Insurance Com-
pany, 476.
Havemeyer, W. F., 620.
Hay, Lady, 123.
Hays, Thomas, correspondence with au-
thor, 367.
Heath, General, 244.
Helas, Colonel, his regiment called out in
the Flour Riots, 498.
Hell Gates, The, 83, 102, 266, 489.
—— Gates, Great and Little, described,
102.
Hendrick, Fort William, 67.
Henlopen, Cape, 51.
Henry, Patrick, 140.
Henry VII., 374.
Herald Building, 602.
Heere Straat (Broadway), 30.
Heerman's Orchard, 93.
Hewlett, David, 424.
Hewletts, The, 424.
Hicks, Whitehead, 240.
High Bridge, 502, 504.
Highlands, Defence of, 245.
Hillsborough, Earl of, his letter to Gov-
ernor Moore, 217.
Hineman, Colonel, 410.
Historical Society of New York, 234, 268,
386, 639.
—— Society of New York founded,
345.
—— Society of Long Island, 93.
—— Magazine, 270, 605.
Hitchcock, Professor, 413.
Hoboken Ferry, 355, 375.
—— Ferry-boat, 355, 376.
Hodgkinson, Thomas, landlord of Shaks-
peare Tavern, 487.
—— John, lessee of the Park Theatre,
488.
Hoffman, Josiah Ogden, 287, 341, 362.
—— Governor, 533, 616.
Holidays and National Festivals, descrip-
tion of, 69, 70, 71.
Holland, 14, 15, 20, 21, 30, 57, 59, 97, 289.
—— citizens of, 56.
—— and Boston (Export Trade be-
tween), 30.
—— North, 17.
Hollanders, 16.
"Hollandia" (Wall Street), 92.
Holt, John, an editor, 276.
"Honest John Laing," 480.
Hoofden (Headlands), 97.
Hook and Ladder Companies, 586.
Hope, Fort, 35.
Horse and Cart Lane, 593, *note*.
Horsmanden, Daniel, Chief Justice, 135,
144, 152, 163, 194.
Hosack, Doctor, 234, 358, 369, 386, 415.
Hospital, New York City, 211.
—— New York City, founded, 231.
—— New York City, destroyed, 598,
603.
—— State Woman's, 537.
Hostility between the soldiers and the
people, 212.
Hotel, Fifth Avenue, 513, 514.
Hotham, Admiral, 247.
House of Commons, 246.
—— of Representatives, convened, 292.
Hoven, 14.
Howard, Lord, 110.
Howe, Lord, arrives with reinforcements
off Sandy Hook, 247.
Howe, Dr. Samuel G., 412.
Hubbard, Rev. Mr., 122.
Hudson, Hendrick, 9, 10, 14.
—— Brothers, establish the first News
Room, 323.
—— River, 14, 78, 372.
—— River Railroad Freight Depot
erected on site of St. John's
Park, 12, 598
—— Square, 232.
—— shore of the, 439.
Huguenots, 22.
Huggins, the Barber-Author, 453.
Hughes, Archbishop, 508.
—— Archbishop, addresses the rioters,
553.
Hughson, John, an alleged accomplice in
the Negro Plot, 151.
Human remains in Old North Dutch
Church graveyard removed to
Greenwood Cemetery, 594.
Hume, the historian, 150.
Humphries, Colonel, 309.
Hunter, Governor, 123, 126, 152, 162.
—— Fort, 139.
Huntington, an artist, 637.
Husking Bees, 69.
Hutchinson, Chief Justice, 192, 237.
IBRAHIM PASHA oppresses the Greeks,
412.
Ides, Vrouwtje, 270.
Illinois, 108.
—— Trade, 108.
Illuminations in New York, 305-307.
Inauguration Ball (Washington), 282,
307.

- Incleberg (Beacon or Murray Hill), 93.
 Independent Battery, The, 246.
Independent Gazette, 277.
Independent Reflector, The, established, 175.
 India, Channel to, 14.
 Indian Trade, 109, 215.
 — War, 26, *note*.
 Indians, 14, 16, 20, 23.
 — War with, occasioned by tax levied on corn, furs, etc., supplied by them, 36, 37.
 — New England, enter into competition with Long Island Montauks, 38.
 — Treaty with, 47.
 — Raritan, employed as miners, 48.
 — invade Canada, 112.
 — trade with, revived, 126, 127.
 — the Stockbridge, collisions between them and the citizens of Dutchess county, 210.
 Industrial status of New York, facts and figures relating to, 645.
 Inglis, Rev. Dr. Charles, 252.
 Ingoldesby, Major Richard, 119.
 Inman, Henry, 416, 637.
 — John, 490.
 Institution for Deaf and Dumb, 638, 639.
 — for Deaf and Dumb, Col. W. L. Stone, one of its earliest and most zealous promoters, 638, *note*.
 Insurance Patrols, 482.
 Iroquois, 16.
 — Indians and the French, war between, 111.
 Irish and American mobs in the Five Points Riot, 468.
 Irving House, 511.
 — Judge, 483.
 JACKSON, Gen. Andrew, Ball given in his honor at the City Hotel, 374, 375.
 Jacques, Moses, 495.
 Jamaica, 61, 122, 159.
 James River, Virginia, 11.
 — Street, 12, 13.
 — Duke of York and Albany, 60, 68, 106, 108.
 — IL, 118, 122, 647.
 — Major, 201, 209.
 Jan, Mr., 97.
 Japanese Embassy, reception of, 538.
 Jarvis, John Wesley, 453.
 Jauncey, James, 219.
 Jay, John, eminent American lawyer, 232, 235, 283, 300, 329, 341.
 — Peter A., 362.
 Jefferson, Thomas, 329, 422, 441.
 Jemison, an interpreter, 416.
 Jenny Lind visits United States, 528.
 Jersey, New, 11.
 — Blues, 488.
 — Prison ship, 255.
 Jesuits, 110.
 Jews, 22, 641.
 Jewish Cemetery, 91, 246.
 John Street, 83, 89, 165, 211, 226, 336, 338, 420.
 — Street, Theater in, 338.
 Johnson, Sir John, 308.
 — Rev. Samuel, first President of Columbia College, 177.
 — Colonel Sir William, 165, 177, 181, 183, 200, 206, 218, 221, 230.
 — Mrs. Isidore, affecting incident of, 334.
 Joinville, Prince de, 538.
 Joncaire, Father, 128.
 Jones, Mr., member of Colonial Assembly, 194.
 — Paul, 431.
 — Samuel, the elder, an eminent American lawyer, 341.
 Jones's Wood, 489.
 Joris, Adriaen, 20.
 Journal of Commerce, 231, 325, 327.
 — of Commerce Building, 271.
 Judson, E. Z. C. (Ned Buntline), 522.
 KALB, Baron de, 187.
 Kats, Old, 452.
 Keith, Governor William, 127.
 Kennedy House (No. 1 Broadway), 152, 270.
 — Capt. Archibald, 153, 271.
 — Robert L., 608.
 Kensett, an artist, 637.
 Kerstrydt (Christmas), 69.
 Kewley, Rev. John, 170.
 Key of Kalmar, a ship, 42.
 Kidd, Captain, the Pirate, 74.
 — Captain, arrested, and sent to England for trial, 122.
 Kieft, Governor, William, 26, 32, 33, 39.
 — Governor, William, makes a levy on Van Rensselaer's goods, 42.
 — Governor, William, discovers war material in the cargo, 43.
 — Governor, William, embarks for Holland, and is lost at sea, 48.
 Kil von Kol, 97.
 "Kill," The, 501.
 King's Bridge, 131, 249.
 — Chapel, 167.
 — College, 177, 241, 251.
 — County, 114.
 — Birthday celebration, 1766., 208.
 — Road, 339.

- King's Arms Tavern, 30, *note*.
 King Street, 227.
 — William, III. 121.
 Kip, Hendricksen, one of the nine men,
 wishes to depose Kieft, 30, 56.
 — Mrs., 148.
 — Rt. Rev. Bishop, 657.
 Kirke-Meesters, 34.
 Kissam, Mr., 219.
 "Kissing Bridge," The, 83.
 Knight, Miss S., travels on horseback
 from Boston to New York; diary
 of her journey, 125, 126.
 Knox, General, 300, 311, 421.
 Kochs, Peter, 152, 270.
 — Mrs. 152, 270.
 Koeck, bell-ringer, 77.
 "Kolck" see Collect.
 Kolck Hook, 91.
 Koopman, 20.
 Koorn, Nicholas, appointed "Wacht-
 Meester," at Beeren Island, 45.
 Krigier, Capt. Martin, 30, 57, 567.
 Krigier's Tavern, 30.
 — Tavern, Demolition of, 30, *note*.
 Kuyter, Damen, Kieft, and De Vries, ap-
 pointed Kirke-Meesters, 33.
- LABADISTS visit New York and Long Is-
 land; their journal, 93-105.
 Lafayette Amphitheatre, Laurens Street,
 407.
 — Fort, 383.
 — General, 338.
 — General, reception of, and his son,
 at New York, 379-389.
 — General, visit various national in-
 stitutions, 386-389.
 — General, Departure for Boston and
 Philadelphia, 387, 388.
 — General, his death, 459.
 — General, Funeral honors paid him
 by the authorities and citizens,
 459.
 — Place, Riot at, 527.
 Laight, Edward W., 170.
 — William, 287, 318.
 — Street, 463.
 Laing, John, "Honest John Laing,"
 editor of *New York Gazette*, 480.
 Lake's Hermitage, 339.
 Lake Champlain, 132.
 — near John and Gold Streets, 83.
 Lamb, Anthony, 580.
 — John, 201, 224, 240, 245, 510.
 Landais, Pierre de, 431-434.
 Landon, M. D., describes election-day
 frauds, 632.
 — Samuel, 287.
 Land-gate, 89.
 Langdon, John, 292.
- Langdon, Mrs., 309.
 Lansing, Chief Justice, his charge at Levi
 Weeks' trial, 341-343.
 Latimer, Hugh, 137.
 Laud, Archbishop, 137.
 Laughton, Jack, 301.
 Laurence, Isaac, 170.
 Lawrence, Cornelius W., Mayor, 464, 466.
 — Eugene, his description of New
 York during British occupation,
 268, *note*.
 La Montagne, Dr. Johannes, a member of
 Kieft's Council, 32, 56.
 La Salle, Robert, Cavalier de, 108, 109.
 Leake, John, builder of Shakespeare
 Tavern, 487.
 L'Enfant, M., 301.
 Lee, Richard Henry, 214, 292.
 — General Arthur, 246.
 — Richard Bland, 292.
 — Mayor, 458.
 — Fort, the retreat of Washington,
 250.
 Lee's Dragoons, 301.
 Le Moyne, a Jesuit, discovers fish in
 American Lakes, 55.
 Leisler, ex-Governor, executed for trea-
 son, 118, 141.
 Lenni Lenape Indians, 11.
 Leonard Street, 132, 340, 463, 604.
 Lewis, Zachariah, proprietor of the
 Minerva, alters its title to the
 Commercial Advertiser, 331.
 Lewis, Morgan, 299.
 Lexington, Battle of, 228, 244.
 Libel Suit, first great, tried in the city,
 134.
 Lichenstein, Max Jahn, 435, 438.
 Light-house erected at Sandy Hook, 184.
 Lincoln, Abraham, statue of, 514.
 — Abraham, funeral obsequies of,
 657.
 Lind, Jenny, visits New York, 528.
 Liquor, Sale of, prohibitory laws passed,
 49.
 Lispernard Meadows, 335, 340.
 — Street, 340, 603.
 Literature and Art in New York, 636,
 637.
 Little Queen Street, 320.
 Livingston, Chancellor, 300, 349, 390, 441.
 — Brockholst, eminent American
 lawyer, 341, 342.
 — Doctor, 421.
 — James, 177.
 — Peter van Burgh, delivers con-
 gratulatory address to Washing-
 ton, 244.
 — Robert, 177.
 — Robert R., 205, 283, 408, 445.
 — William, 135, 174, 177, 194, 220.

- Livingston, Janet, wife of Gen. Montgomery, 374, *note*.
 London, 96.
 ——— Fires, 512.
 Longueil, Baron de, 128.
 Long Island, its potteries, 59.
 ——— Island Ferry, 39.
 ——— Island, its general condition, 95, 233, 246, 376, 474.
 ——— Island, Battle of, 247.
 ——— Island, fortifications thrown upon, 246.
 ——— Island Sound, 372, 375.
 'Longshore men and Stevedores, Strike among the, 486.
 Loockermans, Capt. Govert, refuses to strike his flag, 45.
 Lords of Trade, 210.
 Loudon, Lord, commander-in-chief of British army in America, arrives in New York, 181.
 ——— Lord, his outrage upon the Charter of Liberties, 181, 182.
 Lovelace, Governor, succeeding Gov. Nicholls, 66, 107, 123, 141.
 Lower Bay, 186.
 Lowndes, Justice, 464.
 Lownds, Poppy, the old Jailer of the Debtors' Prison, 468.
 Low, Major, 401.
 Loyola, Ignatius, 109.
 Ludlow, Rev. Mr., 462, 463.
 ——— E. H., 605.
 ——— Street Jail, 633.
 Lutheran Chapel, 252.
 Lyons, N. Y., 391.

 MCBURNEY, RICHARD, 607.
 McCaffrey, Doctor, killed, 468.
 McDougal Street, 462, 463.
 McDougall, Captain, 227.
 McDougall's Battery, 246.
 McEvers, Stamp Distributor, 199.
 McGilvery, Alexander, a half breed, 328.
 McGowan's Pass, 530.
 Maagde Paatje (Maiden Lane), 89, *note*.
 Macready, W. C., the tragedian, his visit to New York, 520.
 ——— Riot, 520.
 Madison, James, 283, 314, 365.
 ——— James, Declares war against Great Britain, 367.
 ——— Square, 335, 643.
 Madisonian Democracy, 365.
 Magellan Straits, 17.
 Magnetic Telegraph, 507.
 Maiden Lane (Maiden's Valley), 83, 474.
 Mails, early, 186.
 Maine Coast, 54.
 Manhattan and Long Islands, description of, 95, 98.
 ——— Island, or New York, 9, 10, 15, 16, 20, 504.
 "Manhattan Seawant," 39.
 Manhattan Town, Improvements in, 50.
 ——— Well, Miss Sand's body found in, 342.
 Manhattanville, 249, 504, 505.
 Manhasset, 168.
 Manners and Customs and social condition of New York under Dutch rule, 69.
 Manning, Captain John, 67.
 Manor of Polham, 148.
 Map and Survey of New Netherland made, 58.
 Marcellus, Rev. Mr., 378.
 Marine Society in Procession, 287, 394.
 Market Days and Fairs, Regulation of, 52.
 ——— a New, established in Broad Street, 124.
 Market-place for inhabitants of Long Island, etc., 88.
 Market boats rowed by women, 88.
 Marketfield Street, 30, 403, 509.
 Martivale, Galeotti, 279.
 Maryland, 110.
 Mary, Queen, 118.
 Massachusetts, 31, 35, 121, 216.
 Masonic Fraternity, 219, 220.
 ——— Hall, 419.
 Mason, Rev. Dr. John M., 361-365, 641.
 Mathias, Mr., 416.
 Mauritius River (North River), 14, 27.
 Max-Lichenstein, Jan, 435, 438.
 Maxwell, William, 287.
 ——— Hugh, his connection with the Trinity Church Riot, 361.
 May Flower, a ship, 90.
 Medical School established, 211.
 Megapolensis, Domine Johannes, 57.
 Melyn, Cornelis, a patroon in Staten Island, 48.
 Mercer, Street, 603.
 Merchants' Coffee-house, 199, 207, 219, 231, 318.
 ——— Exchange Bank, 602, 603.
 ——— Exchange, The first, 166.
 ——— Exchange, 321, 322, 336, 419, 507.
 ——— Exchange, burning of, 474, 476, 482.
 Merchant Street, 471.
 Mermaid Tavern, 488.
 Mercereau, John, runs a stage to Philadelphia, 187.
 Methodist Denomination established, 211, 420.
 Metropolitan Fair, Great, 638.
 ——— Bank, Broadway, 603.
 Meyer, Nicholas, 106.

- Meyer, Adolph, 255.
 Mexican War, 516.
 Miamis, 111.
 Middleburg, 17.
 Middle Dutch Church, 254, 516.
 Midwout (Flatbush), 60.
 Mifflin, General, 295.
 Milburn, Leisler's son-in-law, 118, 141.
 Militia, The, services to the city, 459.
 Miller, Doctor Samuel, 642.
 Milligan, John, 172.
 Millington, Rev. John, 131.
 Milnor, Rev. Dr., 170.
 Milton, 654.
 Minetta Brook, 93.
 Ming, Jr., Alexander, incites a riot, 494.
 Minuit, Peter, appointed Director-General of New Netherland, 20, 23, 92.
 Mitchell, Doctor, pours the waters of various foreign rivers into the Atlantic Ocean, 398.
 Mohawks, or Maquas, the Iroquois tribe of, 120, 166.
 Mohawk River, 139.
 ——— Valley, 139.
 Monckton, General, 191, 202.
 Montauks, The, 38.
 Montgomery, Governor John, 130, 162.
 ——— General Richard, 244, 373.
 Montgomery's Monument, 374.
 Montgomery Ward, 167.
 Montgomery's Charter, 647.
 Montgomery, Mrs. Janet, 309, 373.
 Montreal, 109, 112, 127, 190.
 Montaigne's Tavern, 226.
 Moore Street, 87, 88.
 ——— Rev. Richard, 168.
 ——— Bishop, 415.
 ——— Colonel, 167.
 ——— Tom, 423.
 ——— Captain, as Columbus in the Erie Canal celebration, 284.
 ——— Sir Henry, Governor, 202, 206, 207, 208, 209, 212, 217, 221.
 ——— Sir Henry, death of, 222; throws a gloom over the whole colony, 230, 243, 276.
 Moravian Chapel built, 165.
 Moustier, Count, 306, 441.
 Morocco, 289.
 Morris, Colonel Roger, 250.
 ——— Robert, 307.
 ——— Chief Justice, 421.
 ——— Gouverneur, 386, 421.
 ——— Governor, 182.
 ——— Street, 24, 92.
 Morse, John, 322.
 ——— S. F. B., 587.
 ——— S. F. B., erection of statue of, in Central Park, 639.
 Morton, Major, 299, 381, 458.
 Mott, Gershom, 201.
 ——— Doctor, 234.
 Mount Vernon Gardens, 340.
 ——— Vernon, 293.
 Moyne, Father Simon C., discovers salt at Syracuse, 54.
 Muhlenburgh, F. Aug, 292.
 Mulberry Street, 529.
 Municipal Election in New York City, 531-535.
 ——— Privileges, as established in Germany and Holland, introduced into New Amsterdam by Governor Stuyvesant, 56.
 ——— Frauds, Remonstrance of Citizens in relation to, 618.
 Munsell, Joel, 256.
 Murphy, Hon. Henry C., For. Corresponding Sec. Long Island Historical Society, 93, 94.
 Murray Hill, Distributing Reservoir, 506.
 ——— Street, 336, 612.
 ——— Colonel J. B., 375.
 Music, Academy of, 511.
 Mutiny Act, 205, 211, 213, 223.
 Mutz, Katey, keeps a favorite place of resort, 339.
 Myers, Colonel T. Bailey, 586.
 ——— Mrs. T. Bailey, 466.
 NAIAD HOSE COMPANY, 511.
 Nancy, a ship, 243.
 Nanfan, Lieutenant Governor, 122.
 Napoleon Bonaparte, 248.
 Narrows, The, 186.
 Nassau, Fort (Albany), 16.
 ——— Street, 115, 132, 211, 336, 487.
 Natalie, a ward of Aaron Burr, 416.
 National Guard (Seventh Regiment), 394, 458, 482, 498.
 ——— Academy of the Arts of Design, 588, 589.
 Nautical Society, 394.
 Naval War between England and Holland; effect on New Netherland, 54.
 Navy Yard, 480; Lafayette visits, 386.
 Negro Riot of 1712, 272.
 ——— Plot (Riot) of 1741, 147-152.
 Negroes the special object of the fury of the mob during the draft riot of 1863, 552, 556, 559.
 Nichol, Mr., 177.
 Nieuwenhuysen, Domine Wilhelmus Van, 96.
 Neversink Hills, 48, 97.
 Newark, 244, 275.
 Newburgh, 352.
 Newfoundland, 10, 17, 23.
 Newspapers :
 ——— New York Gazette, 133, 136, 274, 328.

Newspapers :

- Boston Newsletter, 274.
- New York Weekly Journal, 133, 274.
- New York Evening Post, 275, 276.
- New York Mercury, 275.
- New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, 275.
- New York Chronicle, 276.
- New York Pacquet, 276.
- New York Journal and General Advertiser, 276, 330.
- New York Royal Gazette, 278.
- Parker's Gazette, 276.
- Independent Gazette, 277.
- Rivington's Gazette, 277.
- New York Commercial Advertiser, 282, 378, 388, 487.
- New York Express, 323.
- New York American, 375.
- British Evening Post, 227.
- Columbia, 355.
- New York Journal of Commerce, 231, 327.
- Minerva, 331.
- Weekly Post Boy, 167.
- Independent Reflector, 175.
- Universal Register, 250.
- New York Times, 619.
- New York World, account of New York in 1748, 166-169.
- New Amsterdam, 22, 26, 28, 34, 50, 53, 59, 73, 76, 80, 94, 148.
- Brunswick, 186.
- Newcastle, Duke of, 232.
- New Catherine Slip, 356.
- Democracy, 613.
- England, 30, 35, 49.
- England Indians, War with, 42.
- England Puritans, 31.
- Englanders, 38, 41, 42.
- Hampshire Grants, 241.
- Hampshire, Government of, 129, 197.
- Harlem (New York City), 102.
- Haven, 50, 121, 186.
- Jail Riot, see Riots.
- Jersey, 103, 122, 130, 144, 474.
- Netherland, 9, 17, 21, 22, 31, 38, 46, 59, 62, 63, 64, 147.
- Netherland, the names of two ships; first ship, 18, 19; second ship, 22.
- Netherland Company, 16.
- Street, 509.
- Utrecht, 61, 148.
- Year's Day, 70, 317.
- York and Albany Steamers, 352.
- York, Ancient and Modern, History of City and Government, 37, 67, 112, 246, 639-658.
- York, Interior and social life of, 256.
- New York, Introduction of Gas and Croton Water, 643.
- York, Real and Personal Estate, estimate of, according to Census of 1871, 643-645.
- York Merchant Shipping and Tonnage, Passenger vessels, etc., 645.
- York Post-Office Returns, 645.
- York Industrial Population, analysis, 646.
- York Charters, various, of the City; their provisions, 647.
- York, State of Education, Libraries and Reading Rooms, 649.
- York, Emigration Statistics, 651.
- York, Review of its condition generally, 649-658.
- York, "Draft Riot" in, 539-562.
- York, Subsequent Fires, not hitherto enumerated, 511.
- York, Comparison with other cities, as to number and extent of conflagrations, 512.
- York Bay, 243; frozen over, 254, 381.
- York County, 114.
- York Pulpit, 641.
- York University, 466, 507.
- York Island, 10, 11, 12.
- York Island, topography, 11.
- York Harbor put in state of defence, 246.
- York Coffee-House, 404.
- York, Government of, 129.
- York Congress, 244.
- York, New Post-Office, 602.
- York Hospital, 211, 231, 598.
- York Life Assurance Company's Building, 603.
- York Society Library founded, 345.
- York, Gas introduced into, 507.
- Niagara, 109, 128, 417.
- Nicholl, William, 203.
- Nicholson, Francis, Lieutenant-Governor of New York and Commissioner, 286.
- Nicolls, Colonel Richard, appointed Deputy-Governor for the Duke of York, 66, 107.
- Nieuw Jar (New Year), 70.
- Night Watch, a regular, established in New York City, 374-576.
- Niles's Register, 486.
- Ninth National Bank, 603.
- Noah, Major Mordecai M., 405.
- North Carolina, 231.
- Carolina, a ship, 297, 306.
- Dutch Church, in William Street, previously a prison, 254.

- North River, 14, 52, 93, 102, 335,
 353, 375.
 ——— River Steamboat, 352, *note*, and
 353.
 ——— and South Rivers, Trade on, 52,
 53.
 Nott, Rev. Dr., 187.
 Number One (1) Broadway (Kennedy
 House), 154, 270, 271.
 Nutten's (Governor's) Island, 19.

 OATES, TITUS, 151.
 O'Brien, Sheriff, 613.
 O'Brien, Colonel, murdered by the mob,
 550.
 O'Connell Guards, 467.
 O'Connor, Charles, selected to prosecute
 the Tammany Ring, 629.
 O'Callaghan, Doctor E. B., 105, 145.
 Ogden, Lewis, 331.
 ——— David B., 362.
 ——— John and Richard, 34.
 Ogilvie, Rev. John, 168.
 Old Brick Church, The, 590, 591.
 ——— Democracy, The, 613.
 ——— Ferry, see Peck Slip.
 ——— North Dutch Church, cor. Fulton
 and William Streets, 593, 594,
 note.
 ——— Shakespeare Tavern, 487, 488.
 ——— Sugar House, 253.
 ——— Slip, 246, 473, 481.
 ——— Tom's Chop House, 264.
 ——— Warren Mansion, The, 590.
 ——— Wreck Brook, 91.
 Oliver, Andrew, 196.
 ——— Street, 91.
 Onderdonck, John, 170.
 Oneida Lake, 189.
 ——— 55.
 Oneidas, 108.
 Onondagas, 108, 124.
 Onontio, Indian name of the Governors
 of Canada, 111.
 Ontario, 55.
 ——— Lake, 109.
 Opdyke, Mayor, 543.
 Opera House, Astor Place, 521, 522.
 Orange County, 114, 136.
 ——— Fort (Albany), 28, 35, 45, 95.
 ——— Prince of, 27, 45, 616.
 ——— Riot, 616, 617.
 Order of Jesus, members of, 108.
 Oriental Stove Works, now occupying
 the former site of St. George's
 Chapel, 170.
 Osborne, Sir Danvers, 164, 171.
 Osgood, Rev. Dr., 343, 639.
 Oswego, 127, 128, 130, 139.
 Otis, James, 192, 193, 196, 243.
 ——— Samuel A., 292.

 Otsego, Lake, 156.
 Owl's Kill, 91.
 Oyster Bay, on Long Island, the limit of
 Dutch Settlements, 148.

 PAAS (Passion Week), 70.
 Pacific Ocean, 17.
 Page, William, artist, 637.
 Palatines, 123.
 Palmyra, N. Y., 391.
 Park Theater, 232, 405, 488.
 Park and other Banks, 602, 603.
 ——— Place, 211, 529.
 ——— City Hall, 498.
 ——— St. John's, 12.
 Parker, Jason, drives a mail stage, 188.
 ——— James, an editor, 136.
 Parker's Gazette, 276.
 Passaic River, 187.
 Passage Place, 89.
 Passports, prohibition against travelling
 without, 35.
 Patterson, General, escorts Mrs. General
 Riedesel to a ball, 260; sails for
 England, 265.
 Partition Street (Fulton), 184.
 Patroons, 21, 22, 23, 34, 42.
 Patroonerries, 21.
 Paulding, James K., 56, 489.
 Paulus Hook (Jersey City) and New York
 Ferry established, 185.
 ——— Hook (Jersey City), 185, 186, 246.
 Peace of 1667, 108.
 ——— of 1783, 288.
 Peale's Museum, 404.
 Pearl Street, 24, 30, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93,
 115, 165, 232, 284, 299, 318, 321,
 331, 336, 403, 419, 467, 472.
 ——— Street opened through the New
 York Hospital grounds, 599.
 Peet, Harvey P., letter of, to the author,
 638.
 Peck Slip, 29, 30, 90, 165, 246.
 Peckham, Wheeler H., 629.
 Peloponnesus, The, 412.
 Peltry, export duty on, increased, 50.
 Penn, William, 113.
 Pennsylvania, 123.
 Pepperell, Sir William, 487.
 Pequods, 31.
 Percival, James Gates, dines with J. F.
 Cooper at the City Hotel, 489.
 Percy, Lord, 250.
 Periodicals, number of, in the United
 States, *note*, 278.
 Perth Amboy Ferry, stage-boats run to,
 186.
 Peters, Henry, 170.
 Philadelphia, stages established between
 New York and, 186.
 Philipse, Colonel Adolph, 140.

- Philippe, Louis, teaches school in New York, 597.
- Phillips, General, 260, 265.
- Phoenix, Mrs. D., 81.
- Phyfe, D., makes a box from a log of Erie cedar, for Lafayette, 397.
- Pine Street, 336, 425.
- Pintard, Lewis, 206, 317.
- John, 255.
- Pinxter (Whitsuntide), 70.
- Pitt, William, 208, 210.
- Pleasure Gardens at Harlem, 85.
- Plymouth Company, 24
- Harbor, 23
- Rock, 18.
- Pneumatic Railroad, 612.
- Poelnitz, Baron, 284.
- Police Regulations, a new code of, enacted, 114.
- Political Parties in New York, origin of, 142.
- Pomeroy, General, 244.
- Popish Pretender, 158.
- Popish Plot, 150.
- Popular Government established, by the construction of a General Assembly, 113.
- Population of New York, 642, 652.
- Porter, Peter B., 408.
- Portuguese, 148.
- Post Office, 166; history of, 516-520.
- Office Building, the New, 601.
- Road, old, 93.
- Doctor, 234.
- Potatoes, Price of Bermuda, 30.
- Potemkin, Prince, 435.
- Potomac River, 128.
- Potter's Field, removal of bodies from, 537.
- Hill, 91.
- Potter, Bishop Alonzo, 349.
- Powder House, The, 91, *note*.
- Powell, Thos., a steamboat, 352, 353, *note*.
- Powle's (Paulus) Hook, 375.
- Pownal, Thomas, 190.
- Pratt, Chief Justice, 191, 195.
- Presbyterian (Wall Street) Church, 165.
- President of the United States, official title of the, 294.
- Preston, Colonel, 227.
- Prevost, General, 182.
- Price of Provisions, 184.
- Priestly, Doctor, 422.
- Printing House Square, 639.
- Printz, Gov., 42.
- Prison Ship, the horrors of the "Jersey," 255, 256, *note*.
- Prisoners, neglect and ill-treatment of, 255.
- Prison Weekly Dietary, 255.
- Privateer, La Garce, 43.
- Procession in honor of founding the Republic, 282-290.
- Provincial Congress, 243, 245.
- Provost, Old, see Debtors' Prison.
- Bishop, 304.
- Rev. Samuel, 168.
- David, a Tobacco Inspector at Manhattan, and Commissary at Fort Good Hope, 148.
- Ready Money (David), the Long Island Smuggler, 488.
- Provost's Tomb, Jones's Wood, 491.
- Prussia, 289.
- Public burial-ground in the entrenchments, 255.
- Public School Society, 345.
- Public Wells established, 569.
- Puritans, 18, 31, 654.
- Putnam, General, 244, 246.
- Mrs. Washington, 74.
- QUAKERS, 22.
- Quarantine Establishment at Bedloe's Island, 139.
- Buildings on Staten Island destroyed by the populace, 537.
- Quebec, 113, 214, 244.
- Queen's County, 114.
- Queen Street (Pearl), 284, 298, 300.
- Quider, Indian name of Peter Schuyler, 119.
- Quilting Bees, 69.
- RABBIT ISLAND, 97.
- Raneleagh Gardens, 232, 339.
- Raritan River, 186.
- Indians, 48.
- "Ready Money Provost," 488, 489, *note*.
- Reade Street, 232, 335.
- Real Estate Auctions, 606.
- Rector Street, 139.
- Red Jacket (Sagoyewatha) visits New York, and has his portrait painted, 416; Doctor Francis describes his personal appearance, 417-419.
- Reformed Dutch Church, 24.
- Reid, an Assemblyman, 199.
- Captain Mayne, relates an anecdote of Lafayette, 380.
- Religious Denominations of New York, 641.
- Rensselaer, Killian Van, 25.
- Rensselaerwyck (Albany), 44.
- Renwick, Doctor, 365.
- Reservoir on Fifth Avenue, 505.
- Distributing, 501.
- Restless, the first vessel built in New Amsterdam, 15.
- Revenue, Public, of New Netherland, 66.

- Review of administrations of various Governors, 141.
- Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 455.
- Rhoda, Lewis, first man killed by a Steamboat accident, 356.
- Rhode Island, 197.
- Richards, T. Addison, 637.
- Richmond Hill, 348, 415, 440.
- County, 114.
- Riedesel, General, 256, 268.
- Mrs. General, her history of the Siege of New York, and incidents connected therewith, 256-270.
- Riots :*
- Abolitionist, 460.
 - Astor Place, 520.
 - Boston, 199.
 - Bread, 536.
 - Dead Rabbit, 534.
 - Doctor's Mob, 234-236.
 - Draft, 368, 461, 539.
 - Election, 456-460.
 - Five Points, 467, 468.
 - Flour, 493-499.
 - Longshoremen's, 486.
 - Macready, 520-528.
 - Negro, of 1712, 272.
 - Negro, of 1741, 147-153.
 - Orange, 616, 617.
 - Police, 532.
 - Quarantine, 537.
 - Stamp Act, 197-199.
 - Stone Cutters', 466.
 - Trinity Church, 359-365, *note*.
- Riots, year of, 456.
- Rivington, James, editor and owner *New York Gazette*, 277, 278.
- Roach, Thomas, 319.
- Roberts, Marshall O., 637.
- Robinson, Thomas, one of the Sons of Liberty, 201.
- Colonel, 167.
- Rochambeau, Count, 338.
- Rochefort, 113.
- Rodgers, Rev. Doctor, 421.
- Roelandsen, Adam, a school-master, 24, 32.
- Rogers, Doctor, 234.
- Roosevelt Street, 91.
- Hon. R. B., 620, 624.
- Jacobus, 91.
- Rose Street, 461.
- Rossa, O'Donovan, 631.
- Rostopchin, General, 248.
- Ruggles, Timothy, 198.
- Rushmore, Isaac, his experiences in crossing the ferries in early times, 354.
- Russia, 14.
- Rutgers Street, 13.
- Rutgers' Farm, 231.
- Mr., 232.
- Colonel, 340.
- Ryker, Hendrick, 90.
- St. BENICIO, a ship, 50, 51.
- St. Clair, Governor, 295.
- St. Frederick, Fort, 132.
- St. George Building, 169.
- St. George's Chapel, 166-169, 366.
- St. George, a ship, 271.
- St. John's, 374.
- St. John's Park, 12, 598, 599.
- St. James Coffee House, 488.
- St. James's Chronicle, 227.
- St. John's Day, 219.
- St. Lawrence River, 109.
- St. Nicholas, Old Church of, 78, 475.
- St. Michael's Day, 116.
- St. Paul's Church, 232, 304, 333, 366.
- St. Petersburg, 436.
- St. Philip's Church (Colored), 463, 465.
- St. Tammany, *see* Tammany.
- Sagoyewatha (Red Jacket), 416, 417, 419.
- Sam Francis's Tavern (Black Sam's), 231, 298.
- Sandford, General, 525.
- Sand Hills, 13.
- Sand's Point, 375.
- Sands, Robert C., 489, 637.
- Juliana Elmore, murder of, 342.
- Sandy Hook, 11, 55, 67, 97, 380.
- Santa Claus (Christ-Kinkle Day), 70.
- Sappokanikke (Greenwich), 104.
- Sargeant, Charles and John, 203.
- Saratoga Battle Ground, 592.
- Battle of, 256.
- Springs, 74, 374.
- troops captured at, 268.
- Schaats, Domine, 95.
- Schermerhorn, Cornelius, 170.
- Schenectady, 120.
- Schieffelin, S. B., 637.
- School of Painting, 637; of Sculpture, 637.
- Schout Fiscal, 20, 77.
- Schultz, Jackson S., 613.
- Schutter's Island, 104.
- Schuyler, Peter, 119, 123, 224.
- Philip, 237, 245.
- Fort, 188.
- Sconce, 74.
- Scott, John Morin, 194, 219.
- Captain, 60.
- Scudder's Museum, 330, 405.
- Sea Mew, The, a ship, 20.
- Sears, Isaac, a leader of the Sons of Liberty, 201.
- Seguine, Joseph, 376.
- Seigneuries, 21.
- Senate, first meeting of the, 292.

- Senecas, 108, 124, 139.
 Seneca Chief, the first canal-boat, 390.
 Seventh Regiment, 374, 617.
 Seawant, see Wampum.
 Seymour, Horatio, 408, 545.
 Shaera Straat, see Broadway.
 Shakespeare Tavern, 488-490.
 Sharpe, Rev. John, 131.
 Sheldon's Dragoons, 301.
 Sherman, Roger, 292, 303, 489.
 Shoe and Leather Bank, 603.
 Shoemaker's Land, 90.
 Simonson, Daniel, carries the mail from Staten Island to New York on the ice, 376.
 Sims, Doctor J. M., founds the State Woman's Hospital, 537.
 Singeron, Auguste Louis de, 428-430.
 Sing Sing, 466, 501.
 Sirius, a steamship, 325.
 Six Nations, treaty with the, 124.
 ——— Nations, 127, 165.
 Slave Market at the foot of Wall Street, 149.
 ——— Trade, History of, 147-151.
 Sloop Banck (Bunk), 19, 75.
 Sloat Lane, 404, 419.
 Sloughter, Colonel Henry, Governor of New York, 118, 142.
 Small-Pox, 159.
 "Small Citizenship," record of, 57.
 Smith, William, 132, 134, 194, 220, 242-262.
 ——— T., 219.
 ——— Doctor, 234.
 ——— Peter, 274.
 ——— Richard, 103.
 ——— Colonel W. S., 309.
 ——— Colonel, 498.
 Smit's Valey, 97.
 Smuggling abolished, 49.
 Snake Hill, N. J., 361.
 Society Library, N. Y., 131, 345, 649.
 ——— for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents, 638.
 Soldiers' (Martyrs') Monument, 515.
 Sons of Liberty, 192, 199, 200, 206, 207, 212, 216, 224, 225, 243.
 South Street, 29, 192, 480, 481.
 ——— River, 35, 42, 52.
 Southberg, a ship, 19, 24, 28.
 Spain, 24, 50.
 Spotswood, Governor, 127.
 Spring Street Church, 462, 463.
 ——— Street, 342, 463.
 ——— Street Market, 378.
 Spuyten Duyvel, 102.
 Stadt Huys (City Hall) of New Amsterdam, 37, 68, 89.
 Stage Boats first introduced, 186.
 ——— Line started from New York to Philadelphia, 187.
 Stages first run between New York and Albany, 188.
 ——— line extended to Utica, 188.
 Stamp Act, 195, 199, 200, 202, 203, 206-208, 210, 211, 213, 227, 238, 239.
 Stanwix, Fort (Rome), 139, 344.
 Staple Right granted, 26.
 Star Chamber, 137.
 "Stars and Stripes," The, displaces the British Standard, 273.
 Staten Island, 48, 55, 67, 97, 122, 182, 376, 474, 537.
 ——— Island and Bergen Ferry established, 185.
 States-General, the Dutch, 15, 17, 23, 34, 46.
 State Right, 51.
 ——— Arsenal, 457, 530.
 ——— Street, 92, 125, 318.
 ——— Prisoners, 378.
 Steadman, the historian, 252.
 Steam navigation, 348.
 Steamer, the first, the *Clermont*, constructed under Fulton's nominal superintendence, 351, 352.
 Steddiford, Captain, 299.
 Steenwyck, Cornelis, 57, 61.
 Steenwyck's Orchard, 93.
 Steeregraft, 92.
 Steuben, Baron, 235, 304, 312, 441.
 Stevenson, Doctor J., 360.
 Stevens, Doctor, 234.
 ——— Horatio G., 327.
 ——— Colonel John, 355, 386, 461.
 Stewart, A. T., 232, 603.
 Stirling, General Lord, 247, 489.
 ——— Lady, 308.
 Stoffelson, Jacob, of Pavonia, one of the Twelve Men, 25.
 Stokes, Captain, 299.
 ——— James, 608.
 ——— Edward S., shoots James Fisk, Jr., 634.
 Stone, Colonel William L., 282, 331, 389, 390, 413, 419, 483, 498, 507, 508, 638.
 ——— Mrs., 490.
 ——— Street, 30, 92, 93, 481, 509, 510.
 Stoneall, J. C. (Alderman), keeps the Shakespeare Tavern, 492.
 Strycker, J. Gerritsen, 57.
 Stuart, R. L., 608.
 Sturges, Jonathan, 608.
 Stuyvesant, Governor Peter, 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, 60, 62, 65.
 ——— Mrs., wife of Governor, 148.
 ——— Pear-tree, 596.
 Stuyvesant's "Bowerie," 93.
 Suaaendaal, 26.
 Sub-Treasury, 507.
 Suckanhock sucki, 38.
 Suffolk County, 148.

- Sullivan, General, 247.
 Sumpter, General, 416.
 Swamp, The, 90, 91.
 Swart, Jacob, 94.
 Swartwout, Captain, 299.
 Swedes, their connection with the early history of America, 42.
 Sweden, 42, 289.
 Sweeney, Peter B., 620.
 Syracuse, 391.

 TABERNACLE, New York, 494.
 Tailer, Colonel, 129.
 Talcott, a Mr., holds a conversation with "Ready Money" Provost, 488.
 Talleyrand, 422.
 Tallmadge, F. A., 528.
 Tamkill, 83.
 Tammany organization, 328-330.
 — Frauds, etc., exposure of, 618-635.
 — Hall, 336.
 — Museum, 330.
 Tammanund, the Patron Saint of Tammany, history of, 328.
 "Tap," The, 487.
 Tappan, Gov. Kieft sends sloops to, 36.
 — Lewis, 461.
 — Arthur, 461.
 Taverns, Licenses for, first issued, 51.
 Tavern, the first erected in New Netherland, 37.
 Tayler, Asher, 375, 456, 483.
 Taylor, Jeremy, 654.
 "Tea Water Pump," The, in Chatham Street, 500, 573.
 Temple, Sir John, 236.
 Teunissen, Jan., 98, 101.
 Thames Street, 165, 264.
 Thayendagea (Joseph Brant), 415.
 Thirtieth Street, 613.
 Thirty-first Street, 348.
 Thirty-sixth Street, 93.
 Thomson, Charles, 293.
 Thompson, Launt, a sculptor, 637.
 Ticonderoga, Fort, 214, 593.
 "Tiger" and "Fortune," two Dutch ships, 14.
 Tilden, S. J., 629.
 Tillary, Doctor, 425.
 Tombs, The, 12, 271.
 Tompkins Square, 335.
 — Daniel D. 374, 379.
 Tontine Coffee House, history of, 318, 319-327.
 — Hotel Association (Fifth Ward), 320.
 Town Hall, 171.
 Townsend, Robert C., 466.
 Trading Charter, 15.
 Treaty of Peace between the States General and Great Britain, 68.
 Treaty of Peace between United States and Great Britain, 272.
 — with Indians, 47.
 Trenton, Battle of, 295.
 Tribune Building, 337; threatened by rioters, 543.
 Trinity Church, 68, 83, 121, 166, 252, 333.
 — Church Riot, 359-365.
 — Place, 600.
 Troup, Robert, 287, 341.
 Tromp, Admiral, 54.
 Troy, N. Y. 186.
 Trumbull, John, 587.
 Tryon, Governor William, 231, 237, 240, 244, 245, 257, 265.
 Tucker, Thomas Tudor, 292.
 Tuliva Mico, 329.
 Turk's Head, London, compared with the Shakespeare Tavern, 488, 491, 492.
 Tweed, William M., 613, 620, 629.
 Twenty-third Street, 609.
 Tyng, Rev. Dr., 170.

 ULSTER COUNTY, 114, 136.
 Union Bank, 603.
 — Square, 335, 514, 657.
 — Hotel, 341.
 — League Club, 613.
 — of New England Colonies, 239.
 United Colonies, The, resist the execution of the Tea Duties, 240.
 — New Netherland Company, 16, 21.
 — Provinces, 35, 53.
 — States Sanitary Commission, 638.
 — States Navy Yard, Brooklyn, 335.
 University of New York, 466, 507.
 Utica, 188.
 Utrecht, Peace of, 126, 132.
 Ury, John, a priest and school-master, implicated in the Negro Plot, 151.

 VALENTINE, DAVID T., 126, 152, 640.
 Van Birkel, Mr., 441.
 Van Burggh, Jan Gillesen, 56.
 — Johannes Pietersen, 57.
 — Karl, 57.
 Van Cortlandt, Stephanus, first native-born Mayor of N. Y., 107, 117.
 — Gen. Philip, conducts Lafayette to the chair of Louis XVI., 386.
 Van Couwenhoven, Jacob, 57.
 — Pieter, 57.
 Van Dam, Rip, 76, 91, 132, 138.
 Van Dyck, Captain, 298.
 Van Eecke, Domine, 95.
 Van Horne, Gerrit, 140.
 — Major, 299.
 Van Der Huyghens, Schout Fiscal, 46, 48.
 Van Rensselaer, General Stephen, 390, 408.

- Van Rensselaer, Johannes, the first pa-
 trou, 44.
 ——— Killian, 25.
 Van Schaick, Henry, 206, 219.
 ——— Peter, 219.
 Van Tienhoven, Cornelis, 32.
 ——— Mrs., 57.
 Van Twiller, Wouter, Governor, 24, 27,
 32, 43, 24, 25, 26, 27, 43, 92.
 Van Vorst, Anna, 270.
 ——— Hooper C., 270, 649.
 Van Wyck, Laurisen Cornelisen, 57.
 Van Zye, Captain, 67.
 Vanderbilt, John, 376.
 Vandercliff's Orchard (John Street), 89,
 90.
 Vandergrist and Van Dyck, 92.
 Vanderlyn, the pupil of Stuart, 516.
 Vandewater Street, 471.
 Varennes, Baron De, 422.
 Varick, Richard, 322.
 ——— Street, 13, 462, 463, 464, 609.
 Vasseur, Auguste L., Secretary to La-
 fayette, 379.
 Venerable Society for Propagating the
 Gospel in Foreign Parts, 252.
 Vergennes, Count De, 431.
 Verhulst, William, 20.
 Verplanck, Gulian, 139, 272, 318, 321, 336.
 ——— Gulian C. 272, 345, 420-455.
 Vesey Street, 355.
 Vessels, Toll levied on, 45.
 Vigné, Jean, 96.
 Virginia, 11, 15, 16, 31, 35, 49, 110, 222.
 Virtue & Yorston, house of, 636, 637.
 "Vlackte," The, or Flat, 91.
 Vly Market (Market in the Marsh), 89,
note.
 Volckertsen, Captain, 14.

 WALDRON, W. J., 330.
 Wales, Prince of, visits New York, 538.
 ——— Coast of, 48.
 Walker Street, 529, 603.
 Wallace, Hugh, 221.
 Walloons, 18, 22.
 Wall Street, 24, 68, 115, 117, 165, 231,
 263, 264, 272, 318, 336, 344, 419,
 421, 425, 471, 476, 477, 480, 481,
 482.
 ——— Street Church, 420.
 Walphat's Meadow, 91.
 Walton, Jacob, 221.
 Wampum, Servant, or Zeawant, taken as
 the standard of value, and used
 as currency, 29, 31, 36, 38, 42,
 64, 77.
 Wardell, Robert, 170.
 Ward's Island, bodies from the Potter's
 Field removed to, 537.
 Ward, John Q. A., a sculptor, 637.

 Warren, Admiral Sir Peter, 150, 153,
 167, 271, 590.
 ——— Mansion, Old, history destruction
 of, 590.
 ——— Street, 153, 612.
 ——— Joseph, 229.
 War of 1812, 367-370, 516.
 Washington, General George, 166, 244,
 245, 247, 249, 272, 281, 291, 294-
 317.
 ——— Lady, 315-317
 ——— Hotel, 152.
 ——— Medal, 417.
 ——— Parade Ground, 14, 335, 466, 537.
 ——— Street, 463.
 ——— Fort, 250, 255.
 ——— a steam-boat, 393.
 ——— Monument, 514.
 Watch House, 336.
 Water Gate, 89.
 ——— Street, 29, 87, 88, 92, 231, 318,
 344, 472, 473, 477, 480, 481.
 Watkins, Rev. Hezekiah, 137.
 Watts, Hon. John (Recorder), 271, 284,
 318.
 ——— Mary, marries Sir John Johnson,
 271.
 Watt, James, 349.
 Way-house, 88.
 Wayland, Francis, gives an account as an
 eye-witness of the reception of
 the news of Peace by the citizens
 of New York, 369.
 Wayman, William, 136, 276.
 Webster, Noah, 287, 422.
 ——— Daniel, 412.
 Weed, Thurlow, 352, 390.
 Weehawken Duelling Ground, 348.
 Weeks, Ezra, keeps the City Hotel, 308,
 342.
 ——— Levi, nephew of Ezra Weeks,
 tried for the murder of Miss
 Sands, 342.
 Weigh-house, 88.
 Weir, Robert W., an artist, 416.
 Wellington, Duke of, 601.
 Westchester County, 148, 504.
 Westfield, disastrous explosion of the,
 635.
 West Indies, 59, 166.
 ——— India Company, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23,
 25, 27, 31, 36, 42, 45, 50, 58, 59,
 63, 83, 103.
 Westminster, 68.
 ——— Abbey, 374.
 Wesley Chapel, 211, 420.
 Westphalia, 93.
 West Point, 352.
 Wetmore, Prosper M., 348, 388, 463, 483.
 Wey, Captain, 14, 18, 20.
 White Conduit House, 340.

- White Street, 457, 604.
 Whitehall, N. Y., the funeral cortege of
 Gen. Montgomery halts at, 373.
 ——— Street, 24, 30, 87, 88, 92, 125.
 Whitefield, Rev. George, 420.
 Wieringen Shoals, 98.
 Wignell, an actor at John St. Theatre,
 338.
 Wiley, William, 201.
 Willett, Colonel M., 318, 328, 344.
 Willoe, Captain, 260.
 William Street, 90, 92, 93, 115, 404, 421,
 422, 472, 474, 480, 481.
 ——— and Mary, 141.
 Williamsburgh, 356.
 Willis, Nathaniel P., 636.
 Willy, Noe, 91.
 Windmill Hill, 339.
 Winthrop, Governor, 31, 43.
 Wolfe, General, 374.
 Wolfert's Valley, 91.
 Woodbridge, N. J., early stages run to,
 186.
 Wood Creek, 139.
 Woodhull, Caleb S., 520.
 Wooley, Rev. Charles, 105.
 Wooster Street, 342, 609.
 World's Fair, 528.
 Worth, General W. J., monument to, 516.
 Wren, Sir Christopher, 601.
 YAMOYDEN, a poem, 490.
 Yellow Fever, 122, 330-332, 377-379.
 York, James, Duke of, 60.
 Young Men's Christian Association of
 New York City, its aims, etc.,
 606-609, 638.
 Young, Thomas, 408.
 ZABRISKIE, Alderman, 384.
 Zantberg Hills, The, 93.
 Zantzinger, Captain, 397.
 "Zealandia" (Wall and William Streets),
 92.
 Zeeland, 95.
 Zeawant, see Wampum.
 Zelo, Tzarzko, 436.
 Zenger, John Philip, 133, 134, 135, 136.

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